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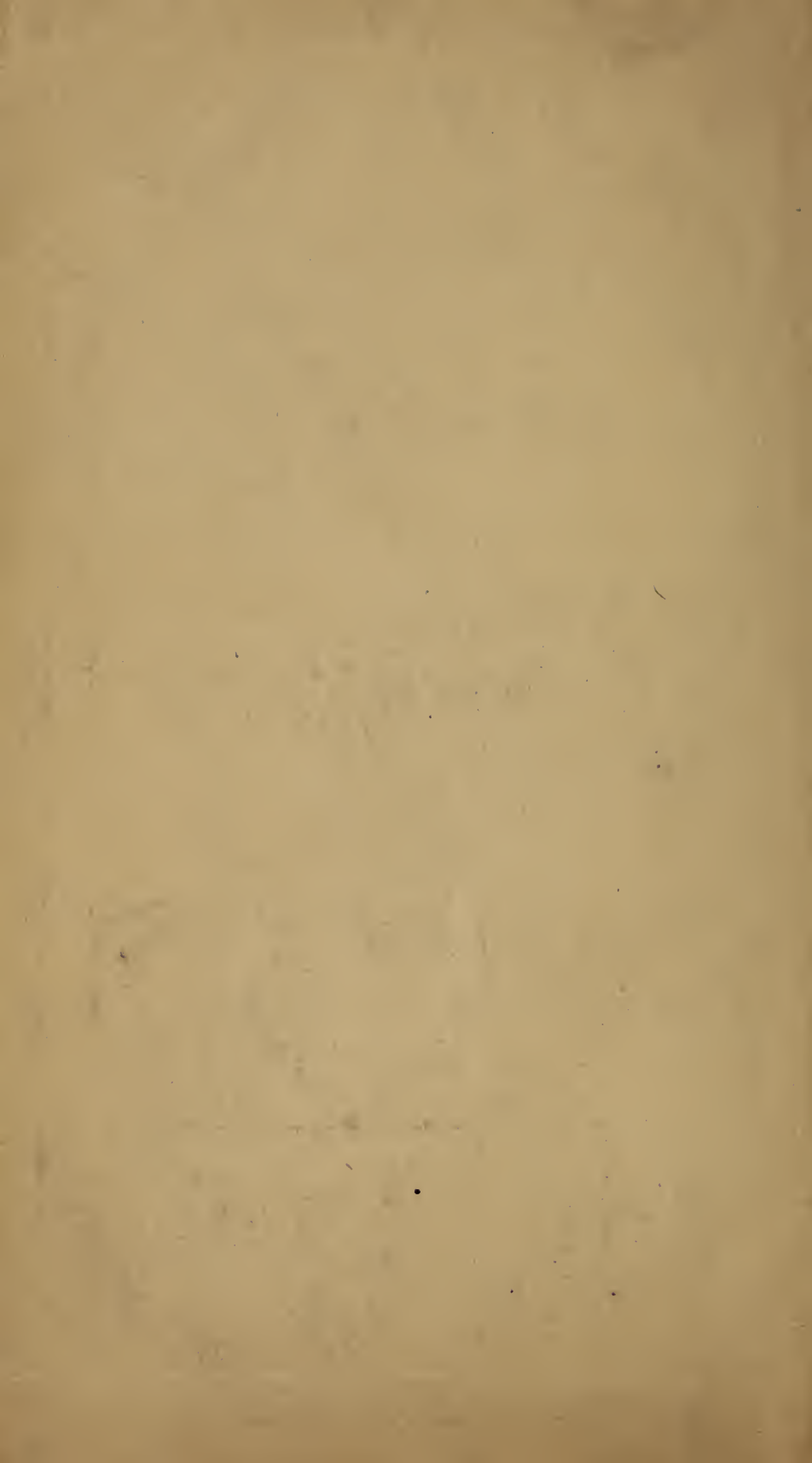
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*Painted by Henry Meyer.*

*Engraved by J.H. Bull.*

## A FEMALE MISSIONARY

Instructing a Native African.

'Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.'

*Isaiah LXVIII. 31.*

'Go . . . teach all Nations.'

*Matthew XXVIII. 19.*

*Engraved for the Abolitionist.*

*Printed by Robt. Mott.*

**THE ABOLITIONIST:**

**OR RECORD OF THE**

**NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.**

—  
**EDITED BY A COMMITTEE.**  
—

**BOSTON:**

**PRINTED BY GARRISON & KNAPP.**

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# THE ABOLITIONIST.

VOL. I.]

JANUARY, 1833.

[NO. I.

## THE ABOLITIONIST.

THE object of the Abolitionist, as its name indicates, is to promote the abolition of slavery, and also to improve the condition of the free people of color in the United States. The work will be under the editorial supervision of a Committee of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

[We believe that very unsound opinions and unchristian feelings, in regard to slavery, prevail throughout our country. Even in the states in which slavery is not tolerated, the great majority of the people are its apologists and supporters. Many, while they acknowledge that slavery is an evil, seem quite unconscious that to keep men in bondage is a sin. They pity the unfortunate slaveholder, but have no sympathy for the wretched slave. While they lament that a large portion of our country should have its morals corrupted, its wealth and strength impaired, and its future prospects shrouded in gloom, by the institution of slavery, they with the greatest inconsistency brand every one as an unprincipled incendiary, who attempts to point out any remedy for these present and future evils.]

We contend that slavery is as proper a subject of discussion, as any other topic in which large numbers of men are concerned; and no good reason can be shown for restraining the liberty of the press on this subject, which will not apply to many others. Bonaparte, and other despotic rulers, have thought that no measures of government ought to be freely canvassed in the public prints. If it be once admitted that there is any one topic in which the public is concerned, on which the press may not speak freely, there is no principle on which the freedom of the press can be defended.

While, however, we advocate the unrestrained right of expressing opinion, we are far from recommending the publication of any thing designed to excite the slaves to insurrection. Pieces with such an object will find

no admission in the Abolitionist, and will receive from it nothing but reprobation.

We shall address ourselves to the reason and humanity of our countrymen. We see among us a large proportion of our population distinguished from the rest only in color and features, who are yet, on account of this distinction, made the victims of an inveterate and unchristian prejudice. Knowing that our countrymen are men, and that the great majority of them are Christians, we shall endeavor to show that this prejudice is not sanctioned either by reason, religion, or humanity. We shall, therefore, call on every individual, who feels convinced of this truth, to exert himself to impress it upon his neighbors. Believing in a superintending Providence, we cannot doubt that truth and justice will finally prevail.

We shall advocate IMMEDIATE ABOLITION. Let not our readers startle at the words. We shall show by abundant facts before the year is out, that wherever the experiment of immediate abolition has been tried, it has been successful. Even the history of Hayti, which has been so much misunderstood and misrepresented, affords unanswerable evidence of this truth.

We shall recommend the moral and intellectual education of the people of color in our country, both bond and free. Even corporeal liberty is of little comparative value to its possessors, while their minds remain enslaved to ignorance, sloth and sensuality.

We cannot, in the course of these brief introductory remarks, present our readers with all our opinions on the momentous subjects which will be discussed in our publication. All that we can promise is, hearts devoted to the great cause in which we are engaged. If our publication shall in some degree, however small, promote it, our labors will not be in vain.

## NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The First Annual Meeting of this Society takes place on the second Wednesday of January, instant, on which occasion a general invitation is given by its Managers to all the friends of the colored race in New-England to be present. A particular account of the proceedings (which are expected to be of an interesting character) will be given in the Abolitionist for February.

This Society was formed on the first of January, 1832. The second article of its Constitution explains the purposes of its organization:

'Article 2. The objects of the Society shall be to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States, to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.'

We think it may be truly said, that no society, commencing under such adverse circumstances and possessing such limited means, has ever risen so rapidly in importance, or so widely operated upon public sentiment, or at the expiration of its first year given so much promise of usefulness, as the Anti-Slavery Society. It is true, extraordinary efforts have been made to crush it, by the enemies of full and immediate restitution to the slaves; hideous caricatures of its features have been held up to the public view; its claims for the victims of southern oppression, although graduated by the lowest scale of justice, have created in various quarters alarming apprehensions, simply because they have been misinterpreted by ignorance, or exaggerated by prejudice:---but, in despite of the opposition of a rival, well-disciplined and powerful association, and of these various hindrances, the Anti-Slavery Society has accomplished much for the cause of liberty and justice, by a wide dissemination of its principles, and the employment of a zealous and intelligent Agent. Probably, through its instrumentality, more public addresses on the subject of slavery, and appeals in behalf of the condemned free people of color, have been made in New-England, during the past year, than were elicited for forty years prior to its organization. These efforts have excited a spirit of inquiry, and a vigorous discussion in the community; the hearts of multitudes have been touched with a flame of sympathy; light

has been shed where all was obscure, though in some instances the darkness 'comprehended it not.'

The Society commences its operations for another year, with a rich accumulation of experience, hope and zeal. Cheered by the promises of Him who cannot lie, relying upon His gracious assistance, and warmed by a love toward all classes of men which many waters cannot quench, it resolves to persevere in its benevolent enterprise, through evil as well as good report, whether men will hear, or whether they will forbear. May all its measures be such as to commend themselves to all who sincerely desire the welfare of their fellow men, and be acceptable in the sight of the Most High God, 'who has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon all the face of the earth'---who regards the cries of the prisoner, and has given us his word that he 'will maintain the cause of the afflicted and the right of the poor'!

Whatever differences of opinion may prevail, respecting the best mode of attacking the slave-system, there is one object cherished by the Anti-Slavery Society, for the promotion of which all parties and denominations should coalesce---namely, 'to improve the character and condition of the free people of color.' How many more of this unfortunate class are we determined to scorn, and proscribe, and ruin? Do we not owe them an immense debt, for years of suffering, infamy and oppression?---Public odium, like the atmosphere, surrounds them. A sense of inferiority is made to press upon them with a mighty weight. With what face can we, who are persecuting our colored brethren here, assail southern oppressors? If we are unwilling to do justly by them, how shall we plead for justice toward the slaves? If we refuse to educate their children, and leave them in their degradation, how shall we dare arraign the people of the south for keeping their slaves in a similarly ignorant condition? Before New-England can go forward boldly and efficiently in the cause of emancipation, she must elevate her colored population, and rank them with the rest of her children. Reform, not partial but entire---not in the letter but the spirit---must first commence at home. Philanthropists and Christians! come forth, then, to sustain by your contributions the Anti-Slavery Society in this benevolent work, and the blessings of many shall rest upon your heads.

## AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Our reasons for vigorously opposing this mighty combination will be stated, from time to time, in the pages of the Abolitionist. Some of them are forcibly expressed in the following extracts from a Circular, put forth in England by CHARLES STUART, Esq. a gentleman who, by his zeal and activity, now occupies a high rank among the philanthropists of that country.

‘The American Colonization Society directly supports the false and cruel idea that the native country of the colored people of the United States is not their native country, and that they never can be happy until they either exile themselves, or are exiled; and thus powerfully conduces to extinguish in them all those delightful hopes, and to prevent all that glorious exertion, which would make them a blessing to their country. In this particular, the American Colonization Society takes up a falsehood, as cruel to the colored people, as it is disgraceful to themselves; dwells upon it, as if it were an irrefragable truth; urges it, as such, upon others; and thus endeavors with all its force, to make *that practically true*, which is one of the greatest stains in the American character; which is one of the greatest scourges that could possibly afflict the free colored people; and which, in itself, is essentially and unalterably false. For be the pertinacity of prejudice what it may, in asserting that the blacks of America never can be amalgamated, in all respects, in equal brotherhood with the whites, it will not the less remain an everlasting truth, that the wickedness which produced and perpetuates the assertion, is the only ground of the difficulty, and that all that is requisite to remove the whole evil, is the relenting in love of the proud and cruel spirit which produced it. Could the American Colonization Society succeed in establishing their views on this subject, as being really true of the people of the United States, it would only prove that the people of the United States were past repentance; that they were given over, through their obstinacy in sin, finally to believe a lie; to harden themselves, and to perish in their iniquity. But they have not succeeded in establishing this fearful fact against themselves; and as long as they continue capable of repentance, it *never* can be true, that the proud and baneful prejudices which now so cruelly alienate them from their colored brethren, may not, will not, must not, yield to the sword of the Spirit, to the Word of God, to the blessed weapons of truth and love.’

‘The American Colonization Society looks abroad over its own country, and it finds a mass of its brethren, whom God has been pleased to clothe with a darker skin. It finds one portion of these free; another enslaved!

It finds a cruel prejudice, as dark and false as sin can make it, reigning with a most tyrannous sway against both. It finds this prejudice respecting the *free*, declaring without a blush, ‘We are too wicked ever to love them as God commands us to do—we are so resolute in our wickedness as not even to desire to do so—and we are so proud in our iniquity that we will hate and revile whoever disturbs us in it—We want, like the devils of old, to be let alone in our sin—We are unalterably determined, and neither God nor man shall move us from this resolution, that our free colored fellow subjects never shall be happy in their native land.’ The American Colonization Society, I say, finds this most base and cruel prejudice, and *lets it alone*; nay more, it directly and powerfully supports it.

‘The American Colonization Society finds 2,000,000 of its fellow subjects most iniquitously enslaved—and it finds a resolution as proud and wicked as the very spirit of the pit can make it against obeying God and letting them go free in their native land. *It lets this perfectly infernal resolution alone*, nay more, it powerfully supports it; for it in fact says, as a fond and feeble father might say to some overgrown baby before whose obstinate wickedness he quailed, ‘Never mind, my dear, I don’t want to prevent your beating and abusing your brothers and sisters—let that be—but here is a box of sugar plums—do pray give them one or two now and then.’ The American Colonization Society says practically to the slaveholders and the slave party in the United States, ‘We don’t want to prevent your plundering 2,000,000 of our fellow subjects of their liberty and of the fruits of their toil; although we know that by every principle of law which does not utterly disgrace us by assimilating us to pirates, that they have as good and as true a right to the equal protection of the law as we have; and although we ourselves stand prepared to die, rather than submit even to a fragment of the intolerable load of oppression to which we are subjecting them—yet never mind—let that be—they have grown old in suffering, and we in iniquity—and we have nothing to do now but to speak *peace, peace*, to one another in our sins. But if any of their masters, whether from benevolence, an awakened conscience, or political or personal fear, should emancipate any, let us send them to Liberia—that is, in fact, let us give a sugar plum here and there to a few, while the many are living and dying unredressed—and while we are thus countenancing the atrocious iniquity beneath which they are perishing.’ In this aspect I find the American Colonization Society declaring itself a substitute for emancipation, and it is in this aspect that I contend with it, and that I proclaim it, *as far as it has this character*, no farther, a bane to the colored people, whether enslaved or free, and a snare and a disgrace to its country.’

## PRAYER FOR DELIVERANCE.

The heart of every good man, whose eye meets this petition, will unite in its spirit and desires. We find it at the close of an impressive sermon on 'The guilt of forbearing to deliver British Colonial Slaves,' by Daniel Wilson, M. A. Vicar of Islington.

'Do Thou be pleased, O God of mercy, to look upon us as a nation! Do Thou move the heart of the people as the heart of one man! Do Thou touch us with compunction! Do Thou permit us to repair this mighty injustice, before Thou smitest us for our refusal to do so! Do Thou permit and enable us to break the chains of bondage, ere Thou burst them in thine indignation! Do Thou assist us to rise above all difficulties and to resist all temptations to delay, and to set a pattern of justice at length to that world, which we have been injuring by our example of selfishness and cruelty! Do Thou enable us to make what compensation we can to the oppressed negro race, for the wrongs we have done them!

'Suffer us not to go on in our provocations of thy divine Majesty! Give us not over, as thou justly mightest, to hardness of heart. LET US NOT REFUSE, LIKE PHARAOH OF OLD, TO LET THE PEOPLE GO, till thy vengeance is uplifted against us, till thou sendest confusion into our councils, a blight upon all our prosperity, war in our borders, ruin in our national concerns, despair and death in our land!

'Let us yet,—O let us, by thy mercy, be still the people of Thy pasture! Let truth and righteousness abound among us! Let us set the captives free, and nobly trust to Thee in following the path of duty! Let Thy gospel yet flourish among us!

'Let our nation be still the glory of the reformed countries, the herald of liberty and peace and social order and religion, to the neighboring states; the messenger of grace to the Jew and Gentile; the dispenser of happiness and salvation to mankind! And then to thy name, thy mercy, thy long-suffering, thy power, thy grace, shall be the praise for ever and ever, through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

## ELOQUENT EXTRACT.

As a specimen of the doctrines which are advocated by the English abolitionists, and the manner in which they are received by the people, we present the following extract from a powerful speech delivered at Edinburgh, Oct. 19, 1830, by Andrew Thomson, D. D. Of a truth, it contains 'thoughts that breathe and words that burn.'

'I do not deny, Sir, notwithstanding what I have now said, that the evils of practical slavery may be lessened. By parliamentary enactments, by colonial arrangements, by appeals to the judgment and feelings of plant-

ers, and by various other means, a certain degree of melioration *may* be secured. But I say, in the *first* place, that, with all that you can accomplish, or reasonably expect of mitigation, you cannot alter the nature of slavery itself. With every improvement you have superinduced upon it, you have not made it less debasing, less cruel, less destructive in its essential character. The black man is still the *property* of the white man. And that one circumstance not only implies in it the transgression of inalienable right and everlasting justice, but is the fruitful and necessary source of numberless mischiefs, the very thought of which harrows up the soul, and the infliction of which no superintendence of any government can either prevent or control. Mitigate and keep down the evil as much as you can, still it is there in all its native virulence, and still it will do its malignant work in spite of you. The improvements you have made are merely superficial. You have not reached the seat and vital spring of the mischief. You have only concealed in some measure, and for a time, its inherent enormity. Its essence remains unchanged and untouched, and is ready to unfold itself whenever a convenient season arrives, notwithstanding all your precaution, and all your vigilance, in those manifold acts of injustice and inhumanity, which are its genuine and its invariable fruits. You may white-wash the sepulchre—you may put upon it every adornment that fancy can suggest,—you may cover it over with all the flowers and evergreens that the garden or the fields can furnish, so that it will appear beautiful outwardly unto men. But it is a sepulchre still,—full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness. (*Great cheering.*) Disguise slavery as you will,—put into the cup all the pleasing and palatable ingredients which you can discover in the wide range of nature and of art,—still it is a bitter, bitter, bitter draught, from which the understanding and the heart of every man, in whom nature works unsophisticated and unbiassed, recoils with unutterable aversion and abhorrence. (*Immense cheering.*) Why, Sir, slavery is the very Upas tree of the moral world, beneath whose pestiferous shade all intellect languishes, and all virtue dies. (*Reiterated cheering.*) And if you would get quit of the evil, you must go more thoroughly and effectually to work than you can ever do by any or by all of those palliatives, which are included under the term "mitigation." The foul sepulchre must be taken away. The cup of oppression must be dashed to pieces on the ground. The pestiferous tree must be cut down and eradicated; it must be, root and branch of it, cast into the consuming fire, and its ashes scattered to the four winds of heaven. (*Loud and long continued cheering.*) It is thus that you must deal with slavery. You must annihilate it,—annihilate it now,—and annihilate it for ever.'

**IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION. No. I.**

The idea of the immediate emancipation of the slaves is invariably associated, in the minds of many individuals, with rapine and slaughter. To a diseased imagination, it appears a monster, huge and infuriate, who, on breaking the chains that bind him, would rush through the land, crushing beneath his feet the bodies of men, women and children, and drinking their blood like water. Nothing can be more ridiculous. Were the proposition to liberate all the slaves, deprive them of all employment and instruction, persecute them with new rigor, and let them roam lawlessly about the country, surely these effects might naturally be supposed to follow its adoption. But it neither means nor implies any such thing; but simply that the slaves who are without the protection of law shall have that protection—that all property of man in man shall instantly cease—and that a fair recompense shall be given to the slaves as free laborers.

We propose to show, in a series of numbers, taken from a pamphlet recently published in England, facts proving the good conduct and prosperity of emancipated slaves, and the entire safety of immediately abolishing slavery in the United States.

‘Of the many persons who declare themselves averse to slavery and yet afraid to join in measures for its abolition, some perhaps have not paid much attention to the instances of emancipation that have already taken place. If any such will take the trouble to read the following account of the effects of emancipation as far as it has hitherto been tried, they will perhaps see that their fears on the subject are not justified by experience.

‘The History of Hayti when separated from the accidental circumstances attending it, furnishes irrefragable evidence of the safety and advantage of immediate emancipation. It is true that much blood was shed there during the French revolution; but this was not owing to the emancipation of the slaves, but was the consequence either of the \* civil war which preceded the act of emancipation; or of the atrocious attempt to restore slavery.

‘In September, 1793, Polvirel, one of the Commissioners sent to St. Domingo by the National Convention, issued a proclamation declaring the whole of the slaves in the island free. Colonel Malenfant, a slave proprietor, resident at the time in the island, thus describes the effects of this sudden measure.† “After this public act of emancipation, the Negroes remained quiet both in the south and in the west, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. There were estates which had neither owners nor managers resident upon them, yet upon these estates, though abandoned, the negroes continued their labors where there were any even inferior agents to guide them, and on those estates where no

white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to the planting of provisions; but upon all the plantations where the whites resided, the blacks continued to labor as quietly as before.” Colonel Malenfant says,\* that when many of his neighbors, proprietors or managers, were in prison, the negroes of their plantations came to him to beg him to direct them in their work. “If† you will take care not to talk to them of the restoration of slavery, but talk to them of freedom, you may with this word chain them down to their labor. How did Toussaint succeed?—How did I succeed before his time in the plain of the Culde-Sae on the plantation Gouraud, during more than eight months after liberty had been granted to the slaves? Let those who knew me at that time, let the blacks themselves, be asked: they will all reply that not a single negro upon that plantation, consisting of more than four hundred and fifty laborers, refused to work: and yet this plantation was thought to be under the worst discipline and the slaves the most idle of any in the plain. I inspired the same activity into three other plantations of which I had the management. If all the negroes had come from Africa within six months; if they had the love of independence that the Indians have, I should own that force must be employed; but ninety-nine out of a hundred of the blacks are aware that without labor they cannot procure the things that are necessary for them; that there is no other method of satisfying their wants and their tastes. They know that they must work, they wish to do so, and they will do so.”

‘Such was the conduct of the negroes for the first nine months after their liberation, or up to the middle of 1794. In the latter part of 1796, Malenfant says, “The colony was flourishing under Toussaint, the whites lived happily and in peace upon their estates, and the negroes continued to work for them.” General Lecroix who published his “Memoirs for a History of St. Domingo” in 1819, says that in 1797 the most wonderful progress had been made in agriculture. “The Colony,” says he, “marched as by enchantment towards its ancient splendor: cultivation prospered; every day produced perceptible proof of its progress.” General Vincent,‡ who was a general of brigade of artillery in St. Domingo and a proprietor of estates in the island, was sent by Toussaint to Paris in 1801 to lay before the Directory the new constitution which had been agreed upon in St. Domingo. He arrived in France just at the moment of the peace of Amiens, and found that Bonaparte was preparing an armament for the purpose of restoring slavery in St. Domingo. He remonstrated against the expedition; he stated that it was totally unnecessary and

\* See this point fully proved in Clarkson’s *Thoughts on the necessity of improving the Condition of the Slaves*, &c. pp. 19 to 29.—HATCHARD.

† *Memoire Historique et Politique des Colonies*, &c. p. 62.

\* *Memoire* p. 307.

† *Memoire* p. 125.

‡ Clarkson’s *Thoughts* p. 2.

therefore criminal, for that every thing was going on well in St. Domingo. The proprietors were in peaceable possession of their estates; cultivation was making rapid progress; the blacks were industrious and beyond example happy. He conjured him, therefore, not to reverse this beautiful state of things; but his efforts were ineffectual, and the expedition arrived upon the shores of St. Domingo. At length, however, the French were driven from the island. Till that time the planters had retained their property, and then it was, and not till then, that they lost their all. In 1804 Dessalines was proclaimed Emperor; in process of time a great part of the black troops were disbanded, and returned to cultivation again. From that time to this, there has been no want of subordination or industry among them.

'The following account of the character and condition of the negroes of Hayti, at a later period, is taken from "Sketches of Hayti" by Mr. Harvey, who during the latter part of the reign of Christophe spent a considerable time at Cape Francois, the capital of his dominions. "The cultivators who formed the great mass of the population, resided on or near the plantations on which they were appointed to labor. A great proportion of them were engaged in cultivating the estates of the king; if soldiers, they were fed and clothed at his expense; if regular cultivators, they received such a share of the produce as was fully adequate to yield them a competent maintenance. Others were in the employ of the nobles and officers, who received either stated wages or such a portion of the article they cultivated as was deemed a sufficient reward for their industry, were equally supplied with whatever could contribute to their comfort. And those who by their exertions and economy were enabled to procure small spots of land of their own or to hold the smaller plantations at an annual rent, were diligently engaged in cultivating coffee, sugar, and other articles, which they disposed of to the inhabitants of the adjacent towns and villages. It was an interesting sight to behold this class of the Haytians, now in possession of their freedom, coming in groups to the market nearest which they resided, bringing the produce of their industry for sale; and afterwards returning, carrying back the necessary articles of living which the disposal of their commodities had enabled them to purchase; all evidently cheerful and happy. Nor could it fail to occur to the mind that their present condition furnished the most satisfactory answer to that objection to the general emancipation of slaves, founded on their alleged unfitness to value and improve the benefits of liberty.

'Though of the same race and possessing the same general traits of character as the negroes of the other West India islands, they are already distinguished from them by habits

of industry and activity such as slaves are seldom known to exhibit. As they would not suffer, so they do not require, the attendance of one acting in the capacity of a driver with the instrument of punishment in his hand. As far as I had an opportunity of ascertaining from what fell under my own observation, and from what I gathered from other European residents, I am persuaded of one general fact which on account of its importance I shall state in the most explicit terms, viz.: that the Haytians employed in cultivating the plantations, as well as the rest of the population, perform as much work in a given time as they were accustomed to do during their subjection to the French. And if we may judge of their future improvement by the change which has been already effected, it may be reasonably anticipated that Hayti will ere long contain a population not inferior in their industry to that of any civilized nation in the world.

'While the interior of the island was in this improving state, and its inhabitants were peaceful and industrious, Cape Francois and other towns presented scenes of the utmost order and activity: the great majority of the inhabitants of Cape Francois consisted of trades-people and mechanics, the former of whom were supplied by the resident merchants with cloths, linens, silks and other manufactures, which they sold to the natives in small quantities. Their business was seldom so great as to enable them to amass fortunes, but it afforded them ample means of support. Towards strangers who entered their shops, whether for the purpose of making purchases or not, they were invariably and remarkably civil; a trait in the character of Christophe's subjects which I believe to have been universal. The mechanics, though many of them were deficient in skill from having been imperfectly instructed, were all enabled by their industry to gain a competent maintenance. On the whole, the scene which Cape Francois presented was as interesting as it was in many respects surprising. In few places of commerce could there be seen greater regularity in the despatch of business, greater diligence displayed by those engaged in it, or more evident marks of a prosperous state of things. Every man had some calling to occupy his attention; instances of idleness or intemperance were of rare occurrence, the most perfect subordination prevailed, and all appeared contented and happy. A foreigner would have found it difficult to persuade himself on his first entering the place, that the people he now beheld so submissive, industrious and contented, were the same people who a few years before had escaped from the shackles of slavery."

'A gentleman who had been for upwards of twenty years past a general merchant in Hayti, frequently crossing to Europe and America, gave the following account of the

condition of the Haytians to Captain Stuart at Belfast last winter. The present population he supposes consists of at least seven hundred thousand. He said that there was very universal happiness amongst them,—and that though their conduct was not unexceptionable, yet there was a less proportion of such crimes as disturb the public peace in Hayti, and less distress, than in any other country of his knowledge. That they obtained abundance by their own labor. There were no paupers except the decrepid and aged: that the people were very charitable, hospitable and kind, very respectful to Europeans, temperate, grateful, faithful, orderly and submissive, easily governable, lively and contented, good mechanics, and that no corporal punishments are allowed.

#### LETTERS FROM JAMES CROPPER.

In 1831, the American Colonization Society deputed an Agent to England, to secure the charities of her philanthropists for the promotion of its Utopian scheme. As the Friends in that country are numerous, affluent and influential, it was an artful stroke of policy, on the part of the Society, in selecting an individual for this agency belonging to this respectable body, named Elliott Cresson. For nearly two years he has been actively engaged in England, and has succeeded in obtaining a large amount of money. To those who are familiar with the sentiments of our transatlantic brethren on the subject of emancipation, it is well known that the Colonization Society deprecates the prevalence of those sentiments in this country as subversive of the public peace and safety; and that the principles of the Society, as promulgated among us, are held in abhorrence by the British abolitionists. How, then, shall we account for the success of Mr. Cresson? The reason is obvious—he has triumphed, it pains us to state, *by a bold deception!* Many of the statements which he has put forth in England, *are not true.* Take, for example, his monstrous fabrication, that the colony at Liberia consisted of *twenty-five thousand* SETTLERS, of whom *twenty-five hundred* were EMANCIPATED SLAVES! and that, for every £7,10, contributed to the Society, one slave would lose his fetters! He has represented the Colonization Society as aiming directly at the overthrow of slavery! Thus it is that he has found favor in the eyes of the noble-hearted abolitionists of England. Relying on his deceptive assurances, they have manifested a spirit of liberality worthy of those who hold no compromise with oppression.

In the fiftieth number of the *Liberator*, for December 15th, 1832, the following interesting and important Letters are published, from James Cropper, of Liverpool, one of the most distinguished Friends and Philanthropists in Great Britain. His opinions are entitled to great consideration, as expressed below.

BUXTON, 8 mo. 31, 1832.

William Lloyd Garrison:

*Esteemed Friend*—I have thy letter of the 7th May, which was highly acceptable. The state of my health, which required that I should abstain as much as possible from writing or thinking on deeply interesting subjects, has induced me to be chiefly from home for several months past, not only for the benefit of the Waters, but also a change of air, and also quiet, which I could not have had at home; and this thou wilt accept as my apology for not writing sooner.

I have been aware of thy unwearied efforts to promote the best interests of the African race, and feel much obliged by the proofs afforded in the writings sent to me, with which I agree in sentiment; and I trust the time is fast approaching, when the real friends of the Negro race will be undeceived, and see, in its naked deformity, that most abominable *attempt to perpetuate slavery*, under the title of the American Colonization Society. The real good done by an establishment of free civilized men on the coast of Africa, has deceived many real friends of humanity—whilst the real intention of the plan was concealed. But men must be shallow indeed, who can much longer be deceived by such a scheme as the sending of your whole black population to the coast of Africa. It is quite plain to every man of discernment, that to whatever extent the slave population might be reduced, it would render those who remained more valuable. Slave owners know that slavery can only exist where men are scarce; for it would be impossible, where they are as plentiful as in Ireland, to establish slavery, even if allowed by law. In our Colonies, this scarcity is kept up, by destroying their lives by cruelty and oppression. In yours, it is proposed to transport them. I trust thy writings will contribute to arouse, more and more, the energies of your free black population to a due sense of their interests and duties; for, assuredly, slavery cannot last in the United States, when their civilization and improvement are farther advanced. They feel an attachment to their native land, and I trust they will remain in it, in spite of the efforts of these enemies of the human race, and prove the best means of breaking asunder the chains of their brethren in slavery. But on this subject, I enclose an extract of a letter I have just written to Arnold Buffum.

All are coming round here to the simple and plain ground of IMMEDIATE ABOLITION. Go on, then, with your unwearied efforts, and your

will soon follow in our train ; which is the sincere and ardent wish of

Thy friend,

JAMES CROPPER.

For some time past, the Anti-Slavery Society have had Agents delivering Lectures in different parts of the country, preparatory to our next Election, and great success has attended them. The West Indians are employing an Agent to answer our Lecturer in Liverpool and Manchester. All this is doing good, by exciting an increased interest ; and when people can be brought to hear, truth and justice must gain ground.

J. C.

*Extract of a letter from James Cropper to Arnold Buffum.*

‘I did indeed feel it as a cordial to my heart to see a Society established within the United States, advocating the immediate and entire abolition of Slavery. I have for some time deeply lamented the chilling influence, on the minds even of the real friends of the Negro, of the American Colonization Society. An establishment on the coast of Africa of those blacks who really go there from their own free choice, is what every friend of humanity must approve, and must rejoice in its success. This has served as a lure, and many of the real friends of humanity have thereby been led into the support of a scheme the most *diabolical* that ever entered into the heart of man to devise ; but such delusions have but their day, and I rejoice in believing that *its frightful iniquity is becoming evident*, and that the friends of humanity will soon hasten to disavow all connexion with it. Happily, however, the weakness and folly of the shallow pretext, that it is to remove all the African race to the soil of their ancestors, and to give them freedom, cannot long deceive any one. I am of opinion it would cost more than £150,000,000 sterling to purchase and remove the whole black population, (even if done at once)—and if delayed while they increase, it would cost much more. But even if this were done, let it never be forgotten that if these cultivators of the soil were sent away, the land they cultivate would be entirely worthless, and this would not be less loss to the country than £100,000,000 more. Was ever such an act of national suicide before proposed ? The American people must remove from their minds the unchristian prejudices against the color of these their fellow men. *They must make them free at once*: let them then become their *tenants* and the independent cultivators of the soil, and I feel no question that the *land rents* from the Blacks will soon be *far greater than their revenues from the land and slaves together*. Then they may rest assured of the peace of their own homes, resting on the solid foundation of the happiness of their emancipated tenantry. In this country, the wickedness and folly of the sys-

tem of slavery are becoming more and more known and abhorred, and all seem to be rapidly coming round to advocate immediate abolition ; and I trust you will not be very long behind us.

‘The proposal of gradual abolition, which was but gradually returning to justice, had a chilling influence on our exertions, so that there was no difference but in degree between the most inveterate advocate of slavery and the gradual abolitionist, for all condemned slavery in the abstract. But now this delusion is gone, this partnership in crime has ended, and we are pursuing a direct, straight forward course.

‘My mind has been turned to writing an article against the schemes of the Colonization Society, and I should have done it before this (probably) if my health had permitted—but I rejoice in believing it will not be wanted. My zealous and devoted friend Capt. Stuart has published an excellent pamphlet, entitled ‘Remarks on the Colony of Liberia, and the American Colonization Society,’ which very ably exposes this scheme.’

#### LETTER TO THOMAS CLARKSON.

Boston, (New-England,) 12 mo. 20, 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

A deep sense of duty to the cause in which thou hast been so long, so ardently, and so successfully engaged, prompts me to address thee, in relation to thy letter of Dec. 1, 1831, addressed to Elliott Cresson, on the subject of the American Colonization Society. That letter has been published in a garbled form in the African Repository of last month. Those parts in which thou exprestest thy views of the designs of the Society, as represented to thee by one, who, it seems, is a fit Agent for a Society which can succeed only by stratagem and deception, are omitted, and the place supplied by editorial statements, calculated to produce the impression that thou approvest the wicked devices of that institution ; and thus thy name is used in support of a scheme for banishing three hundred thousand of the free citizens of the United States to Africa, who form the connecting link in the chain of human society in this country, between the free white citizens and the slaves, and serve as conductors to the minds of the slaves of the spirit of freedom and the principles of human rights.

In the first paragraph in thy letter, thou hast stated that the object of the society seems to be, ‘first, to assist in the emancipation of all the slaves now in the United States.’ Taking this view of the design of the Society, it is not surprising that thou shouldst so far approve its object as thou hast expressed in said letter. But if this was really its design, why did not the Secretary of the Colonization Society, when he published this letter, give thy views of it in thy own words ? Surely he

could find no language more appropriate or explicit; but this, it seems, would not answer his purpose—this would have shown what were the principles and measures which thou wouldst approve, which are widely different from the principles and measures of that Society of slaveholders. The Editor of the Repository has, therefore, substituted his own views of the Society's design, and then given such parts only of thy letter as suited his purpose, to lead the public mind into a belief that thou didst approve that design.

Omitting the first paragraph of thy letter, he has stated, in an editorial introduction, that thou dost 'consider the object of the Society two-fold; first, to promote the voluntary emigration to Africa of the colored population of the United States.' Why is this deceptive representation of a plan which thou wouldst approve, now published in the African Repository, almost a year after the date of thy letter? Is it not because the Editor has recently learned that the persecuting spirit of that institution, and its design and tendency to strengthen and perpetuate the slave system, have been detected by that noble band of Christian philanthropists, who, in your country, are engaged in pleading the cause of the oppressed? Had thy letter to E. Cresson been judged favorable to the cause of colonization, as understood and practised by the American Colonization Society, is it not reasonable to suppose that it would have been published entire in the Repository when it first made its appearance?

It is perfectly evident to any one who understands the true character of that Society, that thy letter gives no support to its principles and measures; but, on the contrary, that it breathes a spirit of Christian philanthropy in behalf of the suffering slave, which enters not into the designs of that institution. Besides, the Editor of the Repository was undoubtedly well aware that it would not do to publish, in this country, the other representations, which, it seems, had been made to thee, in order to procure thy name for the promotion of the unhallowed designs of the colonization scheme. Thy statement, therefore, of the representation, that for every £7,10, a slave would receive his freedom, and be colonized, is entirely omitted in the Repository—a representation, which, for unblushing audacity, has rarely been equalled by any man who had any regard for his own reputation, and which is sufficiently answered by a reference to the Constitution of the Society, which declares that 'the object to which its attention shall be exclusively directed shall be to promote a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in this country, on the coast of Africa, or at such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient.' And also by a reference to the fact, that with all their resources up to the last Annual Report,

only three hundred and eighty-eight persons, who had ever been slaves, had been emancipated and carried to Liberia; and it is believed that but a very small part of these were emancipated through the influence of the Colonization Society. It is no part of the plan of the Society to promote emancipations: on the contrary, 'they maintain that individual freedom and individual happiness are properly subordinate to the public good.' And again, 'that no slave ought to receive his freedom, except on condition of being excluded, not merely from the State which sets him loose, but from the country.' Again, 'they regard slavery as a legitimate system, which they have neither inclination, interest, nor ability to disturb.' The object of the Society is most clearly set forth in the speech of the Hon. Mr. Archer, of Virginia, as published in the last Annual Report, which, he says, 'is to provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment'—to prevent the depreciation in the value of the slaves, which must otherwise inevitably follow their disproportionate multiplication, being, in the slave states, double that of the whites. I feel the most perfect confidence that no man in England, and especially that none of those who have so nobly espoused the negro's cause, will give their names in support of such a scheme.

When, too, we look at the simple facts in relation to the progress of the colony in Liberia, our hearts sicken at the thought that good men have been deceived and led to contribute to the establishment of a colony there for supplying the natives with ardent spirits, and for making war with them on the slightest pretences, murdering the people, and burning their towns. We cannot see, in such measures, any ground for hope that the cause of civilization and christianity will be thereby promoted. Indeed, judging the future by the past, we see no reason why the colonists themselves are not as likely as any other people on the face of the earth to engage in the African slave trade. When they see the most prominent men in the Society which sent them thither making a business of buying and selling men, women and children in the United States, why should not they follow the example, and supply the ships which visit that coast for the purpose of obtaining slaves? Is it rational to suppose that a Society, which declares that it has no inclination to disturb a system under which one sixth part of the people of the American States are regarded as property; and as articles of commerce, are bought and sold like dumb beasts, and are deprived of every right and privilege which Heaven in mercy designed for the children of men, can have any desire from other than interested motives to suppress the African slave trade? It is not known that an individual member of the Colonization Society has ever

emancipated a single slave to go to the colony, although it is somewhat extraordinary that they have not done so for the sake of appearances.

My object, in making this communication, is, to obtain from thy hand a statement of thy views of the colonization scheme, not as presented by interested agents, but as exhibited in the authentic publications of the Society. I would particularly refer to the two last Reports of the Society, and to an article published in the North American Review for July, 1832—a copy of which I send with this letter to our dear friend James Cropper.

With the best wishes for the continuance of thy useful life, accompanied with the blessing of health, and that happiness which is the reward of a life devoted to the cause of justice and humanity, I have the pleasure to subscribe myself, thy friend, and I hope a humble coadjutor in the cause of emancipation.

ARNOLD BUFFUM.

### CENSUS OF THE COLORED POPULATION OF THE U. S.

	SLAVES.	FREE BLACKS.
Vermont,	0	881
Massachusetts,	0	7,045
New-Hampshire,	0	602
Maine,	0	1,171
Ohio,	0	9,657
New-York,	00	44,869
Indiana,	4	3,629
Rhode Island,	14	3,564
Michigan Territory,	32	261
Connecticut,	25	8,047
Illinois,	747	1,637
Pennsylvania,	403	37,930
New-Jersey,	2,254	18,303
Delaware,	3,292	15,855
Arkansas Territory,	4,576	141
District of Columbia,	6,119	6,152
Florida Territory,	15,501	844
Missouri,	25,091	569
Mississippi,	65,659	519
Maryland,	102,994	52,938
Louisiana,	109,588	16,710
Alabama,	117,549	1,572
Tennessee,	141,603	4,555
Kentucky,	165,213	4,917
Georgia,	217,531	2,486
North Carolina,	245,601	19,543
South Carolina,	315,401	7,921
Virginia,	469,757	47,348
	2,010,629	319,666

By the census of 1830, 4 slaves are reported in Massachusetts, 5 in New Hampshire, 6 in Maine, 6 in Ohio, and 76 in New York. But as no slaves were reported in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and Ohio, by the census of 1820, and it is admitted on all hands that slavery cannot legally exist in any one of these states, we have thought it would be a misrepresentation to report any slaves as existing in them. In New-York it is well known that slavery was totally abolished since the census of 1820,

therefore there can be no slave there now. The slaves reported in Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, are held contrary to the laws of the United States, and are therefore free.

### CENSUS OF 1830.

#### FREE WHITE PERSONS.

Males—under 5 years of age,	972,194
of 5 and under 10,	782,637
of 10 “ 15,	671,683
of 15 “ 20,	575,614
of 20 “ 30,	951,902
of 30 “ 40,	592,596
of 40 “ 50,	369,370
of 50 “ 60,	230,500
of 60 “ 70,	134,910
of 70 “ 80,	58,136
of 80 “ 90,	15,945
of 90 “ 100,	1,993
of 100 and upwards,	274—5,358,759
Females—under 5 years of age,	920,104
of 5 and under 10,	751,649
of 10 “ 15,	639,063
of 15 “ 20,	597,713
of 20 “ 30,	915,662
of 30 “ 40,	555,565
of 40 “ 50,	355,425
of 50 “ 60,	225,928
of 60 “ 70,	130,866
of 70 “ 80,	58,034
of 80 “ 90,	17,372
of 90 “ 100,	2,484
of 100 and upwards,	234—5,167,299

Total number of Free Whites . . . 10,526,058

#### SLAVES.

Males—under 10 years of age,	353,845
of 10 and under 24,	313,676
of 24 “ 36,	185,654
of 36 “ 55,	118,996
of 55 “ 100,	41,456
of 100 and upwards,	718—1,014,345
Females under 10 years,	347,566
of 10 and under 24,	308,793
of 24 “ 36,	186,082
of 36 “ 55,	111,753
of 55 “ 100,	41,422
of 100 and upwards,	668—996,284

Total number of Slaves . . . 2,010,629

#### FREE COLORED PERSONS.

Males—under 10 years,	48,737
of 10 and under 24,	43,126
of 24 “ 36,	27,629
of 36 “ 55,	22,262
of 55 “ 100,	11,375
of 100 and upwards,	266—153,495
Females under 10 years,	47,347
of 10 and under 24,	48,125
of 24 “ 36,	32,504
of 36 “ 55,	24,266
of 55 “ 100,	13,369
of 100 and upwards,	361—165,962

Total number of Free Colored Persons, 319,467  
Total aggregate of the United States, 12,856,154

### WHY AND BECAUSE,

#### APPLIED TO SOUTHERN SLAVERY.

The following little article is modified from a trans-atlantic publication :

Why is the condition of the Black population at the South so much brought under the view of the public at this time ?

Because this Black population, 2,000,000 in number, are equal in the eye of the Creator, and in the eye of the law, with the White population of our country.

Why is the condition of the Black population in the south worse than that of the laboring population in Europe?

Because the Black is a slave.

The White is a freeman.

The Black works without pay, and is often worked most when he is worst provided for.

The more the White is worked, the more he is paid.

The Black is driven at his work with the cart-whip.

The White can rest his limbs when he likes.

The Black at crop or harvest time is made to work not only all the day, but half the night also.

The White at harvest time works harder, and gets better paid.

The Black's master may flog him at pleasure, for a fault or no fault.

The White's master dare not raise his hand against him.

The Black may at any time be sold like an ox or an ass.

The White can sell his master as easily as his master can him.

The Black's child is the absolute property of his master, and may be torn from home for ever to pay his master's debts.

The White man's home can never be invaded.

Why are planters void of humanity towards their slaves, while towards White people they shew no want of courtesy?

Because they consider the Black as a *thing*, and not as a human being.—He came into their hands by violence and robbery; and being stowed on shipboard as goods, the planter still believes him to be such.

#### A FEW PLAIN QUESTIONS TO PLAIN MEN.

The following pithy questions, although propounded by the British abolitionists to the people of Great Britain, are worthy of consideration by the American people:

Can a slave marry without his owner's consent? If so, quote the law: *give chapter and verse*.

Can a slave prevent the sale of his wife if the owner pleases? If so, quote the law.

Can a slave prevent the sale of his own child, if his owner pleases? If so, quote the law.

Can a slave with impunity refuse to flog his wife, with her person all exposed, if his owner pleases to command him? If so, quote the law.

Can a slave obtain redress if his master deprives him of his goods? If so, quote the law.

Can a slave attend either public or private worship, without the risk of punishment, if his master forbids him? If so, quote the law.

These are plain questions, which every slave-owner knows can only be truly answered in one way.

When then any individual gets up to tell you how well the slaves are treated, or how happy under such circumstances slaves may be, tell him that he insults your understanding, that he outrages your republican feeling, and that he dishonors God.

A HUSBAND AND A FATHER.

#### EXPOSTULATORY LETTER TO GEO. WASHINGTON.

'The errors of great men,' says an eloquent writer, 'are doubly enormous: enormous as they contradict the tenor of their lives—and enormous by the force of example and the species of palliation which they afford to vulgar criminals, whose vices are unredeemed by one single virtue.'

Unhappily, these errors, owing to a criminal timidity or fear of plain dealing, are too often suffered to pass without rebuke; until they become almost sacred as virtues in the estimation of loose moralists, and so are included among the privileges of human action. He who imitates the prophet Nathan, in his faithful conduct towards the erring David, and tells the great transgressor of his crimes, subjects himself to the charge of impudence, malice, or slander. Nevertheless, 'faithful are the wounds of a friend, but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful.'

The following Letter was written in 1796, by an eminent philanthropist in Liverpool. Although it was silently returned, may we not hope that its pungent truths (associated, however, with the most liberal concessions) sunk too deeply into the heart of the 'Father of his Country' to be eradicated, and induced him, on his decease three years afterwards, to manumit nearly all his slaves?

In July last, the following Letter was transmitted to the person to whom it was addressed, and a few weeks ago it was returned under cover without a syllable in reply. As children that are crammed with confectionary, have no relish for plain food; so men in power, who are seldom addressed but in the sweet tones of adulation, are apt to be disgusted with the plain and salutary language of truth. To offend was not the intention of the writer; yet the President has evidently been irritated: this, however, is not a bad symptom—for irritation, causelessly excited, will fre-

quently subside into shame; and to use the language of the moralist, 'Where there is yet shame, there may in time be virtue.'

*Liverpool, February 20, 1797.*

#### LETTER TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

It will generally be admitted, Sir, and perhaps with justice, that the great family of mankind were never more benefitted by the military abilities of any individual, than by those which you displayed during the memorable American contest. Your country was injured, your services were called for, you immediately arose, and after performing the most conspicuous part in that blood-stained tragedy, you again became a private citizen, and unambitiously retired to your farm. There was more of true greatness in this procedure than the modern world, at least, had ever beheld; and while public virtue is venerated by your countrymen, a conduct so exalted will not be forgotten. The effects which your revolution will have upon the world are incalculable. By the flame which you have kindled, every oppressed nation will be enabled to perceive its fetters; and when man once knows that he is enslaved, the business of emancipation is half performed. France has already burst her shackles, neighboring nations will in time prepare, and another half century may behold the present besotted Europe without a Peer, without a Hierarchy, and without a Despot. If men were enlightened, revolutions would be bloodless; but how are men to be enlightened, when it is the interest of governors to keep the governed in ignorance? 'To enlighten men,' says your old correspondent, Arthur Young, 'is to make them bad subjects.' Hurricanes spread devastation; yet hurricanes are not only transient, but give salubrity to the torrid regions, and are quickly followed by azure skies and calm sunshine. Revolutions, too, for a time, may produce turbulence; yet revolutions clear the political atmosphere, and contribute greatly to the comfort and happiness of the human race. What you yourself have lived to witness in the United States, is sufficient to elucidate my position. In your rides along the banks of your favorite Potomac, in your frequent excursions through your own extensive grounds, how gratifying must be your sensations on beholding the animated scenery around you, and how pleasurable must be your feelings, on reflecting that your country is now an asylum for mankind: that her commerce, her agriculture, and her population, are greater than at any former period: and that this prosperity is the natural result of those rights which you defended against an abandoned cabinet, with all that ability which men, who unsheathe the sword in the cause of human nature, will, I trust, ever display. Where Liberty is, there man walks erect, and puts forth all his powers; while Slavery, like a torpedo, benumbs the finest energies of the

soul. But it is not to the Commander in Chief of the American forces, nor to the President of the United States, that I have aught to address; my business is with George Washington, of Mount Vernon, in Virginia, a man who, notwithstanding his hatred of oppression and his ardent love of liberty, holds at this moment *hundreds* of his fellow beings in a state of abject bondage. Yes, you, who conquered under the banners of freedom—you, who are now the first magistrate of a free people, are (strange to relate) a slaveholder. That a Liverpool merchant should endeavor to enrich himself by such a business, is not a matter of surprise; but that you, an enlightened character, strongly enamored of your own freedom—you, who, if the British forces had succeeded in the Eastern States, would have retired, with a few congenial spirits, to the rude fastnesses of the Western wilderness, there to have enjoyed that blessing, without which a Paradise would be disgusting, and with which the most savage region is not without its charms; that you, I say, should continue a slaveholder, a proprietor of human flesh and blood, creates in many of your British friends both astonishment and regret. You are a republican, an advocate for the dissemination of knowledge, and for universal justice:—where then are the arguments by which this shameless dereliction of principle can be supported? Your friend Jefferson has endeavored to show that the negroes are an inferior order of beings; but surely you will not have recourse to such a subterfuge. Your slaves, it may be urged, are well treated. That I deny—man can never be well treated who is deprived of his rights. They are well clothed, well lodged, &c. Feed me with ambrosia, and wash it down with nectar; yet what are these, if Liberty be wanting? You took up arms in defence of the rights of man. Your negroes are men:—where then are the rights of your negroes? They have been inured to slavery, and are not fit for freedom. Thus it was said of the French; but where is the man of unbiassed common sense, who will assert that the French republicans of the present day are not fit for freedom? It has been said too by your apologists, that your feelings are inimical to slavery, that you are induced to acquiesce in it at present, merely from motives of policy. The only true policy is justice; and he who regards the consequences of an act, rather than the justice of it, gives no very exalted proof of the greatness of his character. But if your feelings be actually repugnant to slavery, then are you more culpable than the callous-hearted planter, who laughs at what he calls the pitiful whining of the abolitionists, because he believes slavery to be justifiable: while you persevere in a system which your conscience tells you to be wrong. If we call the man obdurate, who cannot perceive the atrociousness of slavery,

what epithets does he deserve, who, while he does perceive its atrociousness, continues to be a proprietor of slaves? Nor is it likely that your own unfortunate negroes are the only sufferers by your adhering to this nefarious business; consider the force of an example like yours, consider how many of the sable race may now be pining in bondage, merely, forsooth, because the President of the United States, who has the character of a wise and good man, does not see cause to discontinue the long established practice. Of all the slaveholders under heaven, those of the United States appear to me the most reprehensible; for man is never so truly odious as when he inflicts upon others that which he himself abominates.

When the cup of Slavery was presented to your countrymen, they rejected it with disdain, and appealed to the world in justification of their conduct; yet such is the inconsistency of man, that thousands upon thousands of those very people, with yourself amongst the number, are now sedulously employed in holding the self-same bitter draught to the lips of their sable brethren. From men who are strongly attached to their own rights, and who have suffered much in their defence, one might have expected a scrupulous attention to the rights of others; did not experience show, that when we ourselves are oppressed, we perceive it with a lynx's eye; but when we become the oppressors, no noon-tide bats are blinder. Prosperity perhaps may make nations as well as individuals forget the distresses of other times; yet surely the citizens of America cannot so soon have forgotten the variety and extent of their own sufferings. When your country lay bruised by the iron hand of despotism, and you were compelled to retreat through the Jerseys with a handful of half naked followers,—when the bayonet of the mercenary glistened at your back, and Liberty seemed about to expire,—when your farms were laid waste, your towns reduced to ashes, and your plains and woods were strewn with the mangled bodies of your brave defenders; when these events were taking place, every breast could feel, and every tongue could execrate the sanguinary proceedings of Britain; yet what the British were at that period, you are in a great degree at this—you are boastful of your own rights—you are violators of the rights of others, and you are stimulated by an insatiable rapacity, to a cruel and relentless oppression. If the wrongs which you now inflict be not so severe as those which were inflicted upon you, it is not because you are less inhuman than the British, but because the unhappy objects of your tyranny have not the power of resistance. In defending your own liberties, you undoubtedly suffered much; yet if your negroes, emulating the spirited example of their masters, were to throw off the galling yoke, and, retiring peaceably to some uninhabited

part of the western region, were to resolve on Liberty or Death, what would be the conduct of southern planters on such an occasion? Nay, what would be your conduct? You who were 'born in a land of liberty,' who 'early learned its value,' you, who 'engaged in a perilous conflict to defend it,' you who, 'in a word, devoted the best years of your life to secure its permanent establishment in your own country, and whose anxious recollections, whose sympathetic feelings, and whose best wishes are irresistibly excited whensoever in any country, you see an oppressed nation unfurl the banners of freedom,'\* possessed of these energetic sentiments, what would be your conduct? Would you have the virtue to applaud so just and animating a movement as a revolt of your southern negroes? No! I fear both you and your countrymen would rather imitate the cold blooded British Cabinet, and to gratify your own sordid views, would scatter among an unoffending people, terror, desolation, and death. Harsh as this conclusion may appear, it is warranted by your present practice; for the man who can boast of his own rights, yet hold two or three hundred of his fellow beings in slavery, would not hesitate, in case of a revolt, to employ the most sanguinary means in his power, rather than forego that which the *truly* republican laws of his country are *pleased* to call his property. Shame! shame! that man should be deemed the property of man, or that the name of Washington should be found among the list of such proprietors. Should these strictures be deemed severe or unmerited on your part, how comes it, that while in the northern and middle states, the exertions of the virtuous Quakers, and other philanthropists, have produced such regulations as must speedily eradicate every trace of slavery in that quarter; how comes it, that from you these humane efforts have never received the least countenance? If your mind have not sufficient firmness to do away that which is wrong the moment you perceive it to be such, one might have expected that a plan for ameliorating the evil would have met with your warmest support; but no such thing. The just example of a majority of the States has had no visible effect upon you; and as to the men of Maryland, of Virginia, of the two Carolinas, of Georgia, and of Kentucky, they smile contemptuously at the idea of negro emancipation, and, with the State Constitutions in one hand, and the cow-skin in the other, exhibit to the world such a spectacle, as every real friend to Liberty must from his soul abominate.

'Then what is man, and what man seeing this,  
And having human feelings, does not blush  
And hang his head to think himself a man?'

\* See the answer of the President of the United States to the address of the Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, on presenting the colors of France to the United States.

Man does not readily perceive defects in what he has been accustomed to venerate; hence it is that you have escaped those animadversions which your slave proprietorship has so long merited. For seven years you bravely fought the battles of your country, and contributed greatly to the establishment of her liberties; yet you are a slaveholder! You have been raised by your fellow-citizens to one of the most exalted situations upon earth, the first magistrate of a free people; yet you are a slaveholder! A majority of your countrymen have recently discovered that slavery is injustice, and are gradually abolishing the wrong; yet you continue to be a slaveholder!—You are a firm believer, too, and your letters and speeches are replete with pious reflections on the Divine Being, Providence, &c.; yet you are a slaveholder! Oh! Washington, 'ages to come will read with astonishment' that the man who was foremost to wrench the rights of America from the tyrannical grasp of Britain, was among the last to relinquish his own oppressive hold of poor and unoffending negroes.

In the name of justice, what can induce you to tarnish your own well earned celebrity, and to impair the fair features of American liberty with so foul and indelible a blot? Avarice is said to be the vice of age. Your slaves, old and young, male and female, father, mother and child, might, in the estimation of a Virginia planter, be worth from fifteen to twenty thousand pounds. Now, Sir, are you sure that the unwillingness which you have shewn to liberate your negroes, does not proceed from some lurking pecuniary considerations? If this be the case, and there are those who firmly believe it is, then there is no flesh left in your heart; and present reputation, future fame, and all that is estimable among the virtuous, are, for a few thousand pieces of paltry yellow dirt, irremediably renounced.

EDWARD RUSHTON.

## SLAVERY A VIOLATION OF ALL THE COMMANDMENTS.

A more simple or affecting illustration of the moral turpitude of slavery, by its violation of all the Commandments, than is contained in the following '*Soliloquy*,' cannot be drawn. We extract it from Saunder's News-Letter of Oct. 30, 1832, printed at Dublin. Reader, art thou indeed a Christian, and canst thou apologize for a system like this, or believe that its instant and utter abolition would be injurious to the masters or to the slaves? If so, listen to

### A NEGRO'S SOLILOQUY ON THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

What dis? good preacher-man gave me dis,—told me learn it; massa no ever shew it

me: good buckra-man say it God's words. What be dese Ten Commandments? who God speak 'em to? perhaps only to white man. Bad white man no mind what God say; perhaps God speak 'em to poor black man; me spell 'em—me no able read well.

'I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt.'

Where Egypt? me stolen from Africa,—perhaps that;—oh no! white man do that—not God. Me now remember, good preacher one time say, Jews slaves in Egypt;—good God did bring 'em out;—me suppose white man den master in Egypt;—Jews like poor black man;—me slave here—me in Egypt. Oh, Lord my God, bring me out! Me den obey God.

I. 'Thou shalt have none other gods, but me.'

What that mean? Oh, Lord my God, how glad poor negro be, he had no other God before thee; but his massa no let him have you;—his massa make him work all day, den no let teacher come at night to teach him—what can poor negro do? massa no let him go. Where shall poor negro find him's God?—What can it mean? my massa make me too much 'fraid; he tell me negro must 'bey him first;—den he same like first God to me. But God tell me, I must 'bey him first. What sal I do? God very good: perhaps He forgive poor negro, if him obey his massa first; massa no forgive me, if I 'bey God first. Oh, Lord my God, forgive me, I not first obey you: me too much afraid my massa; my massa no forgive me, like you. Oh, Lord God, how good dat be for poor negro, when he have no oder God before dee.

II. 'Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing, that is in Heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them; for I, the Lord thy God, am a jealous God, and visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and shew mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments.'

Me no understand how dat;—in my own country my priests make many Gods, some stone, some wood, some gold; like men, like beast, like fish; my king worship all; he kind to me; my priest kind to me too,—me happy there;—black man live long there, with old grandfather;—they no beat me,—they let me work for myself;—here, white man say, but one God, and he no see him, and he good God;—but white massa no love him;—white massa no love me;—yet massa merry, massa rich, massa happy;—me sad,—my child sad;—black man always slave,—black child always slave;—why dat? perhaps no God!—But good preacher man say, dere is one God in Heaven;—he good man,—he love me,—he speak truth;—me believe him;—God speak, me believe him most.

III. 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless, that taketh His name in vain.'

How can me learn dat?—my massa swear,—my driver swear,—my mississ swear;—all round me swear;—Suppose I no swear, dey all curse me.—Oh my Lord, tell my massa, not swear so;—tell my mississ not be so angry;—tell my driver not lick poor negro so much;—den me can stop swear;—Oh Lord, forgive poor negro,—how can he stop swear? dey all swear and curse poor negro so.

IV. 'Remember, that thou keep holy the Sabbath day; six days shalt thou labor, and do all that thou hast to do; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God,—in it thou shalt do no manner of work; thou and thy son and thy daughter; thy man-servant and thy maid-servant; thy cattle; and the stranger, that is within thy gates; for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day, wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day and hallowed it.'

Oh massa God! when will dey let me keep holy de Sabbath day?—But no rest for poor negro,—all six days long him mus work for his massa;—seven day him mus work for himself, or him's wife and him's pickaninny must starve wid him; massa no keep Sabbath day holy;—massa go shoot;—massa go sleep,—massa no go worship;—driver angry,—driver flog;—oh Lord my God, tell my massa give poor negro time, oder day, work for himself; so him can rest on Sabbath day;—tell massa, not let driver flog poor negro so, make him work on dy holy day.

V. 'Honor thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long in the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee.'

Who dey be? where negro's fader an moder? how can him honor dem?—suppose him see driver flog his fader, what can he do?—suppose him see driver throw down his moder, flog her, lick her;—she cry—she bleed;—negro say one word,—he too be throw down;—driver curse him—driver lick him;—he go tell massa;—massa lick him 'gain;—he go tell magistrate; magistrate call him 'black rascal';—send him to work-house,—order him be flog;—then send back to his massa;—his massa flog him;—send him to driver;—driver flog him;—put him in stocks,—drive him,—lick him,—may be kill him;—What for? 'cause negro tell him, not make his poor moder bleed so:—Oh Lord, tell his massa, let poor negro alone, to honor his fader and moder;—Oh Lord my God, what land gave thou me? gave all land to massa;—he live long,—me die soon.

VI. 'Thou shalt do no murder.'

De good buckra man tell me,—Angry in heart, dat same like murder;—de bad buckra man, he make me angry all de day;—Oh what sal I do? me believe good buckra man; den me know, great God angry wid me;—dat very bad; me no believe him, den me like kill de bad buckra man:—he flog him so,—he so angry,—he take him wife—him child;—he no hear,—me say one word, he mad; den no

body can help de poor negro: his massa same like devil to him;—nobody can come between 'em;—his massa do just what he like;—King forget poor negro—buckra man in England no can help him;—good misslunary man, no can help him;—all white men murder him.—Oh Lord God, tell 'em no treat poor negro so bad,—den he not so angry in his heart,—den he no more can do so much murder.—Oh help de good buckra man, come soon help him.

VII. 'Thou shalt not commit adultery.'

How can me help dat? They no let me marry in church;—me marry in house; sometimes de wicked buckra massa, more time driver take away my wife; take away my child;—den me ready to kill 'em;—that same like murder;—what good for me to marry?—suppose I get preacher marry me; den I commit more murder, in my heart; den God more angry wid me;—Oh Lord God, tell him massa not take away negro's wife—not take away negro's child,—no let oders take 'em away,—not sell 'em,—not separate 'em from me;—not flog 'em—let 'em stay home take care of negro's pickaninny;—den negro can have one wife,—den negro can no commit adultery.—Oh den, negro work too much for such kind massa.

VIII. 'Thou shalt not steal.'

Lord my God! dey steal me,—dey no let me go;—they starve me,—I no get 'nough eat;—my wife cry,—my pickaninny hungry,—I look 'bout;—no bread—no yam;—no nothing; me go out,—me most mad,—me 'fraid;—den my poor little pickaninny cry 'gain;—den me no more tink 'bout any thing;—only go get something for my child eat;—how can me help dat? Me must steal:—tell my massa let me go;—tell my massa pay me fair;—tell my massa no steal no more, my time, my sweat, my work, my wages;—den me no more steal his cane;—den me get cane my own;—den me give massa some my cane, not leave him starve, not come steal it.

IX. 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.'

O Lord my God, dey bear false witness 'gainst me;—they say I slave;—God say, I no slave;—I MAN;—they say I steal from them,—but dey steal great deal more from me, and no shamed;—they say king must pay them, if king make us free;—but what for king must pay them? King must pay me:—we no owe massa any thing, massa owe us too much; massa no buy us, do us good; massa no buy us, do King good; massa buy us, same like buy pig, do himself good;—so long we work for massa, he eat all our work;—he drink our sweat;—he shed our blood;—he bear too much false witness against us:—how glad we be, if massa at last tell truth about poor negro, and say same about him, as God say, he MAN;—and same as good buckra man says, he have right be free, same any oder Englishman.

X. 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house ;—  
thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife ;—nor his serv-  
vant ; nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his ass ;—nor any  
thing that is his.'

My massa got Bible ;—what make him  
covet my little hut,—my wife,—my child ;—  
perhaps he no read ;—Oh how much he  
covet poor negro ;—he covet negro's body ;  
—suppose poor negro got soul, he covet  
negro's soul too ;—he covet negro's time,—  
he no give negro rest ;—he no give negro  
no time learn read Bible ;—he not care  
'bout read Bible himself ; so he tink perhaps  
me not care too :—he covet negro's work ; he  
no let negro work for himself,—for his wife,  
for his little pickaninny ;—he covet negro  
wages ;—he take all negro's money 'way, an  
call it his own ;—Oh he be great thief, how he  
steal from poor negro ;—he all covet ; then  
suppose poor negro too hungry ;—suppose  
him wife, him child, too hungry ;—he take bit  
sugar cane, suck, give his child to suck—carry  
to his wife say, here, see little bit sugar cane,  
you suck that ; then you not be so hungry no  
more ; massa find out ; he call negro thief ;  
that is lie ; massa thief ; massa great thief ;  
massa covet all negro got ; massa steal all ne-  
gro got ; massa no let negro get any thing ;  
then call poor negro thief ; dat too bad !—Oh  
Lord, tell de buckra man not covet negro so  
much, not covet negro's wife ; negro's child ;  
negro's time ; negro's work ; negro's wages ;  
negro's soul ; negro's all ;—so den negro can  
learn too, not covet ; den negro can learn love  
buckra man ; negro now love de good buckra  
man cry for him, 'cause he no can help poor negro.  
Oh Lord, bless de good buckra man ; forgive  
the bad buckra man ! Oh Lord, turn his  
heart ; tell him not covet, not steal, not 'buse  
poor negro so. Oh Lord, help poor negro  
himself not covet.

Amen ! amen ! so may it be, and soon ! oh  
Lord !

[For the Abolitionist.]

#### THE SONG OF THE ANGELS.

Hark ! the glad news the angels bring,  
And to the listening shepherds sing :  
'Peace on earth to man be given,'  
And earth repeats the sound to heaven.

Scarce had the angels reached the sky,  
When earth was heard to heave a sigh ;  
O'er Afric's sons a chain is cast,  
And man now binds his brother fast.

The sun for years through heaven has shone,  
And still poor Afric's left to groan ;  
While all things else in earth and sea,  
That feel his warmth, are bright and free.

To heaven, poor slave, address thy prayer,  
And it shall find acceptance there ;  
For thou hast surely said, oh God,  
That thou wilt break th' oppressor's rod.

Welcome the hour when war shall cease,  
And man with man shall live in peace,  
Then Ethiop's sons shall be restor'd,  
And live the freemen of the Lord.

Then shall arrive that blessed time,  
When all who dwell in Afric's clime,  
Shall hear with joy those happy strains,  
The angels sung on Bethlehem's plains.

J.

[From the Liberator.]

#### THE CHILD'S EVENING HYMN.

Father, while the daylight dies,  
Hear our grateful voices rise !  
For the blessings that we share,  
For thy kindness and thy care,  
For the joy that fills our breast,  
And the love that makes us blest,

We thank thee, Father !

For an earthly father's arm,  
Shielding us from wrong and harm ;  
For a mother's watchful cares,  
Mingled with her many prayers ;  
For the happy kindred band,  
Midst whose peaceful links we stand,—  
We thank thee, Father !

Yet, while 'neath the evening skies,  
Thus we bid our thanks arise,  
Father ! still we think of those,  
Who are bowed with many woes ;  
Whom no earthly parent's arm  
Can protect from wrong and harm,—  
The poor slaves, Father !

Ah ! while we are richly blest,  
They are wretched and distrest !  
Outcasts in their native land,  
Crush'd beneath oppression's hand,  
Scarcely knowing even thee,  
Mighty Lord of earth and sea !  
Oh save them, Father !

Touch the flinty hearts that long  
Have remorseless done them wrong ;  
Ope the eyes that long have been  
Blinded to each guilty scene ;  
That the slave—a slave no more—  
Grateful thanks to thee may pour,  
And bless thee, Father !

[From the Genius of Universal Emancipation.]

#### THE SLAVE'S APPEAL.

Christian mother, when thy prayer  
Trembles on the twilight air,  
And thou askest God to keep,  
In their waking and their sleep,  
Those whose love is more to thee  
Than the wealth of land or sea,  
Think of those who wildly mourn  
For the loved ones from their torn !

Christian daughter, sister, wife !  
Ye who wear a guarded life—  
Ye whose bliss hangs not, like mine,  
On a tyrant's word or sign,  
Will ye hear, with careless eye,  
Of the wild despairing cry,  
Rising up from human hearts,  
As their latest bliss departs ?

Blest ones ! whom no hands on earth,  
Dare to wrench from home and hearth,  
Ye whose hearts are sheltered well  
By affection's holy spell,  
Oh forget not those, for whom  
Life is nought but changeless gloom,  
O'er whose days of cheerless sorrow,  
Hope may paint no brighter morrow !

AGNES.

# THE ABOLITIONIST.

VOL. I.]

FEBRUARY, 1833.

[NO. II.

## ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of this Society was held at Boylston Hall, in Boston, on Wednesday evening, January. ninth. A numerous audience was assembled.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Tyler Thacher.

Mr. Buffum, President of the Society, made a few remarks, in which he stated the plans and objects of the Society.

Delegates from auxiliary societies having been requested to present their credentials, Mr. David T. Kimball, of the Andover Theological Seminary, produced a certificate of his being a delegate from the Andover Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society, which was read by the President.

Mr. Garrison, the Corresponding Secretary, then read the Annual Report of the Managers. This paper explained at some length the objects of the Society, and vindicated its principles from the unjust reproaches which have been often heaped upon them. It strenuously supported immediate abolition, by showing the true nature of the measure, and its safety and necessity. After exposing the principles of the Colonization Society, and adverting to some other topics, the Report set forth the measures which the Society had adopted, and the gratifying success which had so far attended its exertions. We have given but a brief outline of this paper, as it will be published in a separate form.

Mr. Robert B. Hall then moved the acceptance of the Report, and supported his motion in a short address, in which he congratulated the Society upon the encouraging prospects before them.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Oliver Johnson, and passed.

Samuel E. Sewall, Esq. then proposed the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That slavery and the traffic in slaves in the District of Columbia, ought to be abolished by the government of the United States; and that every citizen of every State in which slavery is not tolerated, is

bound to use the same exertions to put an end to it in that District, which he would be if it existed in his own State.

Mr. Sewall spoke for a few minutes in support of his resolution. He adverted to the history of the District of Columbia, the cession of its two parts to the United States by Maryland and Virginia, for a seat of government, by means of which it became subject to the exclusive legislation of Congress. He alluded to the wretched system of slave laws which prevailed in the District, showed how negligent Congress had been of the rights of slaves and other persons of color there; and stated that this District had become one of the greatest slave markets in the country—that slaves were brought into it from the neighboring States, chained in droves, then confined in the public or private jails, and finally shipped to the Southern ports. He pointed out some of the cruel injuries to which free people of color were subjected, by being kidnapped and sold for slaves, in consequence of the toleration of the slave trade in the District; and concluded by exhorting the audience to exert themselves to put an end to the atrocious system, tolerated by the American nation at the seat of its government.

The Rev. E. M. P. Wells seconded the motion, and supported it by appropriate remarks. He mentioned the general ignorance which prevailed in this community of the state of things which existed in the District of Columbia. Many people, he said, among us were not aware that slavery and the slave trade were thus directly countenanced and supported by the American government and people. He afterwards spoke of the criminality of slavery, and laid down the following propositions:

1. Slavery is inconsistent with Christianity.—
2. It is inconsistent with humanity.—
3. It is inconsistent with the principles of a republican government: each of which propositions he sustained by arguments.

David L. Child, Esq. next addressed the meeting, in support of the resolution. He

bore testimony to the truth of the statements of the mover of the resolution. He then pointed out how completely the slave in this country is unprotected by law from injury and oppression. He related some atrocious acts in illustration of his position.

The resolution then passed unanimously.

W. J. Snelling, Esq. then spoke for a few minutes, and related an anecdote which illustrated very strikingly the remark of the last speaker, that slaves in this country were not in any degree protected by the law.

After a collection had been taken for the benefit of the funds of the Society, the meeting adjourned, to meet again on Wednesday evening, Jan. 16th.

JANUARY 16. The Society met, pursuant to the adjournment. The spacious hall was crowded with a highly respectable assemblage, among which were a large number of members of the Legislature, from various parts of the Commonwealth. The meeting was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Tyler Thacher. Extracts of Letters from Rev. Samuel J. May, of Brooklyn, Conn., Gen. Samuel Fessenden, of Portland, Me., Arthur Tappan, Esq. of New York, and Mr. Theodore D. Weld of Hartford, Conn., were then read—as follows :

BROOKLYN, Dec. 17.

My Dear Friend :

Yours of the 4th is before me. I rejoice once more to have, under your own hand, an assurance of your health, success, untiring devotion to the cause you have espoused, and though last not least, your kind regards for myself. Though I have written but little on the subject of slavery, I have talked much about it in the Lyceum, in stage coaches, in social circles—and in my public prayers, in the house of God, his oppressed children are never forgotten. My heart is with you—and I am not afraid any where to avow that my sentiments are in accordance with those of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

If possible, I shall be with you at the Anniversary—and if I come, I shall beg leave to bring forward and advocate this Resolution :

‘The principles of the Anti-Slavery Society do not infringe the rights of any of our fellow citizens, nor endanger the peace and happiness of our country.’

But my engagements here are so numerous and pressing, that I fear I shall not be allowed to lend you the little assistance in my power on that occasion. The cause of liberty is most dear to my heart—liberty of body and of mind. I would have my fellow beings, from the highest to the lowest, fear nothing but to do wrong; and I would have them fear this more than death. \* \* \* \*

Yours, affectionately,

SAMUEL J. MAY.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *Cor. Sec.*

—  
PORTLAND, Dec. 14, 1832.

Dear Sir :

Your favor under date of the 30th of Nov. was regularly received, since which I have been casting a-

bout to see if it would be practicable for me to be present at the Annual Meeting of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, and to contribute my mite in a cause which I deem one of the holiest and most important in which mortal man ever engaged.

I lament that my domestic concerns are of such a nature as to preclude me from complying with your request. It is not necessary to enter on their detail; but I assure you they are such as you would deem sufficient to excuse me even in *this cause*. I assure you, however, that I am with you in heart and soul, and to the full extent of all your views. What I can do, shall be done; and I have the pleasure of saying to you that the great cause in which you are engaged is rapidly gaining converts here; and I trust before the Spring opens, that we shall do something that will encourage your heart.

\* \* \* \*  
I received through the Post Office the other day, a paper from Mississippi, containing the new Constitution of that State. The object of the person who sent it no doubt was to let me see that document. I find that by the Constitution, the Legislature is prohibited passing any law for the emancipation of the slaves without the consent of the owner!! This must tie up the hands of that people until there shall be an alteration of their Constitution. Thus we see how they intend to perpetuate this curse. In the same paper are thirteen advertisements of colored men arrested and committed to gaol on suspicion of being runaway negroes. These persons are minutely described, and in nine of the thirteen cases it is stated they are deeply marked on various parts of the body, with *scars* the effect of the lash!! This is the humanity with which slaves are treated in the slave States, of which such boast is made by slaveholders.

How long, oh Lord! how long shall thy vengeance sleep? When shall thy soul be avenged on such a nation as this?

Most truly your friend and servant,

SAMUEL FESSENDEN.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *Cor. Sec.*

—  
NEW-YORK, Dec. 7, 1832.

Dear Sir:

I have your esteemed favor of the 30th ult. requesting, in behalf of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, that I would attend the annual meeting of the Society in Boston, on the 2d Wednesday of January, and deliver an address. If I thought it would promote the cause, I should cheerfully comply with the invitation; but though I *feel* the subject deeply, and *will* express my feelings in a different, and perhaps not less emphatic way than the one you suggest,—I am yet obliged to decline public speaking on the subject.

With esteem, your friend,

ARTHUR TAPPAN.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *Cor. Sec.*

—  
HARTFORD, Jan. 1, 1833.

Dear Sir:

I have this moment received your letter of the 31st Dec. containing the kind invitation of your Board of Managers, which I am forced by circumstances respectfully to decline.

Though it has been my misfortune never to have come in contact with the published views, arguments, &c. of the Anti-Slavery Society, its *expressive name is dear to my soul*. From that I infer that the Society is based upon that great fundamental law of human right, that *nothing but crime can forfeit liberty*—that no condition of birth, no shade of color, no mere misfortune of circumstances, can annul that birthright charter which God has bequeathed to every being upon whom he has stamped his own image, by making him a *free moral agent*—and that he who robs his fellow man of this, tramples upon right—subverts justice—outrages humanity—unsettles the foundations of

human safety—and sacrilegiously assumes the prerogative of God: and further, that he who retains by force, and refuses to surrender that which was originally obtained by violence or fraud, is joint partner in the original sin, becomes its apologist, and makes it the business of every moment to perpetrate it afresh—however he may lull his conscience by the vain plea of expediency or necessity.

I subscribe myself, yours affectionately,

THEODORE D. WELD.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *Cor. Sec.*

David L. Child, Esq. then proposed the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the free People of Color and Slaves in this land of Liberty and Law, have less liberty, and are less protected by law, than in any other part of the world.

Mr. Child spoke at some length in support of this resolution. He showed how much more favorable the Civil Law was to slaves than the laws of the Southern States; and stated that in the French, Spanish, and Portuguese Colonies, the slave codes being based on the Civil Law, the slaves were far more protected in their rights than they are in our Slave States or the British West Indies. He then pointed out the improvements which had been made in the slave-laws of the British Islands, especially in the Crown Colonies within a few years, which rendered the legal condition of the slaves in the British Colonies far superior to what it is in the Slave States. Mr. Child introduced a great variety of topics into his speech, and enforced his arguments by numerous illustrations, which our limits will not permit us to introduce in this place.

The resolution passed without opposition.

The Rev. Mr. Russell, of Watertown, offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the plan of colonizing the blacks in Africa, as explained by its friends, is preposterous in the extreme, and every attempt to put its principles into operation, is an unrighteous persecution, levelled against the free people of color, to secure and perpetuate slavery in our country; and, therefore, calls upon us to counteract its operations by an open, free, and fearless exposition of its policy and effects.

Mr. Russell spoke for a few minutes in support of his resolution. He demonstrated that the efforts of the Colonization Society could never diminish slavery; that while the Society had removed less than 3000 persons from this country, the slaves here had increased more than 500,000; and showed that the true effect of the Society was to perpetuate slavery, by removing from the country a portion of the free colored people who it was supposed might sympathise with the slaves, and might assist them in recovering freedom.

The resolution was adopted.

Amasa Walker, Esq. proposed the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the objects contemplated by the New-England Anti-Slavery Society are in strict accordance with the plainest dictates of Religion, Philanthropy, and Patriotism.

Mr. Walker then addressed the meeting. He adverted to the unfavorable circumstances under which the Society had commenced its operations. Public sentiment was against it. Yet this, he said, did not prove that its principles or objects were wrong, for public sentiment is sometimes mistaken. He examined the principles of the Society, and showed that they were consistent with religion, philanthropy, and patriotism. He compared these principles with those of the Colonization Society, and demonstrated the criminality of the latter. The one Society wishes to banish the people of color, the other seeks to improve them here; the one declares that slaves are rightful property, the other that they are *men*, and have all the rights of men. He concluded nearly as follows. Every circumstance but one, is in favor of the Colonization Society, and against the Anti-Slavery Society. The former is supported by a formidable array of great names, of judges, governors, and members of Congress, and of course flourishes in wealth under the smiles of public opinion. The latter has nothing to support it, but truth and justice. Yet these are worth all the rest, and must ultimately crown the labors of the Society with glorious success.

The Rev. Moses Thacher offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the principles of expatriation, pursued by the supporters of the American Colonization Society, exert an influence in opposition to the highest interests of the Colored People in this country.

The resolution was adopted, after having been sustained by the mover in a brief but highly animated and cogent speech.\*

The following resolution was submitted by Mr. Garrison without any remarks, in consequence of the lateness of the hour:

*Resolved*, That the exertions made by the free people of color in this country to improve their condition, and to confer the benefits of education upon their children—notwithstanding the obstacles which they have to encounter from the laws and the prejudices of a large part of the community,—are highly meritorious; that these exertions have already produced highly beneficial results, and will, in our opinion, if persevered in, produce others still more desirable.

Adopted.

\* For a very copious account of the Annual Meeting, and the speeches delivered on that occasion, *vide* 'The Liberator,' Vol. III. Nos. 3, 4, and 5.

The following communication from the Massachusetts General Colored Association was presented by Mr. Joshua Easton, and read:

Boston, Jan. 15, 1833.

To the Board of Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

The Massachusetts General Colored Association, cordially approving the objects and principles of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, would respectfully communicate their desire to become auxiliary thereto. They have accordingly chosen one of their members to attend the Annual Meeting of the Society as their delegate, (Mr Joshua Easton of North Bridgewater,) and solicit his acceptance in that capacity.

THOMAS DALTON, *President.*

WILLIAM G. NELL, *Vice President.*

JAMES G. BARBADOS, *Secretary.*

The proposition was accepted.

The meeting adjourned to Monday evening, Jan. 21st.

MONDAY EVENING, Jan. 21, 1833. The Society met, pursuant to adjournment, at Jefferson Hall, the President, Mr. Buffum, in the chair.

The Secretary being absent, Mr. Oliver Johnson was chosen Secretary pro tem.

The Committee appointed to revise the Constitution made their report, which, after some debate, was adopted.

The Society proceeded to ballot for officers for the ensuing year, and the following gentlemen were elected.

PRESIDENT.

JOHN KENRICK, *Newton.*

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Arnold Buffum, *Boston.*

Rev. E. M. P. Wells, *Boston.*

Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn, *New-Haven, Ct.*

Rev. Samuel J. May, *Brooklyn, Ct.*

Ebenezer Dole, *Hallowell, Me.*

Rev. Moses Thacher, *North Wrentham.*

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Samuel E. Sewall, *Boston.*

RECORDING SECRETARY.

Oliver Johnson, *Boston.*

TREASURER.

James C. Odiorne, *Boston.*

COUNSELLORS.

Rev. James D. Yates,	Benjamin C. Bacon,
David L. Child,	Ellis G. Loring,
Michael H. Simpson,	Abner Forbes,
Isaac H. Appleton, M.D.	Frederick Hughes,
Rev. Samuel Snowdon,	Isaac Knapp.

On motion of Mr. B. C. BACON, it was

*Resolved*, That this Society contemplates the benighted condition of Africa with feelings of christian sympathy; and although it is forced to protest against the measures and principles of the American Colonization Society, yet it approves every laudable effort

to confer upon that quarter of the world the blessings of civilization and Christianity.

On motion of Mr. BUFFUM, it was

*Resolved*, That we contemplate, with the highest satisfaction, the untiring christian zeal and activity of the friends of immediate and universal emancipation in England, and that we will co-operate with them for the promotion of the great cause in which they are engaged, while God shall bless us with the ability to do so, or until every yoke of bondage and oppression shall be broken.

On motion of Mr. GARRISON, it was

*Resolved*, That the formation of a National Anti-Slavery Society is essential to the complete regeneration of public sentiment on the subject of slavery, and to the speedy overthrow of that iniquitous system; and that the Board of Managers be authorised to call a national meeting of the friends of abolition, for the purpose of organizing such a Society, at such time and place as they shall deem expedient.

*Voted*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the President and Secretaries for their services during the last year.

Adjourned *sine die*.

### *Extracts from the Annual Report.*

The New-England Anti-Slavery Society maintains that the slaves ought instantly to be emancipated from their fetters. It acknowledges no claims upon their persons by their masters. It regards the holders of slaves as guilty of a heinous sin. It reprobates the language of those who say, 'we hold their slaves, as we hold their other property, *sacred*.' It says to every individual—'Let the principle be clearly and firmly established in your mind that there is, and can be, no such thing as *property in man*, and you cannot, as a patriot, a philanthropist, or a disciple of Christ, oppose the immediate liberation of the slaves—you cannot but demand that liberation—you cannot be satisfied with any thing short of an immediate liberation.' It is not for men of christian integrity to calculate how far it is expedient to do wrong. The slaves are either justly or unjustly held in bondage. If justly, let the traffic in their bodies be pursued with fresh activity, and all those laws be repealed which now make the foreign slave trade piracy. If unjustly, there is no alternative but to disobey God, or let them immediately go free.

'But would it be safe to comply strictly with the requisitions of justice, *now*?' If they were not made to be obeyed, for what purpose were they made? Is it safe for a band of robbers to cease from their robberies, *at once*? Is it safe for the fraudulent to be honest, *at once*? Is it safe to abandon the practice of trading in the bodies and souls of men, *at once*? Is it safe to obey the Most High, by breaking every yoke, and letting the oppressed go free, *at once*?—Strange questions from the mouths of a christian people!

A very singular kind of logic prevails at the present day. 'I concede,' says one, 'that slavery in the *abstract* is very wicked; but I am opposed to immediate abolition.' Slavery in

the *abstract*? What does the objector mean? *Abstract* slavery never did, and never can exist. He means, perhaps—his language implies nothing else—that it is most atrocious to *think* of enslaving human being; but, in fact, to buy, or sell, or hold them in fetters, is by no means sinful! That is to say—if a man should merely *meditate* the destruction of the houses of his fellow-citizens by fire, without any doubt he ought to be hung;—but if he should actually set them on fire, and run from street to street with the burning brand in his hand, to destroy others, why then he would not be guilty. It would only be necessary for him to cry aloud to the firemen—‘I am as much opposed to arson, in the *abstract*, as you are; but see! the houses are on fire!’—My abstract theory has assumed a practical shape, and therefore I am exonerated from blame. I am opposed to an immediate extinguishment of the fire. Put it out very gradually—a few drops of water may now be thrown upon it—some buckets full next week—and at some future time, I cannot tell when, you may give your engines full play!’

\* \* \* \* \*

The cause of slave insurrections at the south is the loss of liberty. If the *cause* be removed, can the *effect* follow? The slaves fight to obtain their personal freedom. If they were liberated, it is pretended, they would destroy their masters!—in other words, they fight to achieve their liberty, and when it is given to them, they fight because they receive it!—This is singular logic. They are so attached to their drivers, it would seem—so pleased with being bought and sold—so contented with their peck of corn per week—so fond of having their wives polluted, and their children driven away to be sold—so hostile to independence—so undesirous of knowledge—that if they were set free, they would be so angry in being employed as hired laborers, in possessing their own wives and children, in losing their fetters, in being placed beyond the reach of slave speculators, in being protected in their persons and earnings, in having an opportunity to get religious and secular instruction, that they would cut the throats of their former masters, burn their dwellings, and desolate the land!

The Board of Managers are satisfied that the doctrine of immediate abolition is opposed by many, not because they really mean to justify crime, but simply through ignorance or a misapprehension of its nature. It is associated in their minds with something undefinable, yet dreadful—they see, in imagination, cities and villages in flames, and blood flowing in torrents, and hear the roll of drums, the shouts of blood-thirsty savages, and the shrieks of the dying—and thus, bringing upon themselves a strong delusion, they naturally stand aghast at the proposition. All this ruffling of mind is indeed ridiculous; but as it originates unwittingly in error, it merits a charitable allowance rather than satire.

What, then, is meant by IMMEDIATE ABOLITION?

It means, in the first place, that all title of property in the slaves shall instantly cease, because their Creator has never relinquished his claim of ownership, and because none have a right to sell their own bodies or buy those of their own species as cattle. Is there any thing terrific in this arrangement?

It means, secondly, that every husband shall have his own wife, and every wife her own husband, both being united in wedlock according to its proper forms, and placed under the protection of law. Is this unreasonable?

It means, thirdly, that parents shall have the control and government of their own children, and that the children shall belong to their parents. What is there sanguinary in this concession?

It means, fourthly, that all trade in human beings shall be regarded as felony, and entitled to the highest punishment. Can this be productive of evil?

It means, fifthly, that the tremendous power which is now vested in every slaveholder to punish his slaves without trial, and to a savage extent, shall be at once taken away. Is this undesirable?

It means, sixthly, that all those laws which now prohibit the instruction of the slaves, shall instantly be repealed, and others enacted, providing schools and instruction for their intellectual illumination. Would this prove a calamity?

It means, seventhly, that the planters shall employ their slaves as free laborers, and pay them just wages. Would this recompense infuriate them?

It means, eighthly, that the slaves, instead of being forced to labor for the exclusive benefit of others by cruel drivers, and the application of the lash upon their bodies, shall be encouraged to toil for the mutual profit of themselves and their employers, by the infusion of new motives into their hearts, growing out of their recognition and reward as men. Is this diabolical?

It means, finally, that right shall take the supremacy over wrong, principle over brute force, humanity over cruelty, honesty over theft, purity over lust, honor over baseness, love over hatred, and religion over heathenism. Is this wrong?

*This is our meaning of Immediate Abolition.*

Having thus briefly defined the extent of immediate abolition, it may be useful to state some of its probable, nay, certain benefits.

It will remove the cause of bloodshed and insurrection. No patrols at night, no standing army, will be longer needed to keep the slaves in awe. The planters may dismiss their fears, and sleep soundly; for, by one act, they will have transformed their enemies into grateful friends and servants.

It will give protection to millions who are now at the mercy of a few irresponsible masters and drivers: every man and every woman may then find redress at law.

It will annihilate a system of licentiousness, incest, blood and cruelty.

It will open an immense market to our mechanics and manufacturers; for these two millions of free persons will need, and will make every exertion to obtain, hats, bonnets, shoes, clothes, houses, lands, &c. &c. of which they are now to a great extent, and while they remain in bondage must be destitute.

It will afford facilities for educating them in morals, science and literature, *which can never be granted to them as slaves.*

It will permit us to supply every one of them with a Bible, and bring them into the house of God.

It will extinguish the fires of division between the North and the South, and make the bonds of our Union, (which is now held by a hair, if that be not separated at this moment,) stronger than chains of iron.

It will enable us to take the one hundred thousand infants, who are annually born of slave parents, and doomed to a life of ignorance and servitude,—place them in infant schools, and transfer them into primary and sabbath schools; from these into high schools and Bible classes; and, by the assistance of the Holy Spirit, from Bible classes into the christian church. Thus they will become ornaments to society—capable men, good citizens, devoted christians—instead of mere animals.

It will banish the poverty of the South, reclaim her barren soil, and pour new blood into all her veins and arteries. The transformation of two millions of slaves into free laborers, animated in view of a just recompense for their voluntary toil, will renovate the whole frame of society. There is not a slave State but will exhibit the flush of returning health, and feel a stronger pulse, and draw a freer breath. It is, indeed, often urged that the slaves, if freed, would not work. But they, who cherish this belief, disregard the nature of mind. The slaves, in their present condition, have surely no motives for exertion; and men without motives are mere machines, mere animals, to be watched and driven by physical force: the natural consequence is, they are as indolent as possible: knowing that, whether they toil much or little, the fruits of their labor will be enjoyed by their masters, they are improvident and lazy. Then comes the whip upon their bodies *to make them industrious*, every stroke of which puts vengeance into their hearts, to be repaid, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and blow for blow, at the first favorable moment. Compensate them fairly for their labor, and every stone in the earth would be a magnet to attract them. They would have all the hopes, and desires, and feel-

ings of men. And here it is proper to refer to a wild notion which is prevalent in this country. Many persons seem to be wonderfully perplexed and appalled, in view of immediate abolition. They talk as if the slaves, on being liberated, must be driven into the woods, or become drones or vagabonds in society. In the first place, this expulsion is physically impracticable; and, secondly, the planters are unable to dispense with their labor. The liberated slaves would be placed under wholesome regulations, and encouraged to act well; there would, of necessity, be few changes of masters, but every thing would go on as peaceably as in the case of the slaves in St. Domingo, who, for eight years after their liberation, continued to work with untiring industry, maintaining the utmost order, and were only roused to deeds of violence by the attempt of Napoleon to reduce them again to servitude. The labor of the blacks is invaluable—the south cannot flourish without them;—and their expulsion would bring great and everlasting reproach upon the American name.

The immediate abolition of slavery will purify the churches at the south, which are now red with innocent blood, and ‘filled with all unrighteousness.’ It is impossible that religion should prosper, where the pastors and members of churches trade in the souls of men. ‘How is the gold become dim! how is the most fine gold changed! The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint.’ Now, abolish slavery, and the gospel will have free course, run, and be glorified; salvation will flow in a current broad and deep; and for a short time only can it be reproachfully said that there exist two millions of slaves in a christian land.

In fine, immediate abolition would save the lives of the planters, enhance the value of their lands, promote their temporal and eternal interests, and secure for them the benignant smiles of Heaven. It would destroy the market for slaves, and, consequently, to a certain extent, destroy the foreign slave trade; for when the Africans cannot be sold, they will not be stolen.

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In closing their Report, the Managers would earnestly and feelingly conjure abolitionists in this country to maintain their ground, firmly and confidently. The controversy is not, in fact, between them and the oppressors of their fellow men, but between these oppressors and Jehovah. Their cause is based upon the immutable principles of justice and righteousness. It must prevail. Let full reliance be placed upon the promises of Him who has said that he will maintain the cause of the afflicted and the right of the poor; let every thing be done that may and should be done; let the heart be inspired but by one principle—love to God and love to man; let abolition societies be established in every town and village in the

free states; and the speedy emancipation of the slaves is sure.

The blood of the millions who have perished unredressed in this guilty land; the sufferings and lamentations of the millions who yet remain in cruel servitude; the groans and supplications of bleeding Africa; the cries of the suffering victims in the holds of the slave-ships now waited upon the ocean; the threatenings and judgments of the God of all flesh; all demand the utter and immediate annihilation of slavery.

*And let all the people, from the Lakes to the Atlantic, and from Maine to the shores of the Pacific, in one mighty burst, thunder—AMEN, AND AMEN!*

#### CULTIVATION OF SUGAR BY FREE LABOR.

It is often asserted by the apologists of slavery, that the cultivation of the cane is so laborious that no free person will undertake it; and therefore it is urged that we *must* continue to have slaves to make sugar for us, if for no other purpose. We do not perceive this hard necessity. Admitting the fact to be as supposed, we should think the just conclusion would be, not that we ought to continue slavery that we may have sugar, but that we ought to give up sugar that we may abolish slavery. But the supposed fact is not true.—The cane is successfully raised by free labor in various quarters of the world. One of the most interesting accounts of this cultivation which we recollect to have seen, is to be found in an Official Report of Mr. Ward, a British Envoy to Mexico, which we publish below, from the Anti-Slavery Reporter for August, 1829. It was also published in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* a few years ago.

MEXICO, March 13, 1826.

Sir,—The possibility of introducing a system of free labor into the West India islands having been so much discussed in England, I conceived that it might not be uninteresting to his Majesty's Government to receive some details respecting the result of the experiment in this country, where it certainly has had a fair trial.

I accordingly took advantage of Mr. Morier's prolonged stay here to visit the Valley of Cuernavaca and Cuantla Amilpas, which supplies a great part of the federation with sugar and coffee, although not a single slave is at present employed in their cultivation.

I have the honor to inclose a sketch of the observations which I was enabled to make upon this journey, together with such details as I have thought best calculated to show both the scale upon which these estates are worked, and the complete success with which the

abolition of slavery has, in this instance, been attended.

The valley which extends almost uninterruptedly from Cuernavaca to Cuantla Amilpas, and Jynear, (covering a space of about forty miles,) is situated on the road to Acapulco, at the foot of the first range of mountains by which the descent of the Table Land towards the south-west commences, about fifty miles from the capital.

It is about two thousand feet lower than the Table Land of Mexico. The difference of temperature is proportionably great, so that two days are sufficient to transport the traveller into the very midst of *Tierra Caliente*.

The vicinity to the capital was probably one of the circumstances which induced the first planters to establish themselves in this district. The richness of the soil, and the abundance of water which they found throughout the plain, convinced them that they could not have made a better choice.

It is believed that the sugar-cane was first planted there about one hundred years ago; from that time the number of sugar-estates has gone on increasing, until there is now hardly an acre of ground on the whole plain which is not turned to account.

The cultivation was originally carried on entirely by slaves, who were purchased at Vera Cruz, at from \$300 to \$400 each.

It was found, however, that this system was attended with considerable inconvenience, it being impossible to secure a sufficient supply of slaves during a war. The losses likewise, at all times, were great, as many of the slaves were unable to support the fatigue and changes of temperature, to which they were exposed on the journey from Vera Cruz to Cuernavaca, and perished, either on the road, or soon after their arrival.

Several of the great proprietors were induced by these circumstances to give liberty to a certain number of their slaves annually, and by encouraging marriages between them and the Indians of the country, to propagate a race of free laborers, who might be employed when a supply of slaves was no longer to be obtained.

The plan proved so eminently successful, that on some of the largest estates there was not a single slave in the year 1808.

The policy of the measure became still more apparent on the breaking out of the revolution in 1810.

The planters who had not adopted the system of gradual emancipation before that period, saw themselves abandoned, and were forced, in many instances, to give up working their estates, as their slaves took advantage of the approach of the insurgents to join them en masse; while those who had provided themselves with a mixed caste of free laborers, retained even during the worst times, a sufficient number of men to enable them to

continue to cultivate their lands, although upon a smaller scale.

The insurrection, however, proved highly injurious to the proprietors in general. Most of them were Europeans, and as such, particularly obnoxious to the insurgents; and although by coalescing amongst themselves and maintaining a considerable armed force for their defence, they prevented the enemy on several occasions from entering the valley, they found it impossible to secure their communication with the capital, and were thus often deprived of the only market for their goods. In the year 1814, too, the siege of Cuantla, which Monelos had occupied, and which he defended for three whole months against the vice-regal army under General Calleja, spread destruction throughout the district.

Several of the Haciendas have not yet even recovered the losses which they then sustained, and some, which were quite ruined, have never been rebuilt. In general, however, the last eight years of comparative tranquillity have been sufficient to restore things to their ancient state, and I could not learn that the produce of the different estates about Cuernavaca had ever greatly exceeded that of the last twelve months.

The scale upon which these estates are worked is enormous. From a supposition that the ground is exhausted by two successive crops, the Mexican planters run into the contrary extreme, and divide their sugar-lands into four equal parts, one only of which is taken annually into cultivation. The remaining three are turned to no account, so that an idea may be formed of the extent of an estate upon which so enormous a quantity of land is allowed to remain unemployed.

The largest Haciendas in the neighborhood of Cuernavaca are those of Yemisco and San Gabriel, (both of which belong to the family of Don Gabriel Yermo, an old Spaniard, famous for the arrest of the viceroy Sturrigaray in 1808, with which the Mexican revolution may be said to have commenced,) Treinta Pesos, El Puente, Meacatlan, San Easpar, and San Vicente Chicouquac. Each of these estates produces annually, from 25,000 to 40,000 arrobas of sugar, of 25 lbs. weight each (about 5,250,000 lbs. taking 30,000 arrobas as the average produce,) and to this at least another million may be added, for a number of other smaller estates not included in this list.

The crops are usually most abundant, the cane being planted much thicker than is customary in Jamaica, and the machinery, in the opinion of Dr. Wilson, who accompanied me, and who has been much in the West India islands, is fully equal to any used in the British colonies.

The number of workmen generally employed upon an estate, capable of producing

40,000 arrobas of sugar, amounts to 150, with occasional additions when the season is late, or the work has been retarded by any accidental cause.

The laborers are mostly paid by the piece, and many of them can earn, if industrious, from six to seven rials per diem, (3s.3d. or 3s.9 1-2d. English money, reckoning the dollar at 4s.4d.)

Fifty men are employed in watering the canes, twenty in cutting, ten in bringing the cut canes from the field (each with six mules,) twenty-five (mostly boys) in separating the green tops, which they use for fodder, and binding up the remainder for the muleteers. Twenty men, divided into gangs of four each, in feeding the engine day and night; fourteen attend the boilers; twelve keep up the fires; four turn the cane in the sun, after the juice has been expressed, and dry it for fuel; and ten are constantly at work in the warehouse clarifying the sugar, and removing it afterwards to the general store-room, from whence it is sent to the market.

The art of refining, though well understood, is seldom or never carried beyond the first degree of the process, there being no demand for double-refined sugar in the market; and the consequence is, that though abounding in saccharine matter, the article is for the most part coarse in appearance, and of bad color.

The arroba of 25 lbs. sells in Mexico for about three dollars, or two dollars and a half, if not of the best quality. The great Haciendas expend in wages to the workmen and other current charges, from \$800 to \$1,200 a week.

It often happens, however, that in a good year the sale of the molasses alone is sufficient to defray the expense, so that the sugar remains a clear profit.

For every arroba of sugar an equal quantity of molasses is produced, which sells, at the door of the Hacienda, for five rials and a half the arroba. It is bought up by the proprietors of the small distilleries, which abound to such a degree, that in the neighborhood of Cuernavaca alone from 25,000 to 30,000 barrels of Chingarito (a sort of rum) are made annually.

The distance from Cuernavaca to Cuantla is about twenty-five miles; and with the exception of a ridge of mountains which separates the two valleys, the whole intervening space is richly cultivated.

After passing through the village of Yantepec, which lies at the foot of the mountain, there is a constant succession of Haciendas, most of which appear admirably kept up.

The most remarkable in the district of Cuantla are San Carlos, Pantitlan, Cocoyoc, Calcleron, Casasano, Santa Ines, Cohahuistla, Napastlan, and Yenestepango, none of which produce less than 30,000 arrobas of sugar annually, while the annual produce of some

(Cohahuistla and Yenestepango) may be estimated at from 40,000 to 50,000.

The Haciendas of Cocoyoc and Pantitlan enjoy the additional advantage of being not only sugar but coffee-estates.

Their owner, Don Antonio Velasco, introduced, at a great expense, from Cordova, the cultivation of this plant, which has succeeded perfectly. He has now upon his two estates upwards of 500,000 plants, 50,000 of which are already in full vigor. The produce of the last year amounted to 5,000 arrobas, or 125,000 pounds of coffee, and as a great number of the young plants will begin to bear this year, it is supposed that the amount will be more than doubled.

Coffee is now selling at seven dollars the arroba in Mexico. Its cultivation would therefore prove indefinitely more advantageous than that of the cane, if the demand were equally great. But coffee is by no means in general use in this country, nor is Cuantla the only place from whence this demand can be supplied.

There are immense coffee plantations in the vicinity of Cordova, and the whole of the Eastern coast is of course supplied by the nearest market. Were this not the case, the speculation would prove a very lucrative one, as a coffee-estate of 200,000 plants does not require the constant attendance of above twenty men, (to weed and water,) and consequently entails upon the proprietor but little expense.

The average produce of each tree may be estimated at two pounds and a half.

The young plants require great care and attention, and must be protected from the sun for two whole years. For this purpose a large piece of ground is covered in, which is called the semillero. The third year the young trees are transplanted to the open field, where they begin almost immediately to produce something, and the fourth they may be reckoned in full vigor. They last from five and twenty to thirty years.

I saw most of the Haciendas enumerated in the preceding list; but was struck with none so much as with Santa Ines, which is beautifully kept up. It is almost the only estate which possesses a large distillery, which produces from 4,000 to 5,000 barrels of Chingaro yearly.

The barrel in Mexico is worth twenty-four dollars, with duties and carriage deducted; an idea may be formed by this of the immense annual value of the estate.

Cohahuistlan might be still more productive, as it is much more extensive, and commands a greater supply of water, but it is not done justice to. The estate belongs to the convent of Dominican friars; and as the abbey is changed by the rules of the order every three years, the overseers of the Hacienda are usually changed with him, and they consequently allow every thing to go to ruin.

In general, the fertility of an estate depends entirely upon the supply of water: the produce of those which have only enough for irrigation, and are forced to work their wheels by mules, will seldom be found, whatever may be the quality of the soil, to amount to one third of those which can command a sufficient supply for both purposes.

In the quality of the soil there is but little difference.

The average annual produce of all the estates it would hardly be possible to compute.

The greatest part of it is sent to the capital, from whence it is distributed to the different provinces; mulattoes, however, often come direct from the interior.

It is a curious fact, that an immense quantity of sugar is yearly remitted to Vera Cruz, not for exportation, but for the home consumption of a province which might produce sugar enough to supply all Europe, if it chose to turn to account the advantages with which nature has so richly endowed it.

*The most remarkable circumstance, however, is the total abolition of slavery in a district where such a mass of colonial fruits is produced, and the success with which the introduction of free labor has been attended; it is this which has induced me to lay these observations before his Majesty's Government, and to hope that they may be esteemed not wholly unworthy of attention.*

(Signed) H. G. WARD.

Right Hon. G. Canning, &c. &c.

#### IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION. No. II.

'Cayenne and Guadaloupe were the only other French colonies in which the slaves were emancipated. In Cayenne,\* the sudden enfranchisement was attended with no ill consequences; after their emancipation, the negroes in general continued voluntarily upon the plantations of their former masters, and no irregularities whatever were committed by those men who had thus suddenly obtained their freedom.

'In Guadaloupe (where the disproportion of blacks to whites is at least as great as in our colonies) the conduct of the freed negroes was equally satisfactory. The perfect subordination which was established and the industry which prevailed there, are proved by the official Reports of Victor Hughes, the Governor of Guadaloupe, to the French government. In 1793 liberty was proclaimed universally to the slaves in that island, and during their ten years of freedom, their governors bore testimony to their regular industry and uninterrupted submission to the laws. The Reports of the Commissioners to the local government also speak of the tranquillity which reigned in the agricultural districts and

\* Voyage a la Guiane, &c. cap. ii.

on the plantations. In a letter addressed by the Supreme Council of the Colony in Feb. 1802, to the Commissary Valluet of the canton de Deshays, it is said, "Continue, Citizen Commissary, to maintain that order in your canton which now reigns universally throughout the colony. We shall have the satisfaction of having given an example which will prove that all classes of people may live in perfect harmony with each other, under an administration which secures justice to all classes."

'Within the last fifty years, many bodies of West Indian and American slaves have been emancipated without any of that educational and religious instruction now said to be a necessary preliminary to freedom; and settled at Sierra Leone. During the first American war, a number of slaves ran away from their North American masters and joined the British army. When peace came, it was determined to give them their liberty, and to settle them in Nova Scotia upon grants of land as British subjects and as free men. Their number, comprehending men, women and children, was two thousand and upwards. Some of them worked upon little portions of land as their own; others worked as carpenters; others became fishermen; and others worked for hire in various ways. In time, having embraced christianity, they raised places of worship of their own, and had ministers of their own from their own body. They led a harmless life, and gained the character of an industrious and honest people from their white neighbors. A few years afterwards, the land in Nova Scotia being found too poor to answer and the climate too cold for their constitutions, a number of them to the amount of between 1300 and 1400 volunteered to form a new colony which was then first thought of at Sierra Leone, to which place they were accordingly conveyed. Many hundreds of the negroes who had formed the West Indian black regiments were removed in 1819 to Sierra Leone, where they were set at liberty at once, and founded the villages of Waterloo, Hastings and others. Several hundred maroons (runaway slaves and their descendants) being exiled from Jamaica, were removed in 1801 to Sierra Leone, where they were landed with no other property than the clothes which they wore and the muskets which they carried in their hands. A body of revolted slaves were banished from Barbadoes in 1816, and sent also to Sierra Leone. The rest of the population of this colony consists almost entirely of negroes who have been recaptured from slave ships, and brought to Sierra Leone in the lowest state of misery, debility and degradation: naked, diseased, destitute, wholly ignorant of the English language, in this wretched, helpless condition they have been suddenly made free, and put into possession at once of the rights and privileges of British subjects. All these instances of sudden emancipation

have taken place in a colony where the disproportion between black and white is more than a hundred to one; being a far greater disproportion than that in our slave colonies. Yet this mixed population of suddenly emancipated slaves----runaway slaves----criminal slaves----and degraded recaptured negroes, are in their free condition living in order, tranquillity and comfort, and many of them in affluence. This fact is amply proved by the Reports of the Commissioners appointed in 1825, to inquire into the state of the liberated captives; by those of Lieutenant Colonel Denham, General Superintendent of liberated Africans at Sierra Leone, and of Major Ricketts on whom the task of reporting on their state afterwards devolved, and by a great number of other public and private accounts. In a report printed for the house of commons, May 7th, 1827, (No. 312) the Commissioners say, "The general appearance of the Nova Scotia settlers differs but little from that of the free people of color in the West Indies. On Sundays their dress is neat and clean, and their general deportment very respectable. This remark is equally applicable to all the other colored classes which compose the resident population of Freetown, where great external respect is paid to the Sabbath."

'Of the maroons they say, "They happened to arrive at a time when their services were much wanted to repel a hostile attack, on which occasion they appear to have conducted themselves well; and they have since maintained pretty generally the good opinion then formed of them. Several of them have been successful in trade, by which they have acquired a comfortable livelihood: and a few of them who are most extensively engaged in mercantile transactions are supposed to have attained to considerable affluence, at the same time that they have maintained a character of great respectability. The dress and general appearance of the Maroons is very respectable, particularly on Sundays when a peculiar neatness is observable, and their deportment not only in chapel, but as far as opportunities have offered of observing it elsewhere during that day, is very creditable." The slaves banished from Barbadoes were employed in public works for two or three years. "At the expiration of this time," say the commissioners, "they were permitted to employ themselves for their own benefit, and they have in general shown themselves to be industrious and useful." Of the black soldiers of the African corps settled in the colony they say, "Many of them appear industrious. They have generally maintained a respectable character, and have by their exertions (aided by some liberal residents) and under the zealous superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Raban, erected a chapel in the distant part of the town (Freetown) where they reside. That gentleman officiates there two days in the week to

a congregation averaging perhaps one hundred persons, whose appearance and deportment are very creditable.

'Speaking of the inhabitants generally, the Commissioners observe, "The colored men (under this term they include the blacks who form the great bulk of the population, and who in fact are the persons who sit on juries) whom we have had opportunities of observing on juries, appeared attentive and anxious to ascertain the merits of the case, and as far as we could judge from their verdict, seemed to be possessed of sufficient intelligence to insure the ends of justice. They are selected principally from the older settlers (Nova Scotians and Maroons) and in some few instances from the liberated Africans. The individual at present holding the office of coroner at Freetown is a Maroon. The present mayor is one of the early Nova Scotia settlers; the senior alderman one of the early Maroon settlers."

'A Report sent by Lieutenant Colonel Denham, dated May 21, 1827, confirms the favorable account of the Commissioners, and affords incontestible evidence of the willing industry of the negroes and their desire of improving their condition.

"What the liberated Africans have felt the most want of, is instruction, capital and example. With the very little they have had of either, conveyed in a manner likely to benefit them generally, it is to me daily an increasing subject of astonishment that the liberated Africans settled here have done so much for themselves as they have. I have not observed any disinclination for voluntary labor; it appears to be a system perfectly understood and practised by them. Laborers' wages have varied from one shilling to sixpence per day, yet there has never been a deficiency of liberated Africans who were willing to labor for hire. On the naval stores now erecting are nearly two hundred liberated African laborers, who work well and steadily at twenty shillings per month. Laborers in this colony work from six in the morning till five in the afternoon constantly, with the exception of the hour which they are allowed for breakfast. An anxious desire to obtain and enjoy the luxuries of life is apparent in every village from the oldest settler to the liberated African of yesterday. European articles of dress are the first objects of their desire, and for the means of obtaining these both sexes will cheerfully labor; and a gradual improvement has taken place in their dwellings as they became possessed of the necessary means for that purpose."

'Major Ricketts writes on the 27th March, 1829, "The liberated Africans appear happy; at Wellington they are building by subscription among the inhabitants a good sized church and market-house of store; and a number of private store buildings are springing up. The manager at Hastings is endeavoring to erect

new bridges with the workmen and others of the village who labor and furnish materials gratis. Several of the liberated Africans who have obtained lots of land in Freetown, have built good houses. Many of them and of the disbanded soldiers employ themselves in the burning of lime, sawing of boards, cutting shingles and clapboards; all of which are carried for miles from the spot where they are prepared to their villages, and from thence either brought to Freetown by land, or by water in canoes which are kept and hired out for that purpose by the liberated Africans residing in villages on the banks of the river or on the sea coast. In return for these articles they generally receive cash which is not kept dormant; for with that they purchase cattle from the natives trading to the colony, and taking them to the country villages, they are fattened and afterwards sent to the market, and a profit of nearly one hundred per cent. is realised by this species of industry. Pigs and poultry are raised in the villages, and the market of Freetown receives from them an ample supply daily of this kind of stock as well as of eggs and vegetables. Some of the persons supplying the market are known to travel from Waterloo and Hastings, the former being twenty-two and the latter sixteen miles from Freetown, carrying their produce in baskets on their heads; this kind of industry clearly manifests the desire the liberated Africans have to labor voluntarily to enable them by honest means to become possessed of those luxuries which they see their more wealthy brethren enjoying. The police of the villages is administered by the liberated Africans; they have given evident proof of their affection for the laws as they are administered, by the interest they show in implicitly obeying them; and when it has been found requisite to adopt local regulations particularly affecting them, they have cheerfully conformed to them. So very useful are the liberated Africans found in the rafting and cutting of timber, and sawing boards, and scantling, that many of them are receiving from four to five dollars per month with food and clothing. The schools for the admission of children born in the colony are still progressively improving, and the parents evince an anxious desire to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded them of obtaining useful instruction for their children.'

#### NOBLE SENTIMENTS.

'I am for speedy, immediate abolition. I care not what caste, creed or color, slavery may assume. I am for its total, its instant abolition. Whether it be personal or political, mental or corporeal, intellectual or spiritual, I am for its immediate abolition. I enter into no compromise with slavery; I am for justice, in the name of humanity and according to the law of the living God.'—*O'Connell*.

## MEETING OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR.

Agreeably to public notice, a large and respectable meeting of the free people of color, called by the New-York Society, auxiliary to the Convention of the Free People of Color, for their improvement in these United States, assembled in the Abyssinian Baptist Church, in Anthony Street, on Wednesday Evening, December 26, 1832:

When, on motion, Mr. *Samuel Hardenburgh* was elected Chairman, and *Henry Sipkins* appointed Secretary.

After some preliminary remarks by the Chairman, at his request, the meeting was opened with an appropriate prayer, by the Rev. Jas. Hayborn, (the pastor of the church.)

Mr. *Thomas L. Jennings* stated, that among the leading matters which would occupy the attention of the meeting, were several important documents lately received from Europe, expressive of the sentiments that a very considerable portion of the people of the British Empire entertained respecting the deplorable situation of the colored people in the United States. Having made some excellent remarks on the conviction many of them entertained, that the American Colonization Society was the cause of a most cruel persecution of the free people of color, as well as of its insufficiency, if not its want of inclination, to any considerable extent, to lessen the interminable bondage of the slaves; he read the letter of Mr. *James Cropper*, of England, to Mr. *Thomas Clarkson*, (one of the most strenuous abolitionists of that country) on the impropriety of patronizing the Colonization Society.

Copious extracts were also read from various other foreign documents, and listened to with much attention. Particular interest was excited upon the reading of a part of the speech of the Honorable *Daniel O'Connell*, delivered at the Anniversary meeting of the London Anti-Slavery Society held in Exeter Hall, May 12th, 1832. Some observations on the character of Mr. O'Connell as a philanthropist, were made, and the following resolutions offered and *unanimously adopted*, viz:

*Resolved*, That we highly appreciate the undeviating exertions of the friends of humanity in these United States, and in Great Britain, in the sacred cause of emancipation, and that they are entitled to our greatest respect and most sincere thanks.

*Resolved*, That we recognize in the Honorable *Daniel O'Connell*, of Ireland, the champion of religious liberty, the uncompromising advocate of universal emancipation, the friend of the oppressed Africans and their descendants, and of the unadulterated rights of man.

*Resolved*, That we regret that we are unable to make suitable returns for the disinterested friendship that he has manifested towards the cause of liberty and equality, to the terror of the traffickers in human flesh and blood; and that

we should consider ourselves unworthy the sympathies of the liberals, and traitors to our cause, if we should withhold this public expression of our respectful gratitude.

*Resolved*, That we tender to the Hon. *DANIEL O'CONNELL* our sincere thanks and respect for his great exertions in the cause of the oppressed,—hoping that when his labors of benevolence shall be finished on earth,—when the oppressor shall cease from his oppression,—he may receive the heavenly reward of Him who holds in his hands the destinies of nations.

*Resolved*, That an address be prepared to accompany the above resolutions, and that the same be forwarded to Mr. O'Connell with all convenient despatch.

*Resolved*, That the above resolutions be published in as many of the papers friendly to the cause of emancipation as practicable, signed by the Chairman and Secretary.

On motion, Messrs. *Samuel Hardenburgh*, *Thomas L. Jennings*, and *Henry Sipkins*, were appointed a committee to prepare the Address, and to attend to the publication of the foregoing resolutions.

In the course of the evening, the proclamation of General Jackson to the free people of color, on the banks of the Mobile, during the last war, was read; several extracts from the reports of the Colonization Society; and the address of the free people of color, held in the Boyer Lodge Room, in the city of New York, January 25th, 1831.

Throughout the meeting a very general dislike to the proceedings of the Colonization Society manifested itself. The audience was admonished, that the support of the convention was among the means of counteracting the policy of that society.

A number became members of the Society by which the meeting was called.

*SAMUEL HARDENBURGH, Chairman.*

*HENRY SIPKINS, Secretary.*

In relation to the above proceedings, the New-York Journal of Commerce says:

'We publish in another column, a series of resolutions adopted by a meeting of free people of color recently held in this city. It is a fact which we are unable to explain on any satisfactory principle, that the free people of color in the Northern States are, as a body, strongly opposed to the objects of the American Colonization Society. Whether it be that they are afraid their influence will be weakened by any deduction from their numbers, or whether they suppose that the Liberians are less prosperous, independent and happy than themselves, we are unable to say.'

The people of color are opposed to the Colonization Society *because it slanders and persecutes them, and perpetuates slavery, and because they love America better than Africa.*

# LIGHT IN THE WEST!

Extracts from a letter addressed to Rev. S. S. JOCELYN, of New-Haven, Connecticut, by BERIAH GREEN, Professor of Sacred Literature in Western Reserve College, dated—

Hudson, (Port. Co. O.) Nov. 5, 1832.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:

A great change has, within a few months, been wrought in the views and movements of some of the gentlemen connected with this College, both as instructors and students, respecting the ground occupied by the American Colonization Society, and the tendency of the principles avowed, and the course pursued, by that institution. In a single word, the President of the College, *Rev. Charles B. Storrs*, a gentleman well known and highly esteemed on many accounts in New-England as well as in Ohio, *Elizur Wright, Esq.* Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, whose reputation as a gentleman, a scholar, and a christian, is elevated, if I mistake not, at Yale College; *Elizur Wright, Esq. of Tallmadge*, a Trustee of this College, and an early graduate of Yale, whose reputation as a scholar and a christian I need not describe, and some others, have, upon examining the matter in discussion between the abolitionists and anti-abolitionists, yielded to the conviction that the former occupy the only ground, which the Bible can justly be regarded as approving and sustaining. These gentlemen have been brought to this conviction, not without many struggles and much reluctance. They had been ardent friends and prompt patrons of the American Colonization Society; had labored to sustain its claims to public patronage by their authority, their eloquence, and their purses. They now feel, and feel very deeply too, that they had been blinded by a strange prejudice, which had the effect of infatuation on their minds. They have opened their eyes upon an object which has taken fast hold of their whole souls. They feel themselves impelled by motives which they cannot and would not resist, to give 'arm and soul' to the cause of African emancipation. They are now making the inquiry with unwonted solicitude—'Lord, what wilt thou have us to do?'

A good deal of interest has been awakened in the College among the students, on the subject of African emancipation. The matter has, in different forms and on various occasions, been pretty thoroughly discussed. A number of the students take the ground maintained by the New-England Anti-Slavery Society. We hope the number may increase. Mr. Storrs has been almost universally—perhaps I need not qualify the expression by any such word as *almost*—regarded as preeminent for soundness of judgment, warmth of piety, force of mind, and general attractiveness of character. The posture which he has taken

on the subject of this letter cannot, we think, fail of setting hundreds a-thinking. Professor Wright has written a good many very able columns for the *Observer & Telegraph*—the religious paper of the Western Reserve; and would have continued to write, had he not been denied the farther use of this medium of working on the public mind. He is an attractive, powerful writer. His whole soul is engaged; and I think no human agency can beat him off the ground which he has taken. We need the sympathy and aid of the friends of this good cause in New-England. We want facts—*facts*—FACTS.

One copy of Mr. Garrison's 'Thoughts' has reached us, and we take a few copies of his admirable paper. Charles Stuart's last pamphlet on Colonial Slavery in the West Indies, we have; and the African Repository, and the Colonization Society Reports and Speeches, which we find may be made directly and powerfully subservient to the cause of African emancipation. Every fact on this subject will be estimated here at its full worth. Will you, as the friend of poor, persecuted, trodden down Africa, help us? We much wish to know the history of the efforts which you have made in the cause of wretched humanity in New-Haven and elsewhere.

Your letter to Mr. Gurley I thank you for, and wish I had 500 or 1,000 copies of it for circulation. Things in Maine and Massachusetts, I should think, were assuming a brighter aspect. Mr. Garrison's reception in Maine could not but have been highly encouraging. Our British brethren, too, the Lord Jesus bless them.

We have here a great struggle to go through with, if the Saviour will help us. The strength of public *prejudice*, as such *openly* avowed! is awaking. We have, however, a calm and deep conviction that we are right, and that God will help us. This hope we cling to as the anchor of our souls. O, may we not forfeit its high consolations—its sustaining, exhilarating influence! We hope before many days to bring our little forces together in the form of an Anti-Slavery Society. Pray for us, dear brethren, as I hope we do for you—and for all who are consecrated to the great and glorious design, to which, 'after so long a time,' we are beginning to awake.

Yours in the Lord Jesus,

BERIAH GREEN.

[We seize this opportunity to acknowledge the pleasure we have felt, in perusing the masterly essays of Professor Wright, published in the Hudson Observer & Telegraph. As that paper has most unfairly refused to insert any more of his articles on African Colonization, we earnestly entreat him to make 'THE ABOLITIONIST' the medium of his valuable communications to the public: they will have a wide circulation.]

# CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

## PREAMBLE.

Whereas, we believe that Slavery is contrary to the precepts of Christianity, dangerous to the liberties of the country, and ought immediately to be abolished; and whereas, we believe that the citizens of New-England not only have the right to protest against it, but are under the highest obligation to seek its removal by moral influence; and whereas, we believe that the free people of color are unrighteously oppressed, and stand in need of our sympathy and benevolent co-operation; therefore, recognizing the inspired declaration that God 'hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth,' and in obedience to our Saviour's golden rule, 'all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,' we agree to form ourselves into a Society, and to be governed by the following

## CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1. This Society shall be called the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

ART. 2. The objects of the Society shall be, to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States; to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.

ART. 3. Any person by signing the Constitution, and paying to the Treasurer fifteen dollars as a life subscription, or two dollars annually, shall be considered a member of the Society, and entitled to a copy of all its official publications.

ART. 4. The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and ten Counselors, who shall be elected annually, by ballot, on the fourth Wednesday of January, or subsequently by adjournment, and shall hold their respective offices until others are chosen.

ART. 5. The foregoing officers shall constitute a Board of Managers, to whom shall be entrusted the disposition of the funds, and the management of the concerns of the Society. They shall have power to make their own by-laws, to fill any vacancy which may occur in their Board, and to employ agents to promote the objects of the Society.

ART. 6. There shall be a public meeting of the Society annually, on the third Wednesday of January, at which the Board of Managers shall make a Report of their doings for the past year, and of the income, expenditures, and funds of the Society.

ART. 7. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Board of Managers, or in his absence one of the Vice Presidents, or in their absence a President pro tem.

ART. 8. The Corresponding Secretary shall receive and keep all communications or publications directed to the Society, and transmit those issued by them, and shall correspond with the agents, or any other bodies or individuals, according to the directions of the Society or the Managers.

ART. 9. The Recording Secretary shall notify all meetings of the Society and of the Board of Managers, and keep the records of the same.

ART. 10. The Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions and donations to the Society, hold all its funds, and make payments according to the directions of the Managers; and he shall keep a true account of the same, and render a statement, to accompany the Annual Report of the Society.

ART. 11. Any Anti-Slavery Society, or any association founded on kindred principles, may become auxiliary to this Society, by contributing to its funds, and may communicate with us by letter or delegation.

ART. 12. The Society shall hold meetings on the last Monday of March, June and September, for the transaction of any business which may be presented by the Board of Managers, or for addresses, or for discussion of any subject connected with the objects of the Society. Special meetings of the Society may be called by the Board of Managers, or by the Recording Secretary, on application from ten members of the Society.

ART. 13. This Constitution may be altered at the Annual Meeting for the choice of officers, provided the amendments proposed to be made, have been submitted to the Board of Managers, in writing, one month previous.

## A STATEMENT OF THE FRIGHTFUL DECREASE OF THE SLAVE POPULATION IN THE SUGAR COLONIES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

[Drawn up from Official Returns by T. F. Buxton.]

Antigua	Decrease in 11 years	868
Berbice	do 9 do	1,844
Demerara	do 12 do	12,037
Grenada	do 12 do	2,597
Jamaica	do 12 do	18,024
Montserrat	do 11 do	131
Nevis	do 11 do	192
St. Christopher's	do 10 do	1000
St. Lucia	do 13 do	1,942
St. Vincent's	do 10 do	1,248
Tobago	do 10 do	2,803
Tortola	do 10 do	143
Trinidad	do 13 do	6,168

Decrease in the above thirteen Colonies, the average being 11-13 years, 48,097

Mauritius Decrease in 10-3-4 years 10,767  
58,864

Deduct. Increase in the two following Colonies, viz:—

Dominica	in 9 years	11
Barbadoes	in 12 years	5,966
		5,977

Total decrease in the Slave population in the Sugar Colonies, on an average of eleven years, 52,887

## LATEST RETURN OF THE SLAVE POPULATION IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

Colonies.	Years.	Men.	Women.	Totals.
Antigua	1828	14,066	15,773	29,839
Barbadoes	1829	37,691	44,211	81,902
Berbice	1828	11,284	10,035	21,319
Demerara	1829	37,141	32,326	69,467
Dominica	1826	7,362	8,030	15,392
Grenada	1829	11,711	12,434	24,145
Jamaica	1829	158,254	164,167	322,421
Montserrat	1828	2,867	3,395	6,262
Nevis	1826	4,574	4,685	9,259
St. Christopher's	1827	9,198	10,112	19,310
St. Lucia	1828	6,280	7,381	13,661
St. Vincent's	1827	11,583	12,006	23,589
Tobago	1830	5,872	6,684	12,556
Trinidad	1828	13,141	10,865	24,006
Tortola	1828	2,510	2,889	5,399
		333,534	344,993	678,527
Mauritius	1826	47,657	29,117	76,774
Totals		381,191	374,110	755,301

[From the Western Luminary.]

Pursuant to the request of the Fayette County Colonization Society, I furnish the statistical tables used by me. In the calculations there may be some very inconsiderable inaccuracy; they were made early last fall, and have not been since revised. If there is any inaccuracy, it is too inconsiderable to make a material difference in the result.

DANIEL MAYES.

TABLE shewing the relative increase of Blacks and Whites, from 1820 to 1830.

MARYLAND.	
1820.	1830.
White 260,219	291,093=11 2-3 per cent.
Black 147,128	155,820=6 per cent.
Slaves decreased from 107,398 to 102,876. Free Black increase from 39,730 to 52,942=33 1-3 per cent.	

VIRGINIA.	
White 603,074	694,445=15 per cent.
Black 462,042	516,817=12 3-4 per cent.
Free Black from 36,889 to 47,103=27 2-3 per cent.	

GEORGIA.	
White 189,566	296,614=56 1-2 per cent.
Black 151,419	219,890=45 3-4 per cent.

NORTH CAROLINA.	
White 419,200	472,433=10 1-2
Black 219,629	266,037=21
Free Black, 35 per cent.	

SOUTH CAROLINA.	
White 237,440	257,875=8 1-2
Black 165,299	323,570=22
White increase 20,435. Black increase 58,571.	

ALABAMA.	
White 85,451	180,171=122 1-2
Black 42,446	119,035=140 1-6

MISSISSIPPI.	
White 42,176	70,618=67 1-3
Black 33,272	66,188=99

LOUISIANA.	
White 72,383	89,379=21 3-4=gain 15,996
Black 79,540	126,412=59=gain 46,872

TENNESSEE.	
White 339,295	537,930=58 1-3
Black 82,836	146,898=78 1-3

KENTUCKY.	
White 434,644	518,678=19 1-3
Black 129,451	170,166=39
Increase free Blacks from 2,759 to 4,816=75 per ct.	

MISSOURI.	
White 55,988	114,552=104 1-2
Black 10,569	25,532=132

ARKANSAS.	
Free pop. B. and W.	14,273 30,383=200
Slaves	1,617 4,578=270 2-3

FLORIDA.	
1830. Total, 34,723.—Slaves, 15,510. Nearly half Slaves.	

II. Table exhibiting the relative average increase of the different classes from 1820 to 1830, in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama,

Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri.

	1820.	1830.	
Free White	2,741,166	3,533,788=28 1-2 per cent.	
Black	1,624,069	2,236,365=36 1-2 *	
Free Black	117,178	158,719=35 1-2	

III. Table showing the relative strength of the White and Black population, at the close of each successive ten years, to the end of the present century, supposing the rate of increase to continue in the same ratio as during the last ten.

1840	W. 4,523,248	B. 3,041,456
1850	W. 5,789,737	B. 4,136,380
1860	W. 7,131,863	B. 6,625,476
1870	W. 9,129,770	B. 9,010,647
1880	W. 11,696,110	B. 12,434,451
1890	W. 14,967,420	B. 16,910,853
1900	W. 18,158,297	B. 22,898,700

Blacks exceed Whites by 4,741,166.

IV. Table exhibiting the relative strength of Black and White population in 1790 and 1830, in Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia.

	1790.	1830.	
White	1,777,357	2,531,138	1790 2 1-4 W. to 1 B.
Black	582,023	1,552,318	1830 1 1-4 W. to 1 B.

V. Table showing weight of population per square mile in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, and what it will be in 1900, if increase at the same ratio.

No. sq. ms. 501,333: pop. 1830, 5,770,153=11 1-2 pr. m. pop. 1900, 41,056,997=81 9-10

Black pop. 1900, 22,898,700=45 1-2 pr. m.

Exceeding the present rate of population of any State in the Union but two, and = to that of Kentucky, multiplied by 3 3-4.

VI. Table showing the comparative longevity of Whites and Blacks.

According to the Census of 1830, there were upwards of one hundred years old in the U. States—

White males	297	Females	234
Male slaves	717	Female	662
Male free B.	382	Female	359
Male Blacks	1090	Female	1021

Total—White, 531. Total—Black, 2120.

## LIBERAL DONATION.

JOHN KENRICK, Esq. of Newton, the veteran advocate of universal emancipation, has recently paid over to the New-England Anti-Slavery Society the sum of ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS, as a part of the fund about to be raised by the Society for the establishment of a Manual Labor School for the instruction of Colored Youth. This esteemed friend, a few months since, made a donation to the Society of ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY DOLLARS, to promote its benevolent objects.

\* While this sheet is going through the press, we notice an error in this number, which affects the 3d table, but have neither time nor space to correct it.

[From the Liberator.]

## LETTER

FROM AN INFANT SLAVE TO THE CHILD OF ITS  
MISTRESS. BOTH BORN ON THE SAME DAY.

Baby! be not surprised to see  
A few short lines coming from me,  
Addressed to you;  
For babies black of three months old  
May write as well, as I 've been told,  
Some white ones do.\*

There are some things I hear and see,  
Which very much do puzzle me,  
Pray don't they you?  
For the same day our lives begun,  
And all things here beneath the sun,  
To both are new.

Baby, sometimes I hear you cry,  
And many run to find out why,  
And cure the pain;  
But when I cry from pains severe,  
There 's no one round who seems to hear,  
I cry in vain.

Except it be when she is nigh,  
Whose gentle love, I know not why,  
Is all for me;  
Her tender care soothes all my pain,  
Brings to my face those smiles again,  
She smiles to see.

With hunger faint, with grief distressed,  
I once my wretchedness expressed,  
With urgent power;  
Some by my eloquence annoyed,  
To still my grief rough blows employed,—  
Oh dreadful hour!

When first thy father saw his child,  
With hope and love and joy he smiled,  
Bright schemes he planned;  
Mine groaned, and said with sullen brow,  
Another slave is added now  
To this free land.

Why am I thought so little worth,  
You prized so highly from your birth?  
Tell, if you know:  
Why are my woes and joys as nought,  
With careful love yours shunned or sought?  
Why is it so?

My own dear mother, it is true,  
Loves me as well as yours does you;  
But when she 's gone,  
None else to me a care extends;  
Oh why have you so many friends,  
I only one?

Why must that one be sent away,  
Compelled for long, long hours to stay  
Apart from me?  
I think as much as I she mourns,  
And is as glad when she returns,  
Her child so see.

One day I saw my mother weep,  
A tear fell on me when asleep,  
And made me wake;  
Not for herself that tear was shed,  
Her own woes she could bear, she said,  
But for my sake.

She could not bear, she said, to think  
That I the cup of wo must drink,  
Which she had drunk;

That from my cradle to my grave,  
I too must live a wretched slave,  
Degraded, sunk.

Her words I scarcely understood,  
They seemed to speak of little good,  
For coming years;  
But joy with all my musings blends,  
And infant thought not far extends  
Its hopes and fears.

I ponder much to comprehend  
What sort of beings, gentle friend,  
We 've got among;  
Some things in my experience,  
Do much confound my budding sense  
Of right and wrong.

Baby, I love you; 't is not right  
To love you less because you 're white;  
Then surely you  
Will never learn to scorn or hate  
Whom the same Maker did create  
Of darker hue.

Beneath thy pale uncolored skin,  
As warm a heart may beat within,  
As beats in me.  
Unjustly I will not forget,  
Souls are not colored white or jet,  
In thee or me.

Your coming of the tyrant race,  
I will not think in you disgrace,  
Since not your choice;  
If you 're as just and kind to me,  
Through all our lives why may not we  
In love rejoice? E. T. C.

[From the Genius of Universal Emancipation.]

## THE SUGAR-PLUMS.

No, no, pretty sugar-plums! stay where you are!  
Though my grandmother sent you to me from so far;  
You look very nice, you would taste very sweet,  
And I love you right well, yet not one will I eat.

For the poor slaves have labored, far down in the south,  
To make you so sweet, and so nice for my mouth;  
But I want no slaves toiling for me in the sun,  
Driven on with the whip, till the long day is done.

Perhaps some poor slave-child that hoed up the ground,  
Round the cane in whose rich juice your sweetness was  
found,  
Was flogged till his mother cried sadly to see,  
And I'm sure I want nobody beaten for me.

So grandma, I thank you for being so kind,  
But your present to-day is not much to my mind;  
Tho' I love you so dearly, I choose not to eat  
Ev'n what you have sent me, by slavery made sweet.

Thus said little Fanny, and skipped off to play,  
Leaving all her nice sugar-plums just where they lay;  
As merry as if they had gone in her mouth,  
And she had not cared for the slaves of the south.

MARGARET.

☞ The Treasurer of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society acknowledges the receipt of FIFTEEN DOLLARS from Mr. PRINCE FARMER of Salem, to constitute him a Life Member of the Society. Also, THIRTY FOUR DOLLARS from Mr. EBENEZER DOLE of Hallowell—FIFTY DOLLARS from Mrs. SARAH H. WINSLOW, and FIFTEEN DOLLARS from Mrs. C. WINSLOW, both of Portland.

\* See in the Juvenile Miscellany, a letter from an infant in Charleston, (S. C.) to her cousin in Massachusetts.

# THE ABOLITIONIST.

VOL. I.]

MARCH, 1833.

[NO. III.]

## CONTINUATION OF EXTRACTS FROM THE ANNUAL REPORT.

THE Board of Managers of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, in presenting to the public their First Annual Report, deem it proper to make a full developement of the motives which led to the formation of the Society,—the principles which govern its actions,—and the purposes which it aims to accomplish. It is right that the people of this country,—and especially of New-England, to whose countenance and patronage the Society more directly appeals,—should understand, fairly and plainly, these motives, and principles, and purposes. Self defence against the misrepresentations and assaults of ignorance, prejudice and malice,—the success of the cause of truth and justice,—imperiously require such an exposition at their hands.

The Managers, while they feel cheered in view of what has been accomplished during the past year, cannot withhold the expression of their regret that there is, in this wide community, such a general aversion to a close, candid and zealous investigation of a subject, which involves the temporal and everlasting welfare of millions of the human family, and the permanency of the institutions of this country. The ignorance which prevails among all classes respecting the nature, extent and withering tendency of slavery, as it exists in the southern states, is as surprising as it is deplorable. Many persons, of good information on other subjects, cannot even guess the number of the slave population; others are hardly able to designate between the free and the slave states; others seem not aware of the fact, that, in various portions of territory, slavery is maintained by the people and government of the United States; others know so little of the physical sufferings and spiritual deprivations of the slaves, as to receive with incredulity, if not positive unbelief, the most well-authenticated facts; others possess merely a general statistical knowledge, but have never traced the pernicious effects of slavery upon the prosperity and happiness of the slave States, or imagined that it is, and must inevitably be, the source of national division.

Hence, to this general ignorance may be attributed the success of the colonization scheme, which, having been received upon trust, is still viewed by many benevolent individuals as providing a remedy for slavery.

Hence, too, the facility with which false and wicked accusations against the cause of abolition, and its advocates, have been circulated throughout the country; and hence the necessity for the present defence.

*The motives which actuated the founders of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society were not those of hostility to the interests or persons of slave-owners.*

From the statements and complaints of the planters themselves—from the visible curse which rested upon the slave-tilled soil—from the natural unproductiveness of slave labor, the slaves being robbed of all motives for long-continued, well-directed exertions—from the debasing and barbarous tendency of the system—from the fears of insurrection, which always harass the repose and embitter the cup of oppressors—from the solemn lessons which all history teaches, that tyranny cannot always be exercised with impunity—and from the many revolts, which, since the introduction of slaves into this country, had taken place, growing more and more formidable, and ending with the terrible massacre at Southampton, in Virginia—they were convinced that the abolition of slavery was the only mode of preserving the lives and increasing the wealth of their southern fellow-citizens. They saw that custom and education, as well as a mistaken policy, had blinded the eyes of the planters to their best interests; and while they felt and expressed, as christians and philanthropists, the strongest moral indignation, in view of the conduct of the transgressors, they likewise cherished the utmost benevolence of feeling toward them. To deduct aught from the sum of their happiness, in order to increase that of their victims—or to depress them in proportion to the elevation of the slaves—was not the design of the founders of the Anti-Slavery Society. It was because their good-will and philanthropy were as broad as the earth, embracing all men as members of one family, and estimating the happiness and worth of all by the same standard, that they were impelled, in defiance of persecution and reproach, to put forth every exertion for the overthrow of slavery.

*Nor were their motives those of a sectional character.* They associated together to maintain, not to destroy the Union, by endeavoring to remove the cause of division. They believed, inasmuch as it is impracticable satisfac-

torily to legislate for a portion of the people as men, and another portion as cattle, that there could be no end to collisions until the root of bitterness was taken away; and that nearly all the troubles and excitements in the land sprang from slavery. There were no difficulties or heart-burnings between the free States: they did not threaten each other, or talk of a separation one from another. The longer slavery was tolerated, the more probable, in their conviction, was a dismemberment of the Union. To seek its utter annihilation, then, became them as wise men, as patriots, as christians, as lovers of their country. They were not so thoughtless, or vain, as to suppose that the formation of an anti-slavery society, such as they contemplated, would excite no opposition; or that they could go into a free discussion of the question of slavery, without subjecting themselves to great reproach as disorganizers, madmen, and fanatics. All the angry ebullitions which their exertions have elicited, both at the north and the south, they were prepared to meet. They had no alternative but to act the part of the Levite, and steel their hearts and close their ears to the cries of two millions of their fellow-creatures, or, like the good Samaritan, to compassionate the bleeding victims, and seek their deliverance. However high the tempest of passion might rise, on the avowal of their sentiments and designs, they were consoled to believe that it would serve to purify a foul atmosphere which was generating moral death. However unkindly their expostulations, warnings, rebukes and efforts might at first be received by the possessors of slaves, they could not doubt their efficacy to produce, ultimately, a radical reform. However cruelly the slaves might be treated by the excited masters, in consequence of their benevolent interposition, they knew that that aggravated cruelty would only serve to make slavery more odious in the sight of the people, and hasten its downfall. The expostulation of Moses with Pharaoh only hardened the heart of the tyrant, and induced him to increase the burdens of the Israelites; for he 'commanded *the same day*, the taskmasters of the people, and their officers, saying, Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick as heretofore: let them go and gather straw for themselves.' Such a result was peculiarly distressing to Moses: even his afflicted brethren upbraided him sharply for his interference. 'And they met Moses and Aaron, who stood in the way, as they came forth from Pharaoh: and they said unto them, The Lord look upon you, and judge; because ye have made our savour to be abhorred in the eyes of his servants, to put a sword in their hand to slay us.' History is full of instruction upon this point: there is scarcely an instance on record where the exertions of reformers to break the fetters of tyranny were not immediately succeeded by new and grievous disabilities,

imposed by the angry oppressors upon their vassals. The guilty Jews were cut to the heart by the faithful preaching of Stephen: 'they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him.' All such outrages, however, promote the cause of truth, and defeat the object for which they were perpetrated.

Let abolitionists derive consolation and hope from these reflections. Let them meekly bear the taunts and reproaches of half-way reformers and temporising gradualists, who accuse them of provoking slaveholders to treat their slaves more rigorously than ever. The sin lies not at their doors. Upon the perpetrators of these fresh grievances must punishment be executed by Heaven. Abolitionists deeply regret to perceive no disposition, on the part of the slaveholding States, to cease from their oppression. Within the last two years, the Legislatures of Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana, Alabama and Tennessee, have passed laws respecting the free colored and slave population of those States, which are in the highest degree atrocious. The spirit of persecution is abroad, with unexampled malignity; but its violence will prove its destruction.

The New-England Anti-Slavery Society tolerates no compromise of principle. Its demands upon the holders of slaves are as imperative as those of the book of inspiration—'to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free.' To all the palliatives and excuses which they and their apologists present for their oppressive conduct, it replies in the language of Jehovah, 'Thou shalt not steal'—'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's'—'Behold the hire of the laborers, which have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.' It regards with dismay and horror the doctrine which is becoming popular in this land, especially in regard to slavery, that 'the end sanctifies the means'—that expediency is duty, but duty is not expediency—that the guilt of oppression belongs to past generations, and repentance to posterity—that the circumstances of the times, the laws of the States, the preservation of life and property, justify robbery and oppression, and a violation of all the commandments—and that immediate and universal obedience to the requirements of the gospel, on the part of transgressors, will produce worse results than continuance in sin, or a gradual reformation.

\* \* \* \* \*

Whatever ignorance or delusion may advance to the contrary, the guilt of slaveholding

is national; the evil is national; and 'a common evil implies a common right to apply a remedy.' We, of New-England, deeply participate in the guilt of oppression, having early commenced enslaving the natives of Africa, and up to the last hour of the legality of the traffic, actively prosecuted the foreign slave trade. To the south we are now pledging our physical force, in case of insurrection, and giving our co-operation, without which they could not long retain their victims in servitude. To the slaves, therefore, we are bound to make reparation; and no pretext or device can release us from our obligations. 'Whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself, but shall not be heard.'

The Board of Managers would solemnly protest against the doctrine, that slavery concerns the south alone, and that the people of the free States have no right to demand its removal. They regard it as politically and morally false, calculated to paralyze the consciences and efforts of the people, and give perpetuity to the system. It is true, the people of New-England cannot legislate for the southern States; that the national compact was so framed as to guarantee the legal possession of slaves; and that physical interference would be a violation of christian principles. But, so long as slaves are held in the District of Columbia and in the Territories of the United States; so long as ours is a representative government, subject to the will of the people; so long as no efforts are made to modify or repeal the present compact, by those who have both the right and the power thus to do; so long as the interests of the non-slaveholding States are jeopardized by the twenty-five slave votes in Congress; so long as moral influence, widely and wisely disseminated, is productive of beneficial results; so long as public opinion is the lever of national reform; so long as the people of New-England are liable to be called upon to put down slave insurrections at the south; so long as there is neither the liberty of speech nor of the press, on the subject of oppression, in a large portion of our country; so long as southern States deprive the colored citizens of New-England, who may visit them, of their liberty and the rights of citizenship guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States; so long as slavery mars the harmony, divides the policy, retards the prosperity, and fearfully threatens the existence of the nation; so long as the commands of Jesus remain binding upon all men, 'Whosoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even soto them'—'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself'; so long as there remains any flesh in our hearts, any physical or moral affinity between us and our enslaved brethren, any love to God or man in our souls; it never can be true that the people of New-England are not bound to use their moral and political power to overthrow slavery in the United States.

EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS,  
DELIVERED BEFORE THE N. E. ANTI-SLAVERY  
SOCIETY, BY WM. J. SNELLING, ESQ.

*Friends and Fellow Citizens:* I come hither to night at the request of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, to address you on an old subject, but one that can never be urged too often or too strongly on the attention of every true lover of his country. I come to remind you that more than two millions of our fellow creatures are groaning in bondage, that on this night, and on every night of the year, millions of curses go up against us to the judgment seat of Jehovah; and it cannot but be obvious, that in so far as we have neglected to redress the wrongs of our brethren, having the power to do so, we have deserved them.

I think that there is not much need of argument to prove, that to retain a fellow-creature in thralldom, is *wrong*. Yet, if there be any one here who thinks otherwise, I would refer him to a single precept of Him who died for all men, without distinction of color: 'As ye would have others to do unto you, do ye even so unto them.' In my view, this text is as clear a prohibition of slavery, as inspiration itself could have uttered—and even those who deny the Saviour, have never denied the excellence of this His precept.

I have often heard it said, and perhaps the thought may occur to some who hear me, that whatever the evils of negro slavery may be, they are no affairs of ours. Every day we hear those who are actively engaged in the best and holiest cause that ever warmed the heart of man, the abolition of slavery, called by the reproachful names of fanatics, visionaries and enthusiasts. We every day hear it repeated that the crime of slavery is attributable only to our fathers, who entailed it upon us; that the laws have sanctioned it, and that therefore we must submit to the national reproach with patience. It requires some patience to listen to such arguments. What! because we do not receive the immediate gains of extorted labor—because we do not apply the scourge with our own hands—is the oppression under which the slave suffers no affair of ours? I hold that it concerns us as nearly as it does the actual slaveholder. Do we not offer the south a market for the produce of the toil of her slaves? Could the system of slavery subsist for a year, nay, for a single day, were that market closed? Every one, who buys a pound of southern sugar, or a yard of southern cotton, virtually approves and sanctions an hour, or more, of slave labor. We are yet farther interested in this momentous matter. We have, by acceding to the Federal Constitution, solemnly and as a people, guaranteed the continuance of slavery. We, that is all of us between eighteen and forty-five, are liable to be called to suppress, what we should call rebellion, but what all other nations will call a glorious revolution. Judging from late

events, it will be no cause of surprise if we are soon made sensibly to feel the inconvenience of this liability. Moreover, it is our moral influence, the fear of our bayonets, that prevents the slave from shaking off his fetters. If we have approved the system, if we continue to lend it our support, if we are pledged not to suffer its summary abolition, can it be said that, in speaking of it, we meddle with what concerns us not? Can it be said, while we continue to do these things, that no blame is to be attributed to us?

It is true that our fathers committed a grievous crime in bringing slaves to our shores. The original guilt was theirs, not ours. If we *cannot* rid ourselves of this curse, if the consequences of their sin cannot be remedied, then we are entirely guiltless; for in what is *necessary*, there is neither crime nor reproach. But if we ever could have effected the abolition of slavery, if we can still effect it, as I believe we can, and do not, our guilt is the same, in kind, as theirs, and greater in degree, for its victims are ten times more numerous. We stand with them in the relation of receiver and thief.

We are often told that the condition of the slaves is a happy one; preferable to that of the laboring whites in the north. If it be so, how comes it that so many masters and overseers are murdered by their negroes every year? How comes it that every southern paper offers us rewards for the apprehension of runaways? and how is it that these runaways are almost always identified by the scars of the whip and other marks of the brutality of their owners? If the slaves be happy and contented, whence the insurrection of Southampton, and why do southern gentlemen inform us in their public speeches that they never open their doors at night when the stranger knocks, without deadly weapons in their hands? Every slave is liable, in every slaveholding state, to be beaten, as the caprice of any, the meanest white, may dictate. In some states his death is atoned by a slight fine. Every slave is liable, at the death of his master, to be sold, and torn from his parents, wife or tender offspring, as the case may be. Such is the law, and so, in slave states, must property necessarily be divided. No matter what suffering may be the consequence, no matter how much the best and strongest feelings of nature may be outraged, the heirs *must* divide the inheritance. I think I may venture to assert that one slave, of every two in the United States, has thus been, at some time of his life, forcibly separated from those nearest and dearest to him. Women, I can say it, for I have seen it, do not escape the lash. I call on all who hear me to decide if such a state is a happy one. If there be a father who would part with his child to a stranger, forever, to be carried he knows not whither, he will, perhaps, say that it is. If there is a husband who would

stand quietly by and see his wife's body lacerated by the scourge, or perhaps subjected to brutalities which are unfit to be named, he will decide in the affirmative. Such things I have known to be done, as to describe would make the flesh creep and the blood curdle.

A being who can be content to labor every day, from morning till night, for the benefit of another, who can submit to be beaten, who can be contented under his liability to be sold like a piece of merchandize, and torn from those appointed by God to make him happy, is not a *man*. He is a *brute*, in no wise superior to his fellow laborer, the horse, or ox. His feelings cannot be called *happy*. Is there any free, intelligent man, who would change conditions with such a being? Is the state in which he exists, for he cannot be said to live, comparable even to that of the poorest and most laborious native of New-England? To say that it is, would be an insult to my countrymen.

An idle school boy may think the suppression of schools an improvement in the state of society, and so may a man, provided he be a slaveholder. I hold it one of the greatest miseries to which the slaves are subjected, that they are not permitted to learn to read and write. Such a prohibition abridges their comforts, lessens their chance of happiness, and brings them nigher to the level of brutes. In some states it is highly penal to teach a slave to read. How wretched must that country be, whose safety can only be assured by such laws! laws which condemn half its inhabitants to everlasting degradation! Yet it is good policy—learning and slavery can no more exist together than fire and water. Teach the slaves to read, and they are slaves no longer.—If this want of intelligence is *happiness*, why not yet further diminish the slave's means of information? Why not put out his eyes, crack the drums of his ears, sew up his lips, put plugs in his nostrils—why not, in short, make an oyster of him? According to the reasoning of some philanthropists, he would then be the happiest of mankind. He would not, indeed, be able to raise sugar or cotton; but what man, what slaveholder is there, who would not sacrifice a little sugar and cotton to make a man happy?

What will be the feelings of the sincere christian, when he reflects that two millions of his fellow heirs of immortal life are forbidden to know their Saviour, debarred from all religious instruction? Christ declared that he died for all men—the legislatures of some states have virtually contradicted him, and said that whoso weareth a dark skin shall have no portion in his blood. Yes, unrighteous and oppressive as it may seem, in some states negroes are forbidden to assemble to worship their maker. This too is good policy, for religion is as opposite to slavery as learning is. Surely, no land ever treated its foreign bond-

men with such severity as ours does its own children. The ancient Jews protected their servants, and had their year of release—their day of jubilee, so that, in fact, slavery with them was but an apprenticeship. The laws of Minus compelled the Cretan master to change places with his servant once a year. In Athens the slaves had freedom of speech, and a temple to which they might fly for protection when abused. In Sparta, slaves were the property of the state; not of individuals. In no ancient nation were slaves forbidden to learn, or to worship. Among the Mahometans of our own day, every seventh year is a jubilee for slaves. Here, among Christians, among men who boast of their freedom, slavery is unmitigated and perpetual. I cannot conceive of any slavery without crime and misery, but no slavery of which I have read was any thing like ours. Here, no light is permitted to shine on the bondman, no hope to cheer him. His present is miserable, his future dark and comfortless. In such circumstances, can we wonder at his degradation? Can we wonder that, when goaded to frenzy, he does burst the bonds of his fear, he is as ferocious and sanguinary as the great bear of our western prairies?

It must be admitted, that, in some parts of the slave states, the blacks are permitted to attend the same churches with their masters, but this fact does not invalidate what has been said. They there hear sermons, preached by educated men to educated hearers, which, ignorant as they are, are entirely above their comprehension.

(To be continued.)

#### IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION. No. III.

During the last American war, 774 slaves escaped from their masters, and were at the termination of the war settled in Trinidad as free laborers, where they are earning their own livelihood with industry and good conduct. The following extract of a letter, received in 1829 from Trinidad by Mr. Pownall, will show the usefulness and respectability of these liberated negroes. 'A field negro brings 400 dollars, but most of the work is done by free blacks and people from the main at a much cheaper rate; and as these are generally employed by foreigners, this accounts for their succeeding better than our own countrymen, who are principally from the old islands, and are unaccustomed to any other management than that of slaves; however, they are coming into it fast. In Trinidad, there are upwards of fifteen thousand free people of color; *there is not a single pauper amongst them*; they live independently and comfortably, and nearly half of the property of the island is said to be in their hands. It is admitted that they are highly respectable in character, and are rapidly

advancing in knowledge and refinement.' Mr. Mitchell, a sugar planter who had resided 27 years in Trinidad, and who is the superintendent of the liberated negroes there, says he knows of no instance of a manumitted slave not maintaining himself. In a paper printed by the House of Commons in 1827, (No. 479) he says of the liberated blacks under his superintendence, that each of them possessed an allotment of land which he cultivated, and on which he raised provisions and other articles for himself and his family; his wife and children aiding him in the work. A great part, however, of the time of the men (the women attending to the domestic menage) was freely given to laboring on the neighboring plantations, on which they worked not in general by the day but by the piece. Mr Mitchell says that their work is well executed, and that they can earn as much as four shillings a day. If, then, these men who have land on which they can support themselves are yet willing to work for hire, how is it possible to doubt that in case of general emancipation, the freed negroes who who would have no land of their own would gladly work for wages?

A few years ago, about 150 negro slaves, at different times, succeeded in making their escape from Kentucky into Canada. Captain Stuart, who lived in upper Canada from 1817 to 1822, was generally acquainted with them, and employed several of them in various ways. He found them as good and as trustworthy laborers in every respect as any emigrants from the islands or from the United States, or as the natives of the country. In 1828, he again visited that country, and found that their numbers had increased by new refugees to about 300. They had purchased a tract of woodland, a few miles from Amherstburgh, and were settled on it, had formed a little village, had a minister of their own number, color and choice, a good old man of some talent with whom Captain Stuart was well acquainted, and though poor, were living soberly, honestly and industriously, and were peacefully and usefully getting their own living.

In consequence of the Revolution in Colombia, all the slaves who joined the Colombia armies, amounting to a considerable number, were declared free. General Bolivar enfranchised his own slaves to the amount of between 700 and 800, and many proprietors followed his example. At that time Colombia was overrun by hostile armies, and the masters were often obliged to abandon their property. The black population (including Indians) amounted to 900,000 persons. Of these, a large number was suddenly emancipated, and what has been the effect? Where the opportunities of insurrection have been so frequent and so tempting, what has been the effect? M. Ravenga declares that the effect has been a *degree of docility on the part of the blacks, and a degree of security on the part of the whites, unknown in*

any preceding period of the history of Colombia.

On the 15th of September, 1829, a decree was issued by the Mexican Government, declaring that 'Slavery is for ever abolished in the republic; and that consequently all those individuals, who, until this day, looked upon themselves as slaves, are free.'

If this most sudden emancipation had been attended with any disturbance of the public peace, would not some of the friends of slavery have told us of it?

Dr. Walsh\* states that in Brazil there are 600,000 enfranchised persons, either Africans or of African descent, who were either slaves themselves or are the descendants of slaves. He says they are, generally speaking, 'well conducted and industrious persons, who compose indiscriminately different orders of the community. There are among them merchants, farmers, doctors, lawyers, priests and officers of different ranks. Every considerable town in the interior has regiments composed of them.' The benefits arising from them, he adds, have disposed the whites to think of making free the whole negro population.

Mr. Koster, an Englishman living in Brazil, confirms Mr. Walsh's statement.† 'There are black regiments,' he observes, 'composed entirely and exclusively of black creole soldiers, commanded by black creole officers from the corporal to the colonel. I have seen the several guard-houses of the town occupied by these troops. Far from any apprehension being entertained on this score, it is well known that the quietude of this country, and the feeling of safety which every one possesses although surrounded by slaves, proceed from the contentedness of the free people.'

An experiment tried on a small scale in Tortola (it must be owned with some peculiar advantages) has been completely successful. Samuel Nottingham, a quaker who became possessed of a small estate in Tortola, to which were attached twenty-five negroes, determined on manumitting them, and did so by a deed executed on the 30th of June, 1776. He gave them a plantation with every thing thereunto belonging, and secured it to them and their offspring. In the year 1822, this plantation was visited several times by two highly respectable gentlemen, who give the following account of its proprietors. 'Of the original persons liberated, nine are still alive; besides whom there are twenty-five of their children, and nine grand children, making in all forty-five persons. The whole of them reside on the same plantation, which they have ever since cultivated. Half of it is chiefly in provisions, and the rest is used as pasturage for their stock, which consists of twenty-eight cows, thirteen goats and thirteen hogs. Jef-

frey Nottingham, one of those originally emancipated, exclusive of his share in the plantation and stock, possesses five acres of land, a house in Spanish town, and a vessel of twenty-three feet keel. Diana and Eve have each a boat of seventeen and fourteen feet keel. For some years, the seasons were so bad that they found it difficult to get water for their stock, and got little return for their labor; but still they had been able to support themselves, and to acquire the property mentioned above, while they increased in number from 25 to 43. Not one of them is now in debt; and their property is free from all incumbrance. During the whole period since their emancipation, none of them have been sued in court, or brought before a Magistrate to answer to any complaint. They are a fine healthy race, all black, and seem to dwell very happily together.'

The account given in several Jamaica newspapers of the condition of a little colony of runaway slaves in Trelawny proves very decidedly *their* fitness for freedom; yet there is not the slightest reason to think that they were better qualified to make a good use of it than any other slaves in our colonies. These accounts are given by their enemies, who mix with the description insults and wishes for their destruction. About the year 1812, a dozen negroes who had escaped from slavery, settled themselves in the back districts of Trelawny, in the interior of Jamaica, where they built a few houses and brought two hundred acres of land into cultivation. The Montego Bay Gazette of October 29th, 1824, gives the following account of the state in which a party who went to seize the settlers as runaways, found their town and lands. 'They had about two hundred acres of very fine provisions in full bearing, with abundance of hogs and poultry. The houses appear to be of considerable magnitude, are well built, shingled and floored; one of the buildings is seventy feet long, another forty, and few under twenty-five. We also understand that there are near the town, from thirty to forty acres of beautiful coffee and a large field of canes.' The Cornwall Courier, of November 3rd, gives nearly the same account, and adds, 'We understand a runaway, who is taken, mentions there is a track to the town from Windsor Pen, by which the negroes of different estates have been in the practice of going with asses to exchange salt provisions with the runaways for their ground provisions, and with which they have added to the supply of the Sunday Market in this town.' The Cornwall Gazette of November 2nd, says, 'After our last publication, we gave circulation to a bulletin briefly relating the particulars of the now famous town, called by its refined and polished inhabitants, 'We no seen, you no come.' The party of militia and maroons, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Scott, after a march of eight hours,

\* Walsh's Notes on Brazil, vol. 2, page 365.

† Amelioration of Slavery, published in No. 16 of the Pamphleteer.

reached the first of their provision-grounds, consisting of a cocoa piece nearly a mile from the town. The party now having full possession of the town, quietly took up their quarters in the houses where the former possessors had been busily employed in culinary affairs, and the assailants became partakers of that cheer which was intended for themselves.' The writer of the account adds, 'The Jamaica journals, before-mentioned, contain no direct charge against the inhabitants of this little settlement. All the circumstances mentioned (and these are given by their enemies) warrant us in concluding that they kept themselves peaceably at home, and that they did no injury to their neighbors. Indeed, it appears that they were useful to them, as through the medium of the negroes who came to them with their asses, they contributed to supply with ground provisions the markets in one of the neighboring towns. These facts enable us to confute those calumnies which describe the negroes as insensible to the blessings of freedom, and convince us that they are able to manage their own concerns, and that they would work, if emancipated, willingly, and that they need no impulse from the whip. No one can look back to what these fugitives have done in the way of cultivation, and believe that negroes would not work when emancipated, if a proper stimulus were given them.'

A LETTER FROM JAMES CROPPER TO  
THOMAS CLARKSON.

LIVERPOOL, 10th month, 2d, 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

It has caused me deep regret to see thy name amongst those of many long tried friends of humanity as supporters of the American Colonization Society; though I am not surprised that many under the mask of a voluntary and prosperous settlement of free blacks on the coast of Africa—a measure in which every friend of humanity must rejoice—have been led to support a scheme, the nature and effects of which are of a very different character.

In judging of this scheme, we ought never to lose sight of two facts with respect to the enslaved Africans in the United States, in which the enormities of that free country have exceeded those of any other. The first is, that slaves are regularly bred for sale. The second, that in many of the States, the laws affecting free blacks are of so violently persecuting a character as to compel those who obtain their liberty to leave those States. From the former of these causes, instances must often occur, (from the state of morals in slave countries,) of fathers selling their own children!! From the latter has originated the Colonization Society; it arose out of these prejudices against color, and is a direct attempt to extend the same principle to transportation.

Why are slaveholders so anxious to send away free people of color? Because their slave institutions would be endangered by the competition of respectable free black laborers; and they dread still more their education and advancement in science. If they were desirous to serve the free blacks, they would instruct them at home, (not a few of them, but every one that they send,) and not send them in ignorance to a barbarous country.

To this real scheme of transporting the people of color a professed one is attached, for the ultimate extinction of slavery, by the transportation of the whole black population to the coast of Africa; and we are gravely told that one hundred thousand slaves are ready to be given up, if means can be found of sending them to Africa! A most extraordinary statement, and one for which I believe there is no foundation, in either fact or probability. Can it be believed that the slaveholders of the United States are ready to give up their property, worth at least *five millions sterling*?—a liberality unheard of since the foundation of the world. In all the rest of the United States, enough to pay the expense of their emigration cannot be raised, and hence it is sought for in England. If there was any truth in this wonderful statement, we must all of us have been sadly deceived about the debasing effects of slaveholding on the minds of those engaged in it. No other occupation ever produced such extraordinary liberality.

It would be interesting to know to what class these men belong. Is it the practice of selling their own children, which has produced this extraordinary effect? Or are these men amongst the slave buyers, who purchase them for no other purpose, than to give them their freedom as soon as the means of sending them to Liberia can be found? Is it not strange indeed, that any man can be bold enough to make assertions so obviously at variance with truth? To whatever extent this transportation of slaves was carried, the slaveholders know that the price of those slaves which remained would be enhanced, and their condition embittered, by the removal of all hopes of liberty, so precious to the human soul. The free colored people being kept few and poor, will be prevented from rising, by fair competition, to the equal rank and honor to which that competition naturally conducts, when not marred in its progress by some such scheme as the American Colonization Society. No wonder that, with the exception of some who do not understand the plan, the planters are friendly to the colonization scheme. But the free people of color are opposed to this scheme. They have committed no crime, and do not like to be transported and to suffer the highest penalty of the law next to death.

To whatever extent the United States expatriate their cotton cultivators, they destroy

one of the chief sinews of their own prosperity, and increase the temptation to other states to renew the slave trade by fresh importations. The whole revenue of the United States, for fully thirty years to come, would be required to purchase the slaves, and to transport them and the free blacks to Africa. Such an idea as the extinction of slavery by means of the Colonization Society can never have been seriously contemplated. No!—*Perpetuation*, and not *extinction of slavery*, is its object!

The first command ever given to man was, 'Be fruitful and multiply.' Who can doubt that it is for his interest to obey this and every other command of God? But in no case is it so manifest as when in a state of slavery. The value of men, as of every other commodity, is governed by their plenty or scarcity; where they are so abundant that parishes are willing to pay the expenses of emigration to get rid of them, there must be an end of slavery. Every increase of numbers tends, whilst it is a proof of better treatment, to promote the mitigation and final extinction of slavery; and it must be admitted that the Americans evince this proof of good treatment.

The slaves in the United States have rapidly increased, and this increase has been highly beneficial to the cause of humanity. It is estimated that they have increased since 1808, (the time of both our and their abolition of the slave trade,) from 1,130,000 to 2,010,000, and they have more than trebled the growth of cotton since the peace of 1814, and have reduced its price to one third of what it then was, though the Brazils, with all their slave trading, have only added one fourth part to their growth of cotton in the same time. Hence it is plain, that if there has been any increase in the cotton cultivators of Brazils, few or no slaves can have been imported for its cultivation. May we not then say that the increase of the slave population of the United States has done more than all our enormous expenditure for the suppression of the African slave trade?

It cannot but be interesting to thee to know what would have been the effect of a similar increase in the English West Indian slaves. Had they increased in the same proportion as those of the United States (since the abolition of the slave trade) their numbers would have been 728,317 more than they now are, which, if employed in the cultivation of sugar, would have been sufficient to have produced an increase of 240,000 tons annually, whilst all the slave trading of the Brazils and Cuba and the French colonies have only added 115,000 tons to their growth. Such an increase of sugar would have greatly reduced its price, and consequently the price of slaves, and thereby have destroyed the slave trade for the growth of sugar, as it has long since extinguished that for the cultivation of indigo, and more recently for the growth of cotton.

The disguise is now removing, and the real tendency of the society is becoming apparent. A bill was reported to the House of Delegates of Virginia for sending the free blacks away by force; but though this compulsory clause was rejected, it is added that several other motions were made, and decided by majorities which amply proved the determination of the House, to adopt some measure for the removal of the free blacks. These legislators admit that the free blacks will not leave the land without some sort of force; which may either be absolute, or by rendering their situation absolutely intolerable.

Great injury has been done to the cause of negro emancipation by the encouragement which the agent of this most *diabolical* scheme has received from the sanction of thy name. The term diabolical is not too severe; for never did Satan, with more success, transform himself into an angel of light, than in the gloss which has covered its deformities.

These persecuted free blacks view the whole plan with the abhorrence which is justly due to it, and with which we should view a plan of general transportation from the land of our nativity. The slave-owners are its advocates and supporters. Surely the name of Clarkson will be withdrawn from the ranks of the oppressors, and will be found, as it has ever yet been, amongst the friends of the oppressed African race.

Let us repair the injury which has been done on both sides of the water by this unholy connection between slaveholders and philanthropists; for since this scheme has been on foot, its deadening influence on the energies of the friends of humanity in the United States has been most manifest.

Let there no longer be any doubt which side is taken by the philanthropists of England. Let them declare their deep feeling of sympathy with these sorely persecuted and oppressed people; and such an example will be followed in the United States, where the friends of humanity will hasten to leave the ranks of the oppressors, and the cause of justice will again flourish.

May I particularly request thy attentive perusal of the following twenty pages, written by my friend Charles Stuart, one of the most devoted Christians I have ever known, and an unwearied advocate of the oppressed Africans.

I am, with great regard,  
Thy sincere friend,

JAMES CROPPER.

'Immortal souls in slavery! Subjects of the grace of God, and the purchase of the precious blood of Christ, in slavery! Beings capable of all the blessings of civil society, deprived of them all, to administer to the vices and pleasure of others! If this be mercy, what is not? Hail, ye sons of Benevolence!'

[For the Abolitionist.]

**SAVAGE AND BARBAROUS CUSTOMS OF DIFFERENT NATIONS.**

*Henry.* Father, what were that gentleman and you talking about? I thought it must be something very interesting, and I hoped he would come in, that we might hear him.

*Father.* That gentleman has been a great traveller, and was telling of some very shocking and cruel customs which he had seen among barbarous nations in different parts of the world.\*

*Henry.* Will you tell us something about them, Father?

*Father.* He told me he had once been among a people who had been in the habit of killing a great many of their little children, as soon as they were born.

*Mary.* Oh! Father, how wicked!

*Henry.* Who killed them, Father?

*Father.* The fathers and mothers either killed them themselves, or employed others to do it. Mr. A. the gentleman who told me about it, once met a man who told him he had killed seven of his own children. These poor ignorant people had some notions, which made them think it was right to kill them. But good people, called missionaries, have gone there from Christian countries to teach them to be good, and have translated the bible, or part of it, into their language, and taught them to read it; and since that, they have almost all left off killing their children.

*Mary.* Oh, how glad I am!

*Henry.* What country was it, Father?

*Father.* It was at the Society Islands, in the South Pacific ocean. You can find it on the map of the world, and may shew it to your little sister. Mr. A. afterwards went to another place, where the people were very savage and cruel; but the most shocking thing among them was that they sometimes ate human beings, men, women and children.

*Mary.* Oh, Father, how dreadful! I did not know any people did so.

*Henry.* My geography says that the New Zealanders are cannibals, that is, eaters of human flesh. Was this at New Zealand, Father?

*Father.* Yes, it was.

*Mary.* Did they kill people on purpose to eat them?

*Father.* Yes—it was generally those whom they had taken prisoners in war, that they killed and ate. A little boy who was in a ship that went there, and who thought the New Zealanders were going to kill him, asked his Father if it would hurt him to be eaten after he was killed.

*Mary.* It would not hurt him, would it?

*Father.* No. But happily the poor child

was not killed, nor any of the people in the vessel.

*Mary.* I think these New Zealanders are very wicked.

*Father.* I do not think they know how wicked it is.

*Henry.* Have any missionaries been sent there?

*Father.* Yes, and I hope they will soon learn better. In another country, Mr. A. saw a woman burned to death with the dead body of her husband. She got on a pile of wood on which the body was burned, and one of her relations then set it on fire. Widows often did so in that country, because they imagined that it was a good action, and that they should be happier for it after death. But there have been laws made to forbid the burning of any more women.

*Mary.* I am very glad of that.

*Henry.* This country was Hindostan, was it not? I have read about it before.

*Father.* You are right. At the next country he went to, he saw many strange things. One day he saw a woman come out of a house, and blow a sort of whistle which she had by her side. At the sound of it, more than thirty children, who had no clothes on, came running up to a great trough, into which she poured a parcel of wash, such as people here feed pigs with. Then all the children stooped their heads down, and ate out of the trough.

*Mary.* What! without any spoons or plates?

*Father.* Yes, they sucked it up with their mouths, like so many little pigs.

*Henry.* You know, Mary, there are many savage nations who do not have such things as spoons or plates; but I never heard of any who ate in this way before.

*Mary.* Were the children as big as I?

*Father.* They were from two to ten years old.

*Mary.* Was the woman their mother?

*Father.* Oh no, she had bought them.

*Henry.* Bought them! bought children! Was she going to eat them?

*Father.* No, the people in that country are not cannibals.

*Henry.* What did she want of them, then?

*Father.* She was going to keep them till they grew bigger, and then she expected to sell them again for a good deal more than she had given for them, to people who wanted them to work for them.

*Mary.* Was she kind to them?

*Father.* She did not seem to care any thing about them, only to give them food that they might grow large enough to sell.

*Mary.* Did their fathers and mothers sell them to the woman?

*Father.* No. Other people took them from their parents, and sold them.

*Mary.* Did they not cry?

*Father.* I dare say they did, poor little things, and their parents too, who would very likely never see their children again.

\* All the facts concerning the customs of different countries, related in this dialogue, are believed to be true, though they were probably never all seen by any one traveller.

*Mary.* Oh, I think these people are almost as bad as those who killed their babies.

*Henry.* Oh no, Mary, not so bad as that.

*Mary.* Why only think, Henry, how we should feel to be taken away from our father and mother, and sold to a wicked woman, who would not care anything about us.

*Henry.* I do not know but they are worse than the New Zealanders, for the people whom they kill and eat are those whom they think their enemies, who would perhaps kill them if they did not; but these poor little children could not have done any harm.

*Father.* Mr. A. was told a story of a little girl in the same country, who was suspected of having set a house on fire. She said she had not done it, but was not believed; and was shut up in a room, and told that she must stay there without any food, till she confessed that she had. After she had been a good while without food, she felt quite hungry, and weak, and sick.

*Mary.* Poor little girl! Father, if I felt so, I am afraid I should be so naughty as to say I had done the thing, even if I had not, so that they might give me something to eat.

*Father.* At last she confessed that she had set the house on fire.

*Henry.* Then I hope they forgave her.

*Father.* My dear children, the rest of the story is almost too horrible to tell you. As soon as she had eaten the food that was given her, she said again that she did not burn the house, and had only said she did because she was so hungry. But she was not believed, and the people burned her to death as a punishment.

*Henry.* How dreadful! Are all the people so wicked?

*Father.* I hope not, but the burning of this poor child was done by the law of the country. They have very strange laws there, Mr. A. said. He heard of some people who had committed murder, and others who had committed other crimes, but were not punished, because those who knew about what had been done were forbidden by law to tell what they knew to the judges. So they would not be afraid to do the same thing again.

*Henry.* It is the strangest country I ever heard of.

*Father.* So the traveller thought. At last he found out that there were two distinct sets or classes of people in the country. One class were liable to have their children taken away from them and sold, like those I told you about; and indeed the men and women too, as well as the children, were sold about among the other set of people, who made them do all their work. Those who bought and sold the others were the largest number, and the most powerful, and made all the laws. They made laws permitting themselves to do pretty much what they pleased to the other people. One law was that these last must never give infor-

mation to the judges of any crime committed by one of the powerful class. And these poor bought-and-sold people were punished much more severely than the others were, if they did any thing wrong.

*Henry.* I think the others treat them very shamefully, and cruelly, and unjustly; but I suppose you will say that they are poor ignorant heathens, who do not have the bible, and do not know any better.

*Father.* Once Mr. A. saw several of the people, men and women, who had just been sold. They had chains on to prevent their running away, and were driven along by a man with a great whip, to the person's home who had bought them. Some of them were very unhappy, because they had just left their children, and their husbands or wives, and every body whom they knew and loved behind them, and were never to see them again.

*Mary.* Father, I hope some good missionaries will go there, and carry them the bible, and teach them to be good, and then they will leave off doing such wicked things.

*Father.* I ought to tell you that these people are not as ignorant as the New Zealanders, and Society Islanders. Most of that part who buy and sell the others can read, and, you will be surprised to hear it, they have the bible among them; but they will not allow the others to have it or to be taught to read. This is one of their strange laws.

*Henry.* Oh, Father, I begin to think that I am afraid I know the name of the country.

*Father.* My dear children, the people who do these things are considered a civilized people, and are called Christians, and the country in which these things are done is the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA!

T. E.

## FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR.

It is often made a subject of reproach to the people of color, that many of them are poor and ignorant; and that a greater proportion of them than of the whites are guilty of crimes. Taking these facts for granted, and even exaggerating them, a conclusion is drawn by too many persons that their cruel prejudices against the African race are justified, that all attempts to elevate and improve them ought to be abandoned, and that they ought all to be driven from among us as soon as possible.

But this mode of reasoning is as weak as it is unjust.

Why is a larger proportion of the blacks than of the whites, to be found amongst the most indigent and depressed classes,—those classes, of course, from which most crimes proceed? The answer is obvious. They have been slaves, or are the immediate descendants

of slaves. With but a few exceptions, there were no free blacks in the country fifty years ago. Is it strange, then, that they whose parents were so recently slaves, the most degraded, despised, poor, and ignorant part of the community,—should not have among them so great a proportion of the great, the wise, the rich and the learned, as they who are descended from more favored classes, especially when we recollect that the prejudice which was always felt against negroes because they were slaves, has descended like a curse upon their free children?

If an observer could for a moment make the tide of time recede fifty years, and should select the one hundred thousand most ignorant, poor, and abandoned white persons in the United States, and should then advance to the present time, and examine the survivors and their descendants, what proportion of them would he find enjoying the honors of wealth or rank, learning or virtue? Though he would perhaps see that a few of the children had emerged from the unfortunate condition of their parents, and had become wealthy merchants, sagacious statesmen, learned judges, and pious ministers of the gospel, he would undoubtedly find that a very large part of the whole number were still in the same deplorable state in which he saw the fathers fifty years ago.

Why should we expect people of color to shake off in a moment the load of poverty and ignorance which oppresses them, when no reasonable man would expect white persons to do it in the same situation?

When I consider the difficulties under which the free people of color have all along labored in this country,—that they have always been regarded by the mass of the whites with scorn and contempt,—that in almost all the states they have suffered from unequal and oppressive laws directed against them by the prejudices of the whites,—that they have been deprived in a great measure of the usual means of education by the operation of these barbarous prejudices,—and that in many places they have been debarred as far as possible from exercising, not only those employments which lead to wealth and reputation, but even those which give a moderate competency—when I consider these things, I am far from being surprised that many of the free people of color should be poor, vicious, and ignorant,—but I am surprised to find that many of them

have risen up under all these disadvantages—that some have shown ability in writing—that some have displayed talents in the pulpit—that some have acquired wealth by honest industry, and many of them moderate competencies—and that so many of them lead exemplary moral and religious lives. The exertions which the free people of color have made and are making, to improve themselves, command my highest respect. When I see the associations which they have lately formed for this object, I see in these alone sufficient proof that they are not so degraded as they have been represented.

In view of the facts to which I have alluded, what is the duty of every philanthropist and Christian towards these American descendants of Africa? It is to aid and encourage all the efforts which they are making to elevate themselves,—to banish from his own mind the unworthy feelings which would lead him to regard any human being with contempt merely on account of his color; and to teach his neighbors to follow his example.

To the free people of color I would say, 'As you have been subjected to remarkable persecution, let it render you examples of remarkable virtue. Persevere in all your efforts to improve yourselves and educate your children; and doubt not that in time you or your descendants will live down all the bitter prejudices of your enemies.'

P. H.

#### AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The elements of discord which this Society contains within itself are, at length, in conflict. We venture to predict that the issue of this collision will be the secession of many members of the Society. The following account of the annual meeting of the Society is taken partly from the Boston Atlas, and partly from the New-York Moral Advertiser. The correspondents of both papers who give these accounts are apparently friends of the Society.

'The last annual meeting of the Colonization Society passed off, as usual, in a highly respectable manner, with able speaking, addressed to a large, attentive and dignified audience. Near the close of the meeting, the Secretary presented to the chairman a list of names for a committee to appoint the officers of the Society, telling him at the time that he presented it on his own responsibility. The committee were named accordingly, and the Secretary among the number. They omitted one of the old Managers, raised three or four more to the Vice Presidency of the Society, among whom were two or three of the most influential men in the District. The officers were so elected; and a new Constitution was also presented to the Society, which had been drafted by the Secretary without the concur-

rence of the Board of Managers, and the consideration of this was deferred to an adjourned meeting of the Society. In the interim, the ejected Manager, assisted to an unknown extent by the Vice Presidents elect, who were also dissatisfied, succeeded in getting up the elements of a tempest. It was told that there was a secret combination to let in the North to overshadow and blast the peace of the South through the channel of the Colonization Society; and that the Secretary and the friends of the new officers and new Constitution, were radical abolitionists, ready to seize on the Society for the purpose of metamorphosing it into a machine for breaking the fetters of the slave population. The adjourned meeting was truly boisterous, and was continued to about midnight, as were both the subsequent meetings. Scraping and brow-beating and calling to order prevailed throughout the evening.

'The next, or third meeting of the Society, was very large, and very stormy. The soft and melodious voices of Messrs. Frelinghuysen and Mr. Everett, were occasionally heard, assuasive as oil upon the raging waves, with an evident, but a momentary effect. A lunatic got up in the course of the evening, maintained his footing, and made quite an amusing speech, part of which very aptly related to throwing cold water. The new Constitution was brought forward, very little amended by a committee, of whom Mr. Frelinghuysen was one;—and at the close of the meeting the whole business was referred to a most respectable committee, composed almost wholly of the two gentlemen already named, and other eminent Members of Congress.'

At the next meeting, the committee reported—

'The honorable committee entirely exonerated from blame all who had been instrumental in the changes made in the officers; but said, "that suspicions had been extensively circulated, the effect of which was to throw odium on the Society at the South, by representing the change of officers as an effort to *alter the policy* of the Society, and make it an *abolitionist Society*, entirely contrary to the constitution of the Society, which *limits* the Society's operations to the removal, with their consent, of the *free people* of color. The committee were, therefore, unanimous in recommending to the members recently elected, to resign their seats, and that the Board of Managers continue this year as last." The Secretary of the Society, who is a *talented philanthropist*, made a most touching appeal, shewing the simplicity of his views and the correctness of his conduct. It must, I think, have vibrated through every heart. General Mercer, Right Rev. Bishop Meade, of Virginia, and other gentlemen, all deeply interested in the cause of African Colonization, spoke feelingly on the importance of pursuing such a course as should continue to secure the confidence of the South, which could by no means be done, if the Society had but the least *appearance* of abolition. On the other hand, it was strongly contended, that the founders of the Society had in the establishment of it *abolition* as a remote object;—and that this object ought by no means to be lost sight of, &c. &c.

'I am persuaded that the Colonization Society can never succeed in reconciling these two opposite interests; for it cannot be disguised that *slaveholders*, saving a few solitary philanthropic exceptions, regard the Colonization Society as a means of ridding the country of a troublesome class of blacks, and also as affording an opportunity for *individuals* so disposed, to give freedom to their slaves. *Northern* colonizationists, however, look on the Colonization Society as tending indirectly to the *utter overthrow* of slavery in the United States. The good of Africa is, indeed, in their estimation, one item in the account, and *but one*. Northern men will never go far in advocating any Society, which in its tendencies only *rivets* stronger the chains of slavery.'

It appears from the Atlas that the debate at the last meeting was as 'stormy as ever.'

'About midnight the vote was taken on the Report, in a forced and disorderly manner. It was adopted by a bare majority; and some who counted say it was not adopted at all, notwithstanding the immense influence in its favor, aided in no small degree by Bishop Meade, appealing in his solemn manner to the consciences of all, and to the gospel of *peace*. Thus the tumult, so far at least as relates to public discussion, was silenced till the next annual meeting of the Society.'

What the changes proposed in the constitution were does not appear. The correspondent of the Atlas states that the present 'constitution admits all the officers of auxiliary societies, amounting in the North to about 1000, to vote at all meetings both of the Society and Board of Managers, and also every person paying a dollar annually, amounting in the North to 20 or 30,000, to vote at all meetings of the Society, embracing the change of the Constitution and the election of Officers;' and that the proposed Constitution makes some great change in this arrangement.

From the foregoing account, it appears very clearly that there are two classes of members in the Colonization Society, whose views are diametrically opposed to one another. One party supports the Society because they believe its measures tend to the final abolition of slavery, and another, principally slaveholders, because they think that the removal of the free blacks will render their property in their slaves more secure. These two parties have always existed in the Society, and an open rupture between them has only been prevented by very cautious, we had almost said cunning, management on the part of its conductors, by holding up one view of its design and objects at the South, and another at the North. We feel confident that the present crisis in the affairs of the Society will lead conscientious men to consider, not only what are its avowed pretensions, but the real character and tendency of its measures. To such men we propose the following questions:

1. Would not the removal of a portion of free laborers from any country, tend to raise the price of labor there? For instance, would not the removal of ten thousand agricultural laborers from Massachusetts, tend to raise the price of agricultural labor in that State?

2. Would not the removal of slaves from a slave State tend to raise the price or value of the remaining slaves? Thus, would not removing ten thousand slaves from Louisiana, increase the value of all who were left there?

Does not, in fact, the sale and removal of five or six thousand slaves a year from Virginia to other Southern States keep up the price of the remaining slaves there?

3. Does not raising the value of slaves tend to check their manumission?

4. Ought a Society to be encouraged, whose operations tend to raise the price of slaves, and thus to diminish manumissions, especially when the more successful the Society is, the stronger will be that tendency?

5. Is not the African Repository the organ of the Colonization Society?

6. Is not that book full of slanderous abuse of the free people of color?

7. Does not such abuse tend to increase the prejudices against the free people of color, and thus to render their situation here more uncomfortable?

8. Is there one free person of color in a hundred, in the United States, who does not regard the Colonization Society as the greatest enemy of his race?

9. Has not the Colonization Society, in one of its Annual Reports, applauded a proposed compulsory deportation of the free people of color.

10. Is it just to expel the free people of color from this country?

11. Can any conscientious man support a Society, which approves of compelling the free people of color to quit this country by force, either moral or physical?

12. Is it not one of the fundamental principles of the Colonization Society, that *property in slaves is sacred*, like other property? Is it not reiterated in its annual reports, the speeches of its members and agents, and the lucubrations of its periodical?

13. Does not the expression, that *property is sacred*, mean that its owners ought not to be deprived of it by legislation, or any other means? and does it not imply that such property is rightful?

14. Does a Society deserve the patronage of Christians, which holds that the legislatures of the states have not a right to declare that men shall cease to be held as property, without paying a compensation to their owners? and which maintains that man may have a rightful property in man?

We wish that fair minded men who are inclined to favor the Society, would consider these questions deliberately and candidly. Let them take nothing for granted, but examine

for themselves the publications of the Society. For ourselves, we feel compelled to declare, that though we have the highest respect for the character and motives of many of its members, yet we hold the principles which it supports, and the measures which it pursues, in utter abhorrence. And we cannot but feel deep regret that such men should be so deluded as to support such an institution.

#### MASSACHUSETTS COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The second annual meeting of this Society was held in Park-street Church, in Boston, on the 7th ultimo. Resolutions were offered and sustained by the Hon. A. H. Everett, William Ladd, Esq., Rev. Mr. Stowe, and Rev. Mr. Blagden,—all in support of the objects of the Parent Society. From the speech of Mr. Everett, we make a single extract:

‘At first he was not so favorably impressed towards the Colonization Society, as he had since become by inquiring into its objects. Having understood its principal object to be the removal of the blacks to Africa, he had doubted the expediency of it; and so far as the effort to remove the blacks was concerned, he still entertained those doubts. He did not see any probability of making any great impression on the mass of the black population, by the annual removals which this Society could ever accomplish. If we could remove the prejudices which exist against the blacks, and secure to them the advantages enjoyed by other classes, there was nothing to prevent their becoming useful citizens. We do not want to remove them from the country because they are not wanted here, or because our population is crowded. There is room and verge enough for all the population we now have, and that will be likely to come to us, from other countries, for a century.’

The remarks of the Rev. Mr. Stowe had little to do with the merits of the Colonization Society—they were fanciful and discursive, showing what Africa *had been*, what she now *is*, and what she *might be*, by the influence of the gospel and civilization. He concluded with the strong assertion that ‘whoever opposed the Colonization Society, so far opposed christianity’!!!

The Rev. Mr. Blagden’s speech, in many points, was highly reprehensible. He avowed himself the enemy of immediate abolition.

The following singular resolution was offered by the Hon. Caleb Cushing.

Resolved, That every patriotic and peaceful citizen of the United States, while he seeks by suitable means to better the condition of our colored population, should anxiously abstain from acts inconsistent with the text or spirit of the Federal Constitution, and which have a tendency therefore to introduce into the country general evils of incalculable magnitude, and at the same time defeat all the benevolent designs in behalf of the blacks by subverting the union of the states.

Comment is unnecessary.

## SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

From the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, a London monthly publication, we receive much valuable intelligence as to the state of slavery in these Islands, and the progress of public opinion in Great Britain on the question of abolition. From this ably conducted work we shall from time to time make such extracts as we think will be interesting to our readers.

## MORAL EFFECTS OF THE SLAVE SYSTEM.

From the following return of the numbers of Baptisms in the Island of Jamaica, it appears that the number of legitimate children baptised in that Island, is little more than one third of the illegitimate. This account, taken from the Registry in the Bishop's office in Spanish town, is, as the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* informs us, 'confined to the free, there being no slave children that can be called legitimate.' The general licentiousness of manners which this table indicates has its origin in slavery.

*Return of Baptisms in Jamaica, from the 1st January to the 31st December, 1830.*

	Illegitimate.	Legitimate.	Total.
St. Catharine,	78	34	112
St. John,	7	5	12
St. Dorothy,	5	2	7
St. Thomas in the Vale,	8	6	14
Clarendon,	23	9	32
Vere,	7	5	12
Manchester,	53	7	60
St. Mary,	25	11	36
St. Ann's,	37	12	49
Kingston,	174	109	283
Port Royal,	25	24	49
St. Andrew,	37	38	75
Portland,	40	5	45
St. Thomas in the East,	35	9	44
St. David,	9	2	11
St. George,	13	7	20
St. Elizabeth,	116	28	144
Westmoreland,	49	12	61
Trelawny,	84	26	110
Hanover,	21	11	32
St. James,	112	18	130
Total	958	380	1338

## LOSS OCCASIONED BY THE LATE REBELLION IN JAMAICA.

The following extract is from a report of a Committee of the House of Assembly of Jamaica. No commentary of ours could add to the weight of such an argument for immediate abolition.

'Your Committee further report that the injury sustained by the late rebellion, by the slaves wilfully setting fire to buildings, grass and cane fields destroyed, robbery and plun-

der of every description, damage done to the present and succeeding crops, loss of the labor of slaves, besides those killed in suppressing such rebellion, and executed after trial, as incendiaries, rebels and murderers, has been ascertained by means of Commissioners appointed under an order of the House, and by the detailed returns made to the Committee, in conformity with such order, to amount to the following sums of money, viz.—

In the parish of St. James, the sum of	£606,250	0	0
In the parish of Hanover, the sum of	425,810	15	0
In the parish of Westmoreland, the sum of	47,092	0	0
In the parish of St. Elizabeth, the sum of	22,146	9	7
In the parish of Trelawny, the sum of	4,960	7	6
Amount of injury sustained in the county of Cornwall	1,106,259	12	1
In the parish of Manchester, the sum of	46,270	0	0
Amount of injury sustained in the county of Middlesex	46,270	0	0
In the parish of Portland, the sum of	772	10	0
In the Parish of St. Thomas in the East	1,280	0	0
Amount of injury sustained in the county of Surrey	2,053	10	0
	£1,154,583	2	1

'To which is to be added the sum of £161,596. 19s. 9d., being the expense incurred in suppressing the late rebellion, and a further expense, not yet ascertained, which has accrued since martial law ceased, being the pay and rations of a portion of the Maroons, as well as detachments of the island militia employed in the pursuit of such of the rebellious slaves who have not surrendered themselves, but remain out, and are sheltered amongst the almost inaccessible forests and fastnesses in the interior districts of the island.'

## COLORED LEGISLATORS.

Our readers will be gratified to find from the following piece of intelligence the rapid advance which the free colored people of Jamaica are making. Their success is a sure omen of the speedy extinction of slavery in that Island.

'One of the first fruits of the recent emancipation of the free blacks and colored inhabitants of Jamaica, from the civil and political disabilities under which they had groaned so long, has been the return, on the occurrence of two vacancies in the House of Assembly, of two gentlemen of color, namely, Mr. Price Watkis, a barrister, for the city of Kingston, and Mr. Manderson, for the populous and wealthy Parish of St. James. The first vote given by Mr. Watkis was in support of an unsuccessful motion to adopt a compulsory manumission law for that island. He stood in a small minority, it is true; but the battle of freedom has been commenced in the very strongest hold of slavery; and its final triumph cannot be doubted.'

## FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN SLAVE COUNTRIES.

There is an act of the legislature of Jamaica which declares that, 'if any person shall ma-

liciously and advisedly endeavor to excite, or stir up, any free person or slave to commit any act of insurrection or rebellion, he shall be deemed and adjudged to be guilty of felony, and shall suffer death, without benefit of clergy.'

Under this act Mr. Jordon, the Editor of the Watchman, was on the 17th of April last tried capitally, for having, in his paper of the 7th of the same month, used the following language:—'Now that the member of Westmoreland (Mr. Beaumont) is on our side, we shall be happy, with him and the other friends of humanity, to give a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether, until we bring down the system by the run, knock off the fetters, and let the oppressed go free.'

He seems to have been saved from the martyrdom intended for him, as the enemy of slavery and the friend of missions and missionaries, only by a failure in the proof of editorship on the day laid in the indictment.—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

#### CAUSE OF THE REBELLION IN JAMAICA.

The cause of the recent rebellion in Jamaica which the advocates of slavery have charged upon the discussion of the question of abolition in England, is satisfactorily pointed out by the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* in the following extract from a Kingston (Ja.) paper.

'We have endeavored to ascertain the causes which led to the disturbances in St. James, and find that an attempt to deprive the negroes of two of their holidays, is the principal, if not the only one. Christmas day was Sunday. This latter is unquestionably the property of the slave. They were therefore entitled to Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, and it was an attempt to deprive them of the two last named, that led to the disagreeable results which all must lament.—This view of the subject is borne out by the circumstances of Colonel Lawson's letter being dated the 28th, (Wednesday,) a circumstance, in itself, sufficient to justify the conclusion, that attempts had been made on the previous day, (Tuesday,) to compel the negroes to work. If our views be correct, it is easy to perceive on whom the blame ought to rest.'

[From the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.]

#### THE DYING SLAVE.

'I was in the right mood for it, and so I gave full scope to my imagination.'

He lay on a straw couch, with his face half turned towards the sinking sun. The skin was drawn tightly over his forehead, as though it was parched and shrunken by extreme age; but the restless and uneasy wanderings of his eye told that he still claimed some companionship with earthly feelings.

He was a slave; and for more than an hundred years he had gone forth to the daily toil of a bondman. It was said that in the 'father land,' from which he had been torn by unprincipled violence, he had been a prince among his people. In the first days of his slavery, he

had been fierce and ungovernable, nor could his haughty spirit ever be tamed into subjection until it had been subdued by gratitude. The father of his present master had in his childhood, by interfering to save him from punishment, received on his own body the blows intended for the slave; and from that moment he became to his youthful master a devoted servant. The child had grown up to manhood, flourished throughout his term of years, and faded away into the grave, but still the aged Afric lingered upon the earth; and it was for the son of that man that he now waited, and, to use his own expression, 'held back his breath,' until he should behold him.

At length the light of the low cabin door was darkened, as the master stooped his tall form to enter the dwelling of his slave. I have come, said he, as he approached, what would you with me?

The negro raised himself up with a sudden energy, and stretched out his withered hand. Have I not borne you in my arms in your helpless infancy, said he, and should I not once more behold you before I die? Heed me, master! ere yon sun shall set, the last breath will have passed my lips—its beams are fast growing more aslant and yellower—tell me, before I die, if I have not served you faithfully?

You have!

I have been honest and true—I have never spoken to you a falsehood—I have never deserved the lash?

To my knowledge, never! said his master.

Then there is but one more boon that I would crave of you;—I am going home,—to revisit the scenes of my youth—to mingle with the spirits of my friends! Suffer me not to return to them a slave! My fathers were proud chieftains among their native wilds—they sought out the lion in the midst of his secret recesses—they subdued the strength of the savage tiger—they were conquerors in battle—they never bowed to man—they would spurn a bondman from their halls! *Oh, tell me*, exclaimed he, seizing his master's hand in the rising excitement of his feelings;—oh, tell me, while I may yet hear the sound, that I am once more free!

Your wish is granted, said his master; you are a freeman.

A freeman! repeated the negro, slowly sinking back upon his couch, and clasping his hands above his head with all his remaining energy—write it for me, master!

The gentleman tore a leaf from his pocket book, and pencilling a hasty certificate of his freedom, handed it to the slave. The old man lifted up his head once more as he received it, and the last ray of sunlight streamed across his countenance, as with a strange smile he gazed upon the paper; then falling suddenly back, he once more repeated the name of freedom, and expired.

ELA.

[From the Liberator.]

THE WHITE INFANT'S REPLY  
TO THE LITTLE SLAVE.

With many a smile and tear I read  
Your pretty letter, dear;  
A smile to think you loved me so,  
And for your griefs a tear.

My mother read your letter too,  
A tear fell from her eye;  
She wished I might have power to break  
Your chains before I die.

As I lay thinking on her words,  
And what they all could mean,  
Sleep gently pressed my eyelids down,  
And nought around was seen.

And as I slept I had a dream,  
Which I will tell to you;  
I dreamed that I had grown a man,  
And you a man were too.

I thought we loved each other then,  
As well as we do now;  
But I thought that you looked very sad,  
And wore a mournful brow.

There came an ugly, cruel man,  
And put on you a chain,  
And lashed you with a cruel whip,  
And made you suffer pain.

And then I tried to break that chain,  
And earnest efforts made;  
But the chain was much too strong for me,  
So I called aloud for aid.

I thought because I was a man,  
My voice was very loud;  
And all the country heard my call,  
And I felt glad and proud.

Then all good people of the land  
To help me came with speed;  
There was not one of all the good,  
But to my call gave heed.

That cruel whip we soon destroyed,  
That heavy chain we broke;  
The breaking made so loud a noise,  
I started, and awoke.

And then I thought upon my dream,  
And on that cruel chain,  
And wondered if I e'er should see  
Such frightful things again.

And then I fixed it in my mind,  
If when we both are men,  
Such things should really come to pass,  
I'll do as I did then.

My voice, it *shall* be heard  
Throughout this mighty land;  
For sure I am that all the good  
Will help me heart and hand.

Farewell, dear baby, love me still  
As well as I love you;  
I ever through my life shall be  
Thy friend sincere and true.

C. T. E.

[From the Genius of Universal Emancipation.]

## LAMENT.

Wo for our country's guilt!

The glory has departed from her brow,  
And shame and infamy are round her now;  
The blood her hand hath spilt,  
Cries out against her from the smoking plain,  
Yet warm and reeking with the crimson stain,

The shame of broken faith,  
Of solemn treaties turn'd to mockery,  
And the strong pledge of friendship made a lie,  
And unregarded breath—  
This blot is resting on her tainted name,  
A mildew to the brightness of her fame.

Wo for her forest sons!  
Whom she hath cast into their brother's hand,  
To be thrust forth sad wanderers o'er the land,  
They and their little ones,  
Their mothers and their wives, amidst the wild,  
To bear the thought how fair their lost home smiled.

They leaned in their deep trust,  
Upon her solemn vows, and found too late,  
In their crushed hopes, and their most bitter fate,  
Her oaths were as the dust;  
Her seeming friendship but a mask to hide  
Her ingrate perfidy, her guilty pride.

Wo for the dark brow'd slave!  
Bow'd to the dust 'neath her relentless hand,  
And stamped with foul oppression's hateful brand,  
He passes to the grave,  
Before the Judgment Seat of Heaven to bear  
The tale of all his wrongs and his despair.

Alas! alas, for her!  
How can she bear the searching eye of God,  
Bent in its justice on her crimson sod—  
She a vile murderer!  
How dare she lift her hand to Heaven to pray,  
Till she hath cast her cheris'd sins away!

Yet how with pealing shout,  
And cannons' roar, and tramp, and deep-voiced bells,  
Of her own glory to the world she tells!  
Ah! better would it suit  
Her cheek, instead of the proud flush it wears,  
To be washed pale with penitential tears!

GERTRUDE.

## CHRISTIAN LOVE.

Oh Father, when the soften'd heart  
Is lifted up in prayer to Thee,  
When earthly thoughts awhile depart,  
And leave the mounting spirit free—  
Then teach us that our love, like Thine,  
O'er all the realms of earth should flow,  
A shoreless stream, a flood divine,  
To bathe and heal the heart of wo.

Then Afric's son shall hear no more  
The tyrant's, in the christian's name,  
Nor tears of wasting anguish pour,  
Unpitied o'er his life of shame.  
But taught to love Thee, by the love  
That bids his long-worn fetters break,  
He too shall lift his soul above,  
And serve Thee for thy mercy's sake.

[Idem.]

AGNES.

DEPRECIATION OF PROPERTY IN JAMAICA.—  
Sales have been attempted of the following estates :—  
Temple Hall, with two hundred and forty slaves,  
which cost a few years since fifty thousand pounds,  
was bid in, eight thousand only having been offered  
for it; Pleasant Hill, a coffee estate with two hundred  
and sixty-nine slaves, which cost a few years since  
one hundred thousand pounds, was bid in, only ten  
thousand offered!—So much for the labors of aboli-  
tionists in the mother country!

[The Treasurer of the New-England Anti-Slave-  
society acknowledges the receipt of \$3,79 as a  
contribution from the Rev. Philemon R. Russell's So-  
ciety in Watertown, Mass.

# THE ABOLITIONIST.

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[NO. IV.]

## PROGRESS OF PRINCIPLE.

It is very common to hear people say, 'Slavery is a great evil, but we can do nothing to remedy it.' If all the world were of the same opinion, the curse would probably be handed down with undiminished strength to the remotest generations. Slavery exists only because it is tolerated by public opinion. When the great majority of the Christian world shall boldly proclaim that the system is iniquitous, it must cease. The consciences of slaveholders are seared, because too many of those who do not hold slaves appear to countenance oppression either by silence or apologies.

The standards of morals in the different parts of a nation like ours which have a constant and familiar intercourse with one another, are constantly assimilating. While the people of the North are content to adopt the feelings and cant of the South upon the subject of slavery, no improvement is to be expected in either quarter. But this ought not to be the case. The inhabitants of the non-slaveholding States are more favorably situated than those of the slave States for forming an unbiassed estimate of the moral qualities of slavery. Those who have formed opinions on the subject, ought to express them openly and boldly. Thousands among us have come to just conclusions on the subject, and yet refrain from avowing them, because they see that the men whom they are accustomed to follow are not ready to take the lead.

This state of things cannot continue long. The people are beginning to think on the subject of slavery: and the 'shadows of coming events' which must produce its dissolution are even now visible.

It may be encouraging to many who have been accustomed to dwell on the miseries of slavery, to consider for a moment the prognostics from which we augur the termination of the system at no distant day.

Slavery has already been abolished in Hayti, Mexico, Colombia, and twelve States of this nation.

The change of opinion in Great Britain and this country in regard to slavery, within the last fifteen or twenty years, has been wonderful. After the slave trade was abolished, the enemies of slavery gazed on the system almost in despair, as the knight in old romances is represented as gazing on some castle made apparently impregnable by enchantment. They knew not how to attack the institution with any prospect of success. Their opinions as to the mode of removing the evil were wavering and unsatisfactory, even to themselves. But a few years ago, many of the most devoted philanthropists thought only of a remote and gradual abolition.

Now every thing is changed. The numbers in favor of abolition in England are now overwhelming. Far the greater part of them support immediate abolition. The whole system of slavery has been surveyed, and specific remedies pointed out for every evil.

This change in opinion has already produced most beneficial results. In some of the British Colonies, the flogging of females is entirely prohibited, and the flogging of men in some degree regulated; in some, the free people of color are admitted to equal privileges with the whites; in some, slaves are admitted as witnesses in all cases like whites; and in some, the separation of near relations in private or judicial sales is prohibited. The most important improvements are in the crown colonies. Besides this, all the slaves belonging to the crown, amounting to a considerable number, have been made free.

It cannot be doubted by any one who has noted the progress of opinion in Great Britain, *that a law for abolishing slavery in the colonies of the empire, will be passed within a few years.*

Though the people of the United States have not yet denounced slavery so loudly as those of Great Britain, yet while the mother country has moved forward so rapidly, the daughter has not been stationary.

Several publications devoted to the abolition of slavery are already established in this

country; and within a year or two, a large number of others have boldly attacked the system.

Several anti-slavery societies have been established within two years in various parts of the States.

The doctrine of *gradual* emancipation is falling into disrepute. A hundred persons are now in favor of *immediate* abolition for every one who supported it three years ago.

Slavery has been more discussed within the last three years in print and conversation, than it had been during twenty years before.

Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky have lately exhibited a strong desire to obtain relief from the disease under which they are declining. Few of their politicians have come to sound conclusions on the subject. But the subject having been once touched, the people of those States will never rest till no slave is to be found upon their soil.

[For the Abolitionist.]

#### THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDER.

I was born on one of those remote Islands in the Pacific ocean, which had escaped the observation of the most adventurous voyagers; and though it was endeared to me, by many agreeable associations, yet I could not but perceive that the clouds of ignorance rested upon it, and that it was disgraced by the practice of many vices; for I felt myself to be one of that small number, of which I believe no spot of the earth is entirely destitute, who aspire to something better, to whom the religion of nature is not totally unknown, and who discover glimpses of a Deity through the objects of beauty and grandeur which surround them. This, at least, was my case; for whether I took up and examined the flower which grew at my feet, or surveyed the majestic river or lofty mountain, or above all the wonders of my own frame, each and all proclaimed an intelligent author. Many hours were spent every day in musing upon this subject, and in endeavoring to give consistency and form to my crude ideas.

I was one day roused from an unusually deep reverie, by being told that the body of a man had been cast upon our coast, whose appearance was altogether different from any ever before seen. I hastened to the spot, hoping by timely aid to restore its animation; and after long and continued exertion, my hopes were realized. The pleasure which I experienced on this occasion, can be more easily imagined than described. Never, indeed, was exertion more amply rewarded; for I found in this fellow being a friend, an instructor, a guide. We soon became almost inseparable companions, and spent much of

our time in strolling about the surrounding country, *he* in the hope that from some eminence which gave a view of the sea he might espy some vessel by which he might return to his native country—and I, ever eager to catch the wisdom which fell from his lips, seldom quitted his side. I had lost no time in acquiring a knowledge of his language, such was my zeal to learn every thing he could communicate. He scarcely spoke, but some new idea beamed upon my mind. From him I learned that one God made and governs all things—that in addition to that which may be learnt of him through his works, he had made repeated revelations of his character and will; but more especially by a being of such pre-eminence, that he styled him his beloved Son.

One day I asked him to tell me what was the most prominent precept of his religion? 'Love, love,' said he, with energy. 'God is love—he sent his Son into the world on an errand of love—and he has commanded us to love him with all our hearts, and our neighbor as ourselves.' I was charmed with these sentiments, and resolved that, should my new friend ever leave our island, I would accompany him to his favored home.

It was not long before this resolution was put to the test; for a sort of moving house, or what Philo (which was the stranger's name) called a ship, was discovered by his anxious and ever watchful eye; by the aid of signals we succeeded in arresting the attention of those on board. I now mentioned the plan I had formed of leaving my native island. Philo was surprised, but said nothing to discourage me; 'but I advise you,' said he, 'to go well provided with gold, for I can assure you, you will find it a useful possession where you are going.' With this I readily complied, for it was easily procured, though it had hitherto been useless to me. Philo was overjoyed to find that the vessel was bound to the very spot most dear to him of all the earth, his own native city. We were soon in readiness; and I took an affectionate leave of my friends, not without the fear that I should never again behold them.

We now hastened on board the vessel, which soon bore us far away on the wide ocean. I was introduced to so new a scene, that it was long before my curiosity was satisfied. After some time, I observed that the sailors did not look upon me with much complacency, and paid little attention to my wants, till my friend, who also observed it, whispered something in their ears, which seemed to operate as a charm—for ever after, respect and kindness took the place of coldness and neglect.

Philo soon brought me one of those sacred books, called the word of God, from whence he had obtained that religious knowledge which he had communicated to me. With his assistance, I was soon enabled to read it with tolerable ease. Oh! how can I express

the pleasure I took in tracing, with my own eyes the words of heavenly wisdom which flowed from him, whom I now delighted to call my Savior! The precepts, of which my friend had given me a few examples, filled me with fresh admiration—and the parables were peculiarly to my taste. How beautifully did that of the good Samaritan illustrate the duty of love to our neighbor—by giving a latitude to the word neighbor which we are too apt to forget belongs to it, and teaching that benevolence should be extended to the whole human race, without regard to any peculiarity in their condition. The story of the rich man and Lazarus was likewise strikingly in harmony with the sentiment he expressed, when, lifting up his eyes upon the multitude, he said, 'Blessed are ye *poor*, for yours is the kingdom of heaven.' I did not allow a day to pass, without spending several hours in studying this precious volume, so anxious was I to imbibe in some measure the spirit of their religion, before arriving in a land of Christians.

After a very prosperous voyage, we reached the home of Philo. He was hailed with rapture by his friends, whom I found good and intelligent like himself, and no other recommendation to their favor was necessary than to be introduced as a stranger who had left his native country in the pursuit of knowledge. But to some others, I found my friend was obliged to whisper the talismanic words which had before wrought such a miracle in my behalf. It now produced the same effect, and I determined to be more observing in future, that I might discover what was the nature of this wonder-working spell. It was not long before an opportunity offered. We happened to fall in company which seemed disposed to treat me with neglect, if not with contempt; and seeing him about to pronounce those mysterious words, I listened attentively, and they were these—'He is very rich.' This is strange indeed, thought I: of what possible consequence can it be to *them*, whether I possess treasure or not? and what possible effect can it have upon *me*? Does it increase my understanding? lessen my ignorance? or give me beauty of person? This it certainly cannot do: perhaps they want my gold, and think by a little flattery to obtain it. No, it cannot be *that*—because some of these very people with whom I acquire so much consequence by being rich, seem to be in no want of wealth themselves—therefore they can want nothing of me. It puzzled me exceedingly, because it seemed so opposed to the precepts of their religion. I had even thought, at first, of concealing my wealth; for judging from the bible, I had supposed that riches would be despised, and poverty rather sought than spurned—but, on the contrary, there scarcely was any possession more coveted—so much so, that even those who were in reality poor, often affected riches, either by a fine house, elegant furniture, or

costly dress. I cannot but here mention one custom in use among the females of this country, because it so agreeably reminded me of my own dear country-women: it is that of suspending jewels in the ear by means of a perforation of the fleshy part of its lower extremity. Still, though it pleased me, I confess it no less surprised me; for I had read in their sacred book that the best ornament to a female was a meek and quiet spirit, which in the sight of God was of great price.

But I had still another subject of surprise, when I found the houses devoted to the worship of this *same being*, were often a scene of the most brilliant display of finery. Indeed, I sometimes heard little children of six years old disputing about the comparative beauty or fashion of their church-going dresses. However, these things, though evidently at variance with the bible, I thought might be pardonable: but as my intercourse with society increased, I saw many things practised which excited my grief and astonishment; such as fraud, cruelty, falsehood, intemperance, and many other vices. At length, I unburdened my heart to my friend, and entreated him to explain what I saw. 'Oh!' said he, 'I am not at all surprised at the feeling you express; but I know you must soon learn that though Christianity is the religion here professed, which you know to be a system replete with excellence, yet many, very many fall lamentably short of its requirements, and there are not a few who, I fear, reject its restraints altogether. But, come,' continued he, 'I want to introduce you to my sister, whose return you know I have been so impatiently expecting. Yesterday, I had the pleasure of again seeing my dear Ellen: she has been absent more than a year on a visit to a friend in a distant part of our country.' I accepted his invitation, and was introduced accordingly. I found her amiable and enlightened, like her brother. She entertained us with accounts of the delightful climate, scenery, and the almost tropical luxuriance of the part of the country she had visited; and we passed many pleasant, and to me instructive hours together.

On one occasion when my friend and I entered the room where his mother and sister were sitting, we found them looking very melancholy. Philo, with some concern, inquired the cause.

'Oh,' replied his sister, 'I was only telling the story of poor Letty.'

'And is it that which has so much affected you?'

'Yes,' said his mother, 'I think no one could hear it unmoved.'

'And will you not,' said I to Ellen, 'repeat the tale to us?'

She made no reply, but looked at her brother.

'Come,' said he, 'now you have excited our curiosity, you will surely not refuse to gratify it.'

'I had rather not, indeed—pray, brother, excuse me,' said Ellen.

Her brother inquired what could possibly be her objection?

'Because,' said she, 'I cannot bear the thought that your friend, who has already seen so much of the inconsistency of Christians, should be made acquainted with a system which makes every other deviation from the pure precepts of Christianity shrink into insignificance.'

'Alas!' said Philo, 'I now comprehend your motive, and do not wonder at your reluctance: but as our friend cannot long remain among us without hearing of some of its baneful effects, any secrecy on our part would be unavailing. At any rate, he had better know the truth, however mortifying it may be to us.'

'Yes,' said I, 'I have no desire for the happiness of ignorance.'

'Well, then,' said Philo, 'it is the dreadful system of *Slavery* which exists over the greater part of this otherwise free and happy country, of which I have the sorrow to inform you.'

'Oh! I suppose,' said I, 'you still retain the barbarous custom, practised by uncivilized nations, of holding in bondage those of your enemies whom the chance of war has thrown into your hands.'

'Alas!' said my friend, 'though that is widely opposed to the peaceful spirit of Christianity, yet it falls very far short of the cruel injustice of which we are guilty. Know, then—for why should I attempt to hide our shame?—that in this nominally free country, a sixth part of the peaceful and unoffending natives wear the insupportable yoke of slavery—are kept in total ignorance of the word of God—driven to their labor by the whip, the fruits of which go to enrich their oppressors, while they are scantily fed, and coarsely clothed.'

'But,' said I, 'under what possible pretence can this be done? Do not those who practise it offer some excuse for conduct which would make a heathen blush?'

'The only excuse,' said he, 'they pretend, I believe, to offer, is, that as the ancestors of these people were either stolen from their native country, or purchased perhaps for a few glass beads, or some intoxicating liquor, of some barbarous chief, and thus converted to slaves, all their descendants must share the same fate.'

'A strange reason, indeed,' said I; 'it seems to be saying that a man born in misery may as well remain in it because he is accustomed to it. But is this their only plea?'

'None other than that of the tyrant's, that might gives right.'

'Ah! and is this the way that Christians obey the commands of Him whom they pretend to call their master? Is this loving their neighbor as themselves? or doing to others as they would that others should do to them?'

Philo, now again asked Ellen to tell us the story. 'I suppose,' said he, 'Letty was a slave.'

'Yes,' said she, 'Letty and George, a young married couple, were purchased by Dr. A. at whose house you know I passed most of my time during my absence. The woman was good tempered, obliging and gentle in her manners, and both capable and industrious. Her husband was not vicious, but he was very fond of *music*, and not very fond of *work*; of course, he preferred playing a tune upon his fiddle, to performing his allotted task. Mrs. A., however, liked Letty so much that they continued to keep them, though they did not exactly answer their purpose—till Dr. A. hearing of a neighboring planter who was in quest of two such slaves, concluded to hire them out to him. This was sad tidings to the young couple—for slaves always dread changing their masters.) Poor Letty was overwhelmed with sorrow, and entreated Dr. A., even upon her knees, not to send them away; but the *sighs* and *tears* of slaves, avail but little, as was the case on the present occasion; for though their grief excited some pity, yet, as the agreement had been made, there seemed no help for it, and they were obliged to go. But Dr. A. wishing to soothe their trouble a little, told George, that if either of them should be sick, to send for him. With this poor consolation, they departed. Several weeks passed away, when I was one day sitting in the parlor, engaged in conversation with a young lady, when she suddenly exclaimed, 'Who are those?' I turned my eyes towards the window, and saw Letty approaching the house, followed by a man on horseback. We ran out into the piazza to see what was the matter, when she shot by us like an arrow, and disappeared. It was the overseer of her present employer, who was with her: he said she had run away several days before—that he had found her in a wood, and wished to take her back—but she had insisted upon coming there. Just as he concluded, I perceived Letty, from behind the door, beckoned me with a wild and disordered air. I followed her—and in a hurried manner she led the way to my chamber, when she immediately ran and hid herself beneath the bed, and burst into an agony of grief, entreating me, as soon as her sobs would permit, to conceal her, and save her from returning to that dreadful place. 'I cannot, I cannot, go back!' she exclaimed: 'they have treated me cruelly when I tried to do every thing to please them. And poor George! they have had no mercy upon him: not satisfied with beating him, they have knocked out his front teeth, and——'

I begged of her to be more calm—for her agitation was such, that it was impossible to come at the cause of their having been treated with so much violence. However, she at length told me, that on one occasion she being

rather indisposed, George, in the simplicity of his heart, recollecting the direction of Dr. A. to send for him, if either of them were sick, and not dreaming of its occasioning any expense, (which certainly in this case was not intended by Dr. A.) took the enormous liberty of sending for the Dr. to see his wife. This was the unpardonable offence of which poor George had been guilty, and for which they had both suffered such severe consequences.

At this sad recital, I mingled my tears with hers—that she should suffer so innocently, was truly affecting; but what could I say to console her? To offer her any protection, was entirely out of my power. The most I could do was to prevail on Mrs. A. to let her remain with us a few weeks. She readily consented, for she was fond of Letty, and knew that she never required severity. Her gratitude was evinced by her cheerfully performing every duty; and, indeed, if possible, anticipating our wishes.

At the end of a fortnight, however, I had the pain of seeing her reclaimed by her relentless employer. I watched her slowly following him till she was out of sight. 'And this,' thought I, 'is one of my own countrywomen, possessing the same natural right to freedom that I have, forced to drag out a miserable existence, exposed to all the bitter effects of a state of slavery!'

*(To be concluded.)*

EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS,  
DELIVERED BEFORE THE N. E. ANTI-SLAVERY  
SOCIETY, BY WM. J. SNELLING, ESQ.

*(Continued.)*

The master too is to be pitied. He lives in continual fear. Accustomed to see his humors watched and his frowns feared, he becomes imperious and tyrannical. His children grow up among the abject beings whom their fathers have degraded. They are idle and useless on the face of the earth. The daughters, at least a great many of them, are accustomed to view human suffering with indifference; even to chastise their female slaves with their own hands. But I will not dwell on such a state of society.

Those whose exertions are directed to the removal of these evils are called visionaries and fanatics. If to wish to relieve our countrymen from what they all allow to be an evil of the greatest magnitude, is to be a fanatic; if to wish to overthrow a system radically criminal, oppressive, impolitic and dangerous, is to be a fanatic; if to wish to elevate those who are now little above brutes to the dignity of freemen and christians, is to be a fanatic;—then, we are fanatics; and I, for one, glory in the title. If to believe that these things are practicable, is to be visionary, then we are visionaries. In what, even if our opinions be wrong, are we reprehensible? We wrong no

man—we stir up no one to sedition—we break no law. There is no law that forbids any free man to think, and to express his opinion. The Constitution of the United States, indeed, recognizes slavery; but our fathers, who framed it, never said or thought that it would be criminal to wish to amend it. If they had so thought, they would not have inserted a provision for its amendment.

It will, perhaps, be asked, how, since we disclaim violence and insurrection, we do propose to act? We answer, by endeavoring to affect public opinion. Prejudice and apathy stand in our way, but we do not nevertheless despair. We may not effect all we propose, but still we shall do something; for he, whose ambition is great, will never fail utterly. We publish pamphlets, we hold debates, we deliver discourses, and are sure that though we may fail to convince an individual, all whom we can bring to examine this subject and think for themselves, will eventually embrace our opinions. We hope in time, to direct the earnest attention of the nation to the system of slavery; and if we can do this, we are confident that it must go down. In the meanwhile, we persuade such persons of color as are within our influence, to live christian lives, to continue or become respectable citizens, as the case may be, to teach their children trades, and to send them to school. We aid them to put these counsels into practice, as far as our means will permit.

There are many among us who hold that we should not take any measures concerning the abolition of slavery, lest we should offend and irritate our southern brethren. But admit this principle, and there is an end of all reform and improvement. On the same ground, we may suffer a single State to reverse the law of the land, and the decision of the Supreme Court, without comment. We must not mention the tariff, or express our wishes relative to the choice of the executive officer, on the same principle. I spurn such slavish doctrine. To embrace it, would be to surrender freedom of thought and speech. No subject of national importance can be mentioned, no abuse exposed, without offending some one. We shall offend our southern brethren. Our fathers offended their English brethren when they threw the tea into the dock, and irritated them still more when, within cannon-shot of this hall, they taught their fellow subjects, that Americans would not submit to wrong. We shall offend our southern brethren. I cannot excuse them for retaining two millions of their fellow men in galling and ignominious thralldom. It may be that very many of them are unconscious of wrong doing; but the wrong is not therefore the less evident, the less palpable. The muscles do not the less quiver, nor does the blood flow the less freely, because he who holds the scourge thinks he is doing a praiseworthy action. The tiger, when he springs

upon his victim is conscious of no crime; but his prey feels not the less agony. 'He who retains his fellow man in bondage is guilty of a wrong,' a grievous wrong—all the sophistry of the schools can make nothing else of it. If he does not know as much, we will tell him so; and if it offends him—even let him be offended.

Let us, in the midst of our fears of offending our brethren, inquire who are the persons best entitled to that affectionate appellation. Who felled the forest in the southern States? The blacks. Who subdued the soil, whose labor furnishes us with cotton and sugar, and enables those States to bear up under the 'accursed tariff,' as it is emphatically called? Who have most reason to complain of us, and who do us most good? Who are the real working bees of the South, who are the authors of all the good we thence derive? Above all, who are best entitled to claim our sympathies?—The blacks—the blacks—the blacks. By consenting to, and approving their bondage, we have injured them, and we owe them reparation. By setting them free, we should injure their masters to the exact amount of their market value, considering them, as these last do, as mere merchantable cattle. At the same time we should do right, and prevent the misery of unborn millions. Why should we be less fearful of offending them than their masters? They are formed alike in their maker's image, they constitute almost the whole value and political importance of the slaveholding States, and they respect us, which their oppressors do not. If justice, humanity, and the dictates of common interest are of any consequence to a clear view of this question, the blacks are most emphatically our brethren.

It is advanced with great confidence by slaveholders, that were we to set the slaves free, they would turn upon the whites, and massacre them. They are, it is said, extremely ignorant and ferocious. Ignorant they are; but I do not believe that they are either ferocious or vindictive. My observation teaches me that the negro character is humble, mild and forgiving. Was it not so, could they be slaves now? Indeed, I have rather seen reason to think that want of spirit was the fault of their character. Those who argue that they cannot be set free with safety, confound cause and effect. Ask any advocate of slavery why the slaves revolted in Southampton, and he will tell you that it was in the hope of obtaining freedom. Ask him why he fears to meet a slave alone, and he will answer that it is because the man is a *slave*. They would fight, it is known, to obtain their liberty, and they would also fight, it is said, because it was given them. This is strange logic; and I pray you to observe that I am neither begging the question, nor setting up a man of straw to knock him down again. You know, every man who hears me knows, that the positions I

have assumed are those most frequently in the mouths of slaveholders. The slaves in Southampton massacred women and children, because they smarted under the sense of injury, and because they knew that had they spared these, they would have exercised the control of masters over them some day. Setting them free will take away the motive of revolt, and, I think, all desire of revenge. It is not in the nature of man to requite good with evil. Some there may be, who would return evil for good, but these are exceptions to the general rule—moral monsters, who are not to be taken for specimens of their kind; and, as I have not observed that the blacks are more vicious than equally ignorant whites, I do not believe that the black family would furnish more of these monsters than the white one. I say again, and it appears to me as plain as the light of heaven, that if you take away the motives to insurrection, no insurrection will take place.—Suppose that there is danger, that the desire of revenge will operate more strongly on the slave than the sense of benefit received, is there not danger now? Set them free, and the feeling of revenge will expire with the present generation. The next will have had no wrong to revenge. Keep them in bondage, and the danger will be perpetuated. We ought certainly to take care of ourselves, but we also owe something to posterity.

Again, some say that ignorance makes the blacks ferocious. Others, and among them their masters, judging from the acts of southern legislation, think that knowledge is the thing that makes them dangerous. Strange that ignorance and knowledge should have one and the same effect!

I have often been told that were the slaves set free, they would not know how to take care of themselves, but perish with literal want. If this supposition be true, it infers either some defect in the negro character, or that long years of slavery have withered their sinews and destroyed their mental energies. We do not learn from Denham and Clapper-ton, or any other traveller, that such a disaster has ever occurred among any free tribe of Africans. Our slaves at present maintain themselves, and others who are engaged in the time hallowed occupation of doing nothing all the year round, also. It will be strange if a man who has the strongest motive for exertion, to wit, his own benefit, cannot labor as diligently as he, the profit of whose toil goes to feed and enrich another. Let any slave-owner who holds this doctrine, and there are many who do, propose the risk to his bondsman. I think the slave will take his risk at starvation.

There are hundreds who fear the imaginary evils above mentioned, and therefore oppose an immediate emancipation of the slaves, who are yet willing to encourage a gradual abolition. Gradual abolition, forsooth! Fine

words, to quiet guilty consciences. Since I can remember any thing, and I am not a very young man, I have heard of gradual abolition. It is a sop to the Cerberus Conscience. I marvel that no uneasy thief has thought of a gradual repentance and retribution. What has gradual abolition done, and what will it ever do? Are the slaves an inch nigher freedom now than they were fifty years ago? On the contrary, they are farther from it. The danger, if there was any, that would have resulted from it, has increased; the bonds of iniquity—I mean the restrictive laws—have been *gradually* drawn closer and closer around them. Are there fewer slaves now in the United States, than there were when gradual abolition was first devised? On the contrary, their number has doubled, as you all know. Gradual abolition is like intended repentance, it has been put off till the time for it has passed away. When I hear a man speak of gradual abolition, I at once conclude that he is a fool, a hypocrite, or that he has not studied the subject. Those two words have done the colored race more harm than all the speeches that ever were made in favor of slavery. We, that is the Society I have the honor to represent, say, tamper not with conscience. Obey the dictates of religion, duty and humanity. Shew mercy—do justice *now*—this very now, and leave the consequences to God. The worst that can happen cannot be more offensive to Him who is all mercy, or more dangerous to yourselves than the present state of things.

I have often been surprised to observe how small is the difference between the opinions of some gradual abolitionists and those of the advocates of immediate emancipation. They admit that slavery is wrong, that it is a national curse. They are willing to have the slave immediately exempted from the hardships peculiar to his condition, and from his liability to be bought and sold. Yet the words immediate emancipation frighten them. They imagine that we wish to admit the slaves immediately to our houses, our tables, to all the privileges of fellowship, and to an equality of political rights. We desire no such things. We wish only for what every man, whose moral sense has not been stifled by interest or prejudice, will admit to be right. When we call for immediate emancipation, we mean that no man ought to hold property in man, that no man ought to have the power to apply the lash to his brother. We say that no man should be sold, like a beast of burthen. We say that the safety and honor of woman should have some better guaranty than the doubtful virtue of an absolute master. We insist that every man should be permitted to learn and to worship the Author of his being in the way most agreeable to his conscience. We say that he who has ploughed and sowed, should reap and keep the harvest. These

things are what we understand by the words immediate abolition, and who will say that we ask any thing unreasonable? Is there any descendant of those who fled from Britain to enjoy liberty of conscience in the wilderness who will forbid the black to participate in that right? Will any inhabitant of industrious New-England rebuke us for affirming that the laborer is worthy of his hire? We ask only that our countrymen should give a practical illustration of their own privileges, as avowed in the first clause of the Declaration of Independence, viz. 'All men are born free and equal.'

Where would be the mighty evil of such an immediate emancipation as this? What harm did such an immediate emancipation do the patriarchs of New-England? Did their freedmen massacre them for their benevolence? Was there an individual attempt made at revenge for past injuries? Have the free blacks ever, in any degree, injured or retarded the march of our prosperity? I have often been told that after having thus been emancipated, the southern blacks will acquire property, become half owners of the soil, and have an equal voice in the government. What then? Every man has a right to acquire property. Every man, who is properly qualified by education and the payment of taxes, has a right to share in the management of his own affairs. The free blacks here have long been permitted to acquire property and to vote at the polls, and what white man considers himself injured thereby? These are rights which prejudice alone disputes—reason cannot.

But, say the enemies of emancipation, how are the whites to cultivate their lands, if deprived of their slaves? Their climate will not permit them to work. Then let them seek a milder climate, or accept a subsistence from their black brethren as alms, or starve. No precept is more just than this—'He that will not work, neither shall he eat.' How would the working men here receive a proposal to support all whom laziness or other causes have rendered incapable of labor? No, if a country be unfit for a portion of the inhabitants, they have no business there. 'They should seek another—not depend upon those of a better physical conformation.' However, I do not believe that there is any good cause for fear on this head.

Another objection suggested by prejudice against emancipation is, that it would be followed by an amalgamation of the two parties of our southern brethren. I acknowledge that a very general prejudice acts strongly against the negro. Few of us are without it. Still it is but a prejudice. If a colored person has the manners, the education and the character of a gentleman and a christian, why should any christian gentleman feel offended at his approach? Yet I would not unnecessarily irritate even prejudice. When the

slaves shall have become free and shall have made themselves respectable, it will be at the option of every white to associate with them or not. No man will be compelled to associate or intermarry with them. Let the two races approximate toward an equality or not, the question has not the least bearing upon amalgamation. Set the blacks free, and they will amalgamate with us—keep them in bondage, and still they will amalgamate. Half the people of color now in the United States are of mixed blood. Amalgamation could not have proceeded faster, had the blacks been free since their first introduction into the country.

(To be continued.)

#### IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION. No. IV.

The actual condition of the hundred thousand and emancipated blacks and persons of color in the West India Colonies, certainly gives no reason to apprehend that if a general emancipation should take place, the newly freed slaves would not be able and willing to support themselves. On this point the Returns from fourteen of the Slave Colonies, laid before the House of Commons in 1826, give satisfactory information: they include a period of five years from January 1, 1821, to December 31, 1825, and give the following account of the state of pauperism in each of these Colonies.

*Bahamas.* The only establishment in the Colony for the relief of the poor appears to be a hospital or poor-house. The number passing through the hospital annually was, on the average, fifteen free black and colored persons and thirteen whites. The number of free black and colored persons is about double that of the whites; so that the proportion of white to that of colored paupers in the Bahamas, is nearly two to one.

*Barbadoes.* The average annual number of persons supported in the nine parishes, from which Returns have been sent, is 998, all of whom, with a single exception, are white. The probable amount of white persons in the island is 14,500—of free black and colored persons 4,500.

*Berbice.* The white population appears to amount to about 600, the free black and colored to 900. In 1822, it appears that there were 17 white and 2 colored paupers.

*Demerara.* The free black and colored population, it is supposed, are twice the number of the whites. The average number of white pensioners on the poor fund appears to be 51, that of colored pensioners 26. In occasional relief, the white paupers receive about three times as much as the colored.

*Dominica.* The white population is estimated at about 900; the free black and colored population was ascertained, in 1825, to amount to 3122. During the five years ending in November, 1825, thirty of the former class had

received relief from the poor fund, and only ten of the latter, making the proportion of more than nine white paupers to one colored one in the same number of persons.

*Grenada.* This colony contained in 1825, 3486 free black and colored persons, and it does not appear that any relief whatever has been given to them during the five years for which returns have been sent.

*Honduras.* The free black and colored population, in 1824, amounted to 1750. The return of the Treasurer of the Colony is, 'that there are no funds raised for the support of the poor, there being so very few persons who are literally in distress from poverty; but such as are so are readily relieved from the public funds. The number of free persons thus relieved has varied from 6 to 8 during the five years.

*Jamaica* is supposed to contain 20,000 whites, and double that number of free black and colored persons. The returns of paupers from the parishes which have sent returns exhibits the average number of white paupers to be 295, of black and colored paupers 148: the proportion of white paupers to those of the other class, according to the whole population, being as four to one.

*Nevis.* The white population is estimated at about 800, the free black and colored at about 1800. The number of white paupers receiving relief is stated to be 25; that of the other class 2; being in the proportion of 28 to 1.

*St. Christophers.* The average number of white paupers appears to be 115; that of the other class 14; although there is no doubt that the population of the latter class greatly outnumbered that of the former.

*St. Vincents.* The white population in 1825 was 1301: the other class 2824. 'We have never had,' says the Governor Sir C. Brisbanes, 'any poor rate. The few paupers (always white) who resort hither, are supported from town funds.'

*Tobago.* The Governor, Sir F. P. Robinson, informs Lord Bathurst that 'there is no fund for assisting paupers except that of the Church (which does not amount to sixty dollars per annum) as there are no other poor people who require that kind of relief.'

*Tortola.* In 1825, the free black and colored population amounted to 607. The whites are estimated at about 300. The number of white paupers relieved appears to be 29: of the other class 4: being in proportion of fourteen to one.

*Trinidad.* The white population is about 3,500; the other class amounts to about 15,000. No funds raised for the poor.

In short, in a population of free black and colored persons amounting to from 80,000 to 90,000, only 229 persons have received any relief whatever as paupers during the years 1821 to 1825, and these chiefly the concubines and children of destitute whites: while of

about 65,000 whites, in the same time, 1675 received relief. The proportion, therefore, of enfranchised persons receiving any kind of aid as paupers in the West Indies, is about one in 370: whereas the proportion among the whites of the West Indies is about one in forty; and in England, generally one in twelve or thirteen—in some counties, one in eight or nine.

Can any one read these statements, made by the Colonists themselves, and still think it necessary to keep the negroes in slavery, lest they should be unable to maintain themselves if free? There is clearly much more reason, on this ground, for reducing the poor whites, both in the West Indies and in England, to slavery, than for retaining the negroes in that state.

It is to be regretted that among the Parliamentary papers there are no returns of the comparative number of convicted criminals in the enfranchised and the white population, except one from Jamaica. As Jamaica, however, contains as large a population as that of all the rest of the West India Colonies united; this one will probably afford a tolerably fair estimate of the comparative quantity of crime in the two classes throughout the West Indies. The enfranchised inhabitants of Jamaica are considerably more numerous than the whites: and yet by a return from several of its parishes, ordered to be printed by the House of Commons in 1815, (No. 478,) it appears that the proportion of criminal convictions of whites and of enfranchised persons was as twenty-four of the former to eight of the latter.

Incontestable testimony, both public and private, has been given to the good conduct of the freed black and the colored people in many of the colonies. Mr. Steele, a considerable land and slave proprietor, in his answers to the queries of Governor Parry, gives the following account of the freed people in Barbadoes. 'It is in general obvious to any person of observation, that free negroes and mulattoes must apply themselves to some kind of industry, as they are never seen begging, either males or females; whereas the Island in general is pestered with white beggars of both sexes and of all ages, covered only with filthy rags; while the free negroes and mulattoes are well clothed, and appear to be well fed. Many of the men work at the various trades of smiths, carpenters and masons; and serve as militia tenants, and cultivate their tenements industriously. Two free black tradesmen, a mason and a carpenter, are militia tenants on the estate of this respondent, and labor on their tenements with their own hands, living with sobriety and good order. Several others rent small parcels of land in this neighborhood, and some of them by their industry have been able to purchase little freeholds, and build good habitations on them.'

Dr. Dickson, private Secretary to the late

Honorable Edward Hay, Governor of Barbadoes, says of the same people, 'Of one thing I am as certain, as any man can be of a future event; that the generally peaceable, sober, industrious, and even sensible people of the free colored class in Barbadoes, about 5,000 in number, (he is speaking both of free blacks and mulattoes,) would thankfully receive and endeavor to merit any privilege which might be conferred on them. Above six-and-twenty years ago, I publicly declared my good opinion of them, which has since been corroborated by Mr. Steele and General Tottenham, and still more by their own general good conduct.'

Mr. Bickell, a clergyman of the Church of England, who lived six years in Jamaica, says, 'I am well aware it has been asserted that nothing but coercion can induce a negro to labor more than barely to raise enough for his subsistence. This is extremely erroneous: witness the great number of free blacks in the towns of Jamaica: in Kingston, they are most of them good mechanics, and work as regularly and as hard as white men in this country (England.) They also conduct themselves as well, can read and write many of them, and are more respectably clad than white men of the same class in England. In Port Royal, just the same; they are industrious and intelligent, and several of them have more, much more religion, than the low white men there, who affect to despise them. They are very anxious to get their children educated, and in Kingston, Spanish-Town, Port-Royal, and other towns, most of the free children can read and write. In Kingston, the church is thronged every Sunday morning, principally by free people of color and free blacks. There is but one church: on this account, the dissenters have four or five places of worship. The means by which some of these chapels were built, redound very much to the credit of the free people of color, free blacks and slaves of Kingston; for I was credibly informed that it was principally through the donations and subscriptions of these too much despised classes, that two of these buildings were raised.\*

In 1823, the Assembly of Grenada passed a resolution, declaring that the free colored inhabitants of these colonies were a respectable, well behaved class of the community, were possessed of considerable property, and were entitled to have their claims viewed with favor.

In 1824, when Jamaica had been disturbed for months by unfounded alarms relating to the slaves, a committee of the legislative assembly declared that 'the conduct of the freed people evinced not only zeal and alacrity, but a warm interest in the welfare of the colony, and every way identified them with those who are the most zealous promoters of its internal

\* West Indies as they are, page 16.

security.' The assembly confirmed this favorable report a few months ago, by passing a bill conferring on all free black and colored persons the same privileges, civil and political, with the white inhabitants.

In the Orders issued in 1829, by the British Government, in St. Lucia, placing all freemen of African descent upon the footing of equal rights with their white neighbors, the loyalty and good conduct of that class are distinctly acknowledged, and they are declared 'to have shown, hitherto, readiness and zeal in coming forward for the maintenance of order.' As similar Orders have been issued for Trinidad, Barbice, and the Cape of Good Hope, it may be presumed that the conduct of the free blacks and colored persons in those Colonies has likewise given satisfaction to Government.

In the South African Commercial Advertiser of the 9th of Feb. 1831, we are happy to find recorded one more of the numerous proofs which experience affords of the safety and expediency of immediate abolition.

A gentleman, (Mr. Chase) a friend of slavery, asks this question:—'Have the friends of immediate emancipation marked the conduct of the prize negroes in this colony, who have suddenly acquired liberty?' The answer to this question is promptly given as follows: 'We speak advisedly:—*three thousand Prize Negroes have received their freedom, 400 in one day; but not the least difficulty or disorder occurred:—servants found masters—masters hired servants; all gained homes, and at night scarcely an idler was to be seen.* In the last month, 150 were liberated under precisely similar circumstances, and with the same result. These facts are within our own observation; and to state that sudden and abrupt emancipation would create disorder and distress to those you mean to serve, is not reason; but the plea of any and all men who are adverse to emancipation.'

To this it is added that to these events the writer makes his appeal, and that they must be deemed satisfactory, until Mr. Chase 'shall have produced facts to establish the charge against the Prize Negroes, so strongly implied in the above quotation. Mr. Chase is respectfully challenged to produce such facts.'

No reply had appeared in any subsequent journal; and as the controversy was proceeding actively, we conclude that none could be given.

As far as it can be ascertained from the various documents which have been cited, and from others, which, from the fear of making this account too long, are not particularly referred to, it appears that in every place and time in which emancipation has been tried, *not one drop of white blood has been shed, or even endangered by it:* that it has every where greatly improved the condition of the blacks, and in most places has removed them from a state of degradation and suffering to one of respectability

and happiness. Can it, then, be justifiable on account of any vague fears of we know not what evils, to reject this just, salutary and hitherto uninjurious measure; and to cling to a system which we know by certain experience is producing crime, misery and death, during every day of its existence? Is it possible that any persons can persuade themselves that though emancipation, even when perfectly sudden and utterly unprepared for, has been harmless and beneficial wherever it has hitherto been tried; yet that if it should be legally established throughout the slave countries, and introduced into them with the most carefully considered precautions, it would be attended with the massacre of the whites and the ruin of the blacks? Those who do come to such an incomprehensible conclusion may, without self-reproach, speak, write or vote for melioration, in other words for perpetual slavery, or at least of slavery which will in all probability continue till its victims are set free either by the frightful mortality which is so rapidly diminishing their numbers, or by the strength of their own arm.

But what rational motive is there for preferring slavery to emancipation? Slavery we know kills many thousands annually in our colonies, inflicts most grievous sufferings on those whom it does not destroy, creates and nourishes every bad passion in those by whom it is administered. Emancipation, as far as we know, has not destroyed any, has not inflicted sufferings on any, has not nourished bad passions in any; and no reason has ever been advanced to make it appear probable that it would ever cause any of these evils in future. Why then should we prefer slavery to emancipation? I believe many shut their eyes, and will not see that this is, in reality, all the choice they have. They fear that some evils may attend emancipation, and under the influence of this fear, they speak, write or resolve to vote against it, without distinctly bringing the fact to their minds that they are thus supporting slavery. They resolve to vote against emancipation, but flatter themselves that they will be voting only for melioration: but the truth is, that they will be voting for slavery. They will be creating slavery for future years, as really as if they were at that moment establishing it for the first time. They will be voting for murder; only endeavoring to prevent the number annually destroyed from amounting to so many thousands as it does now. They will be voting for the cultivation of pride, rage, hatred, ignorance, irreligion, licentiousness and misery; only endeavoring to prevent their growth from being so luxuriant as it has hitherto been.

There are many who see the guilt of slavery, but who either from a panic fear of immediate emancipation, or from unwillingness to give too much offence to some friend or connexion, endeavor to satisfy their consciences

by declaring for melioration. I wish it were possible to induce such persons honestly to ask themselves, what reason they have for thinking that melioration will ever introduce emancipation. Is there any reason to suppose that the slaveholders will be more willing to set their slaves free at some future period, because they will be a little better fed, a little less worked, and a little less flogged than they are now? Will Government or the people be more desirous of procuring the freedom of the slaves when these improvements have taken place? Evidently the contrary: it is impossible that they should not be more indifferent on the subject, when they believe their sufferings to be lessened, than they are now. The majority, it is probable, will be tolerably satisfied with the improvements enacted, will flatter themselves that all is going on well, and that the slaves are gradually but steadily advancing towards freedom, if, which is still more probable, they do not altogether forget them. And even those who are the most deeply dissatisfied with such measures will almost inevitably become less anxious on the subject as time passes on: having failed in their efforts, and seeing no chance that an early repetition of them could be of any avail, they will be too ready to rest from their hopeless labors; and then the case of the poor slaves will indeed be desperate.

Let the advocates of this mode of proceeding carefully and in real earnest consider, whether ten or fifty years hence, the very same reasons or fears may not be urged against emancipation, which they now think sufficient to justify its rejection. They wish, no doubt, that the meliorating measures may improve the slaves so much as to make that step safe and advisable which they now deprecate: but we are not at liberty to act on idle wishes when the most essential interests of our fellow creatures are concerned. It is our duty to examine the subject, to inquire by what process, and with what degree of probability, any or all of the suggested improve-

ments will 'fit the slave for freedom,' as the phrase is. If, on such a careful examination, we find that there is no reason to believe that they will produce this effect, let us speak out, and either say, 'Then the slaves shall be freed now,' or let us have the courage and sincerity to say, 'Then we consent to their being slaves for ever.'

It seems too certain that melioration, so far from being the harbinger of emancipation, is *the best friend and the most powerful ally of slavery*. It is indeed the only hope of slavery, which must inevitably be soon destroyed now that its enormities are brought to light, if the timid, and the indolent, and the unthinking, and the lukewarm, and the selfish friends of the slaves, can be prevented from falling into this fatal snare.

#### VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE

The Richmond Whig gives the following abstract of the law recently enacted by the Legislature of Virginia, making appropriations for the removal of the free people of color.

It appropriates the sum of eighteen thousand dollars annually for five years, to remove persons who are now free, and born and residing within the State, or their descendants, and who are willing to emigrate, to be selected from the different counties and corporations of the commonwealth, in proportion to the amount of revenue paid into the public treasury by such county or corporation; and in case there be not sufficient in such counties willing to emigrate, then the balance of the appropriation unexpended may be equitably applied to the removal of free persons of color from other counties, &c.; appoints the governor, lieutenant governor, and first and second auditors, a board of commissioners to carry the act into effect. The appropriation to be paid to the American Colonization Society, upon proof of the actual transportation to the colony at Liberia from this State, of such free persons of color, provided not more than thirty dollars shall be allowed for transporting each person above the age of ten years, and not more than twenty dollars for each person under that age. The commissioners to make an annual report of their proceedings to the general assembly.

We view with great regret this manifestation of the colonization spirit. We fear that it will lead to the persecution of the free people of color in Virginia. When it is known that the legislature has appropriated funds, it will be in vain for colored men to refuse this bounty. From what we have read of *voluntary* emigration from Virginia, it will differ from *compulsory* only in this respect: if the legislature had authorized compulsory colonization, force would have been employed by authorized officers of the State; as it is, the force will come from private citizens.

The Boston Recorder, in reference to the above appropriation, says—

'In one respect, however, if the above abstract is correct, the Virginia law is far enough from doing any honor to the wisdom, or justice, or philanthropy of its framers. Its benefits are not to extend to those who may be emancipated hereafter. It contains not one word to encourage emancipation. If any choose to give freedom to their slaves, the State gives them no aid or countenance. Perhaps we ought not to expect it; but the omission, we confess, adds greatly to the strength of our fears respecting the general management of the appropriation.'

\* Better taught we may be certain the generality of masters will take care they shall not be, if education is to lead to emancipation. A hundred and thirty years ago, a law was enacted in Jamaica, declaring that every slave ought to be educated and to receive instruction in the christian religion; and this very year it is confessed that the Act has never been carried into execution. Can any one, who does not willingly blind himself, believe that the slaveholders will be more willing to execute it when they consider education as a preparatory step to emancipation? If any one doubts what are the inclinations of the generality of slaveholders on this point, let him listen to the incontrovertible evidence of Mr. Trew, late Rector of St. Thomas in the East in Jamaica. 'Few masters,' he says, 'in Jamaica, will consent to have their slaves instructed at all, and the instruction given in ninety-nine out of one hundred cases is merely oral; the simple boon of permitting them to learn to read is withheld by their superiors.' He adds that any general attempt to teach the slaves to read would be construed into an act little short of treason.

## LEVYING ON SLAVES.

The following account is extracted from Bickell's *West Indies as they are*.

'The distress and terror among a gang of negroes, when the Marshal's Deputy, with his dogs, and other assistants, comes to levy in a large way, cannot be conceived by those who, happily for themselves, have never been spectators of such scenes, and can scarcely be described by those who have witnessed them.—I was once on a coffee mountain (staying for a few days with a brother Clergyman, who had permission to reside there) on which were about seventy or eighty negroes; the proprietor was much in debt, and was aware that one or two of his largest creditors had for some time wished to make a levy on his slaves, to pay themselves;—but by keeping his gates locked, and the fences round the dwelling-house and negro-houses in good repair, he had hitherto baffled the argus-eyed deputy and his deputies. The night after I arrived on the property, however, I was awaked about an hour before day-light, by a great noise, as of arms, with cries of women and children.—I at first scarcely knew what it was; but in a few minutes a private servant came to my window, and informed me that it was the Marshal's deputies making a levy on the negroes, and that the noise proceeded from the clashing of weapons; for some of the slaves, he said, had stoutly resisted. I then alarmed my friend, being nearer the scene of action than he was, and we determined to go out to see that no improper use was made of the tremendous power given to these Cerberuses. By the time we arrived at the negro-houses, the resistance had ceased; for the negroes being divided, had been overcome by the myrmidons of the law, they being eight or ten in number. One poor fellow, however, was being dragged along like a thief, by a fierce and horrid looking Irishman, who had been one of McGregor's freebooters, and who, when we came near, grasped his victim more tightly, and brandished his broad-sword over the poor creature, with the grin and growl of a demon; as much as to say, 'You dog, I will annihilate you and them too, if they attempt to interfere.'

Many of the men escaped from the property, and some few others secreted themselves among the coffee trees, till the party had gone off with their prey. They secured, however, ten or twelve men, and most of the women and children, amounting, in the whole, to between thirty and forty, which were huddled together on the outside of the principal fence, and presented such a heart-rending scene, as I never witnessed before, and should be very sorry ever to witness again. Some of the children had lost their mothers, and some of the mothers had been torn away from a part of their children; for some of the little urchins also escaped. One woman, in particular, had

six or seven children;—two or three of them were seized, and the others escaped—but the youngest, an infant, had been caught, and she wept aloud, and very bitterly for it, saying—'That she must give herself up, if the child were not got back; for she could not live separate from it.' There was many a bitter cry and sad lament among the women and children—for they loved their master, who was kind, and had also excellent provision-grounds for them. Two or three of the poor fellows were wounded; and I was assured, by a free-born man, who was looking after the property in the master's absence, that had the proprietor been there, there would have been sad work, very likely murder; for it was an illegal levy, and the resistance would have been desperate under their master's eye and voice.—They were tied together, or hand-cuffed, and driven off the same morning to Spanish Town gaol, a distance of twenty miles. I might here remark, that the labor is much lighter on a coffee mountain than on a sugar estate, and that the negroes are not required to be up so much at night, to pick and cure coffee, as they are to make sugar; where, therefore, they have good provision-grounds, as they had on this mountain I have been speaking of, they are much more comfortable and less harassed than on a sugar estate.'

## CHANGE OF SENTIMENT.

It is with great satisfaction that we insert the following letter from an esteemed clergyman in an adjacent State.

—, Feb. 20, 1833.

*To the Editors of the Abolitionist.*

MESSRS. EDITORS:—Having recently perused the second No. of 'THE ABOLITIONIST,' containing extracts from the Report of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society; and also a large pamphlet by Mr. Garrison, entitled 'Thoughts on African Colonization,' I have been led into an entirely new series of reflections on the subject of slavery.

Although, for several years, I have sustained the Colonization Society, by membership, publicly advocating its claims, and taking contributions in its support; and although it is yet sustained by so many of our philanthropists of the north; with my present views of the subject, I can stand by it no longer. For a while, I was led to believe that this Society should be encouraged as a kind of senior pastor, with its new colleague, the Abolition or 'Anti-Slavery Society;' but if not altogether misled, as to the natural results of the Colonization Society, I am constrained to believe, that, although good may be accomplished by it, in behalf of those who shall enjoy its benefactions in the Colony at Liberia, it has operated, and will continue to operate, if supported, directly *against* our colored popula-

tion, both free and bond, in rendering the emancipation of the one more difficult and improbable; and the condition of the other, in America, more degraded and deplorable.

The matters of fact, now before the public, appear to me amply sufficient to produce conviction on the mind of every impartial and humane individual, who carefully surveys them, that the above conclusion, concerning African Colonization, is neither preposterous nor absurd.

As a token of sincerity, in saying what I have, and to evince my sympathies for that long suffering and exceedingly abused people, to whom the Almighty has given a skin of darker hue than our own, I here enclose \$15, for the Treasury of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, hoping thus, at least, in some degree, to expiate the injuries of my former course, and liberate myself from an apparent participation with slave dealers and their abettors, in the unparalleled wickedness of this traffic in the bodies and souls of our brethren of the human race. My name is also offered, if it may be accepted, as a life member of the Society.

Another dollar I send you, for which you will please send me a copy of your paper, *'The Abolitionist,'* for one year.

Wishing you much of that wisdom which is from above, and great success in your righteous undertaking,

I am yours, truly,

H. J.

#### A CANTERBURY TALE.

*'Thou hast most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm by erecting a grammar school.'*—JACK CADE.

We scarcely know how to comment upon the disgraceful proceedings in Canterbury, which are recorded in the following letter of Mr. Benson. It appears incredible that in a Christian country, among a people who regard themselves as enlightened, the inhabitants of a single town should be found, who are desirous of withholding from any class of their fellow citizens the means of acquiring religion and knowledge. We never, till we read this letter, realized in its full measure and extent the blind and frantic prejudice against the people of color, which guides too many of those who style themselves Christians.

The idea entertained by the people of Canterbury that the establishment of a school for the education of twenty or thirty little girls would bring ruin upon their town, would be merely ludicrous if it had not produced such melancholy results. It is perfectly obvious that a flourishing boarding school must tend to enrich the place in which it is situated.

Money must be spent there, for the support of the scholars. The resort of their relations and friends to the place to visit them must also bring money to it. Such a school could not be successful without benefitting the town.

We presume that the only serious objection to the proposed institution in Canterbury, was that its pupils were to be of the African race. Is it then to be established as a principle, that every person who has African blood in his veins, is to be denied the common means of education, by the people of New-England? If not, how is the course of these misguided villagers to be justified? For no reason can be given why the people of color should not be educated, which will not apply to every other place in New-England as well as to Canterbury. Do we believe that colored men are to be made better by ignorance? or that the situation of the whites is to be improved by shutting the light of knowledge from their colored brethren? If we admit that colored people have the same right to be educated as the whites, we must admit that they have a right to be educated in some place.

Are the people of Canterbury afraid that their village will be ruined, by twenty or thirty young girls coming into it, because they are colored? If these children were to be paupers, we should not think the sensitiveness of the Canterburians so strange. But they will be the daughters of the richest and most intelligent among the colored people. It is absurd to suppose they will impose a burden on the village.

We have endeavored, but in vain, to imagine what specific evil the townsmen of Canterbury could anticipate. We can only ascribe their conduct to the workings of a deep and unrelenting prejudice against the colored people, which views with jealousy every attempt made to improve the African race among us, and wishes to drive the objects of its hatred as far as possible from its sight.

If we had found any thing deserving the name of an argument in the report of the proceedings at the Canterbury town meeting, we should have endeavored to answer it. As it is, we are satisfied with copying a scene from Shakspeare, in which the principal personages in their dislike for education, appear to have been animated with the same enlightened spirit as the leaders of Canterbury. The judicial dignity of Cade, his patient hearing of the case in hand, the fairness and candor with

which he weighed the arguments in favor of his prisoner, and the just severity of his sentence, were all successfully imitated in the deliberations of the Connecticut patriots.

*Smith.* The clerk of Chatham: he can read, and write, and cast account.

*Cade.* O monstrous!

*Smith.* We took him setting of boys' copies.

*Cade.* Here 's a villain.

*Smith.* H 'as a book in his pocket with red letters in it.

*Cade.* Nay, then he is a conjurer.

*Dick.* Nay, he can make obligations, and write court hand.

*Cade.* I am sorry for 't: the man is a proper man, on mine honor; unless I find him guilty, he shall not die. \* \* \* \* Dost thou use to write thy name? or hast thou a mark to thyself like an honest plain dealing man?

*Clerk.* Sir, I thank God, I have been so well brought up that I can write my name.

*All.* He hath confessed: away with him; he 's a villain and a traitor.

*Cade.* Away with him, I say: hang him with his pen and inkhorn about his neck.

[From the Liberator.]

PROVIDENCE, R. I. March 12th, 1833.

*Mr. Wm. Lloyd Garrison.*

DEAR FRIEND—You have, ere this, heard of the excitement that prevailed at Canterbury, when the intention of Miss Crandall to open a school for the education of colored females was made known to the inhabitants; and you doubtless wish to hear the result of the Town Meeting that was warned to take place on Saturday last.

I arrived at C. from Providence, just at the hour the *freemen* were assembling; and when I entered the meeting-house, found that a moderator had been chosen, and the warrant for the meeting read. On rapidly glancing my eye over the assembled multitude, I was rejoiced to recognise the faces of our friends Messrs. Buffum and May, and one or two others, who I knew were the decided friends of our cause. But my attention was soon called to a protest against the establishment of the school, signed by many of the citizens, which showed precisely the sentiments with which they regarded it. A preamble, with two resolutions annexed, was then handed to the Town Clerk by Rufus Adams, Esq. and read to the people. The preamble stated the intention of Miss Crandall to establish a school in Canterbury, for the education of young colored females, and the resolutions amounted to this, viz—That the unqualified disapprobation of this meeting be expressed against the establishment of the above mentioned school—that we will do all in our power to prevent it—and that a committee be appointed to visit Miss Crandall to inform her of the proceedings or result of the meeting, to endeavor to convince her of the injurious consequences that would inevitably result from the introduction of colored children into the town, and to persuade her to relinquish her plans.

Many remarks were offered upon these resolutions by Andrew T. Judson, Esq. Rufus Adams, and others, wholly unworthy of a civilized, much less of an enlightened, christian community. The injury that would accrue to the town from the introduction of colored children, was represented in an awful light by Mr. Judson. He said that the state of things would be, should such a school go into operation, precisely as they now are in New-Orleans, where there is scarcely, said he, a *happy person*—that their sons and daughters would be forever ruined, and property be no longer safe. For his part, he was not willing, for the *honor* and welfare of the town, that even one corner of it should be appropriated to such a purpose. After the example which New-Haven has set, he continued, shall it be said that we cannot, that we dare not, resist? We tell these pious gentlemen, said he, turning towards Messrs. Buffum and May, that the laws *shall* be put in force. I, for one, am happy to see the Rev. Gentleman here, who has attempted to impose upon me, and seek my property, and rouse my feelings—I am happy he is here to hear me.

The feeling expressed by the citizens of New-Haven, in regard to the establishment of a College in that place for colored youth, was represented by him to be a feeling common throughout the State; that it had been said that there was one town in Connecticut that was willing that a school of this kind should be established, and that was Union. He said there were about 75 voters in Union, and a freeman of that town told him a few days since that should Miss C. attempt to cross their line for the purpose of establishing a negro school, that every one of these voters would arrange themselves upon it, and if she gained admittance, it would not be until they were no longer able to defend themselves.

Mr. Judson farther stated that they had a law which would prevent that school from going into operation, the law that related to the introduction of foreigners—that it had been threatened that if they made use of that law, the *constitutionality* of it should be tried in the Supreme Court of the United States. Fellow citizens, let it be done. Are we to be frightened because Arthur Tappan of New York and some others are worth a few millions of dollars, and are going to use it in oppressing us? No. I know you will answer, No.

Much more was said. Yes, much more was said. Shame, shame, shame to those gentlemen who had no more honor. The character, the motives of Miss Crandall, were basely misrepresented. And you will ask, was there no one to defend her? Yes, there was *one*, one, who though he did not seem altogether to approve of the school, had moral courage enough to defend her character against the base insinuations of those who had so much to say about *foreign influence* and oppression

That man was Mr. G. S. White, a tanner. He said the gentlemen were excited, and did not rightly consider what they were about to do—that the resolutions in themselves might be well enough, but he thought it going too far to bring up an old blue law to support them—that that law never was intended, and never could be brought to bear upon the school in question. He did not believe that such a state of things would exist as Mr. Judson had represented, if colored children were admitted into the town; for, said he, Miss Crandall is a Christian, and the evening and the morning prayer will daily ascend to the Father of mercies in their behalf, and he will vouchsafe his blessing.

Mr. White was continually interrupted by one Solomon Paine, who, whenever he attempted to defend the character of Miss C. desired the Moderator, Mr. Asahael Bacon, to call him to order: and this was promptly done. Indeed, sir, during the whole time that Mr. White was speaking, the house was in the utmost confusion:—and notwithstanding every liberty was allowed Mr. Judson and Mr. Adams, none at all was allowed him.

Miss Crandall sent in two slips of paper, requesting that Messrs. Buffum and May might be permitted to speak in her behalf. This seemed at once to arouse the feelings of the whole meeting, and Mr. Judson indignantly replied that he would not see the laws thus degraded and insulted; and if the Rev. gentleman and his associate attempted to say anything, the law should be immediately put in force. Whether any vote was taken upon this subject, I cannot say; certain it is, that the gentlemen were not permitted to speak, and defend the cause of her who could not plead for herself. One thing was allowed—one thing was admitted—that the lady had borne an irreproachable character up to the time she first contemplated a school for colored females. Her unpardonable sin lay altogether in her wish to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of the blacks, and attempting to carry her plans into operation, without consulting them.

The votes upon the resolutions were unanimous.

Immediately after the meeting was dissolved, Mr. Judson told Mr. May to go home—that he had no right to interfere—and he did not want him there. Mr. May immediately requested to be heard—the meeting was over, and he was violating no law. A great uproar hereupon occurred;—some were for hearing him—others declared they would not. In the midst of this confusion, the voice of Andrew T. Judson, Esq. was heard at the door, ordering the people to leave the house. But he found his power was not absolute, Capt. Richard Fenner's assistance and aid notwithstanding.

Mr. May was at last enabled to proceed,

and spoke with great energy; and, I doubt not, with some effect, to about one third of the number first assembled. He soon gave way to Mr. Buffum, who commenced with defending Miss Crandall; but the door soon flew open, and about six men walked up the aisle, (the Committee, I conclude, of the house,) headed by Doctor Harris, a *life member of the Colonization Society*, who requested Messrs. Buffum and May to leave the house. The request was instantly complied with.

In short, such disgraceful proceedings I never witnessed before, and little expected to witness in the middle of the nineteenth century. The present generation may hail them as just, but the very next will execrate them. The names of those who have been most active in attempting the suppression of this school, may be honored now, but future ages will consign them to ignominy and shame.

I had hoped that, among the enlightened inhabitants of Connecticut, such a school would be hailed with joy. But I was deceived. Let not the voice of remonstrance against Southern tyranny be raised by the people of that State, for it will 'be a Gloucester at his devotions'—'it will be the devil chiding sin.'

You will doubtless ask—How does Miss Crandall bear up under such a mighty opposition? I reply—**UNMOVED**. Not a purpose of her heart is shaken—not a fear awakened within her bosom. Confident that she is pursuing the path of duty, she is determined to press on to the end. No persecution that can assail her, will alter the steadfast purpose of her soul. She has received that consolation from above, which the world can neither give nor take away.

In view of the great principles for which we are contending, I think every abolitionist will feel pledged to adopt immediate measures, if necessary, for bringing this case before the proper tribunal. Your friend,

HENRY E. BENSON.

#### NEW ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.

We notice with pleasure the formation of an Anti-Slavery Society at Bath in Maine, and of another at Reading in Massachusetts. They are both formed upon kindred principles with the New-England Anti-Slavery Society. The following are the officers of the Bath Society:

NATHAN WELD,	<i>President.</i>
JOHN MASTERS,	<i>Vice President.</i>
NATHANIEL SWASEY,	<i>Secretary.</i>
JOHN HAYDEN,	<i>Treasurer.</i>
DAVIS HATCH,	} <i>Counsellors.</i>
WM. V. MOSES,	
FREEMAN H. MORSE,	

☞ The Treasurer of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society acknowledges the receipt of FIFTEEN DOLLARS from the Rev. Henry Jones of Cabot, Vermont, to constitute him a Life Member of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

**CHEERING NEWS!**

**ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.** The system of oppression, which has so long been tolerated in the British Colonies, appears to be fast approaching its termination. It now scarcely admits of a question that the British ministry has determined upon the total abolition of slavery in the Colonies of the Empire. We have no room to express our feelings upon the glorious prospect. The following extract is from the London Globe of January 29th.

The West-India interest were thrown into considerable alarm yesterday by a report that it was the intention of Ministers to introduce a bill into the new Parliament for the immediate emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies. It was stated that the purport of the bill was to limit the existence of slavery in the Colonies to three years, and that it was not the intention of the government to offer any compensation to the planters or proprietors.

In consequence of these rumors, a deputation of gentlemen connected with the West-Indies waited upon Lord Grey, and had an audience of the noble Earl at the Treasury, yesterday. They requested to be informed whether it was true that it was the intention of the government to emancipate the slave population?—The answer, we understand, was in the affirmative;—and that a bill for that purpose would, on an early day, be submitted to the consideration of Parliament. It was also intimated that three years would be the period fixed for the extinction of slavery—that emancipation of the negroes would be unconditional, and that no compensation, except under special circumstances, would be allowed.

Sir Alexander Grant, who headed the deputation, inquired of the noble Premier whether it was the intention of Ministers to announce this important measure in the speech from the throne at the opening of the session. Lord Grey replied that the measure had been formally decided upon, but that he could not, without departing from the rules of courtesy, give any intimation of the sentiments which his Majesty would communicate in his address to both Houses of Parliament.

Upon its being represented to the noble Earl the probable consequence which might ensue in the colonies in case these measures were prematurely announced, his Lordship intimated that the government were prepared to meet the exigencies, and that an imposing force, consisting of 15,000 men, would forthwith be sent to the West-Indies.

This is said to be the purport of the conversation which took place, after which the deputation withdrew, and communicated the result to their friends in the city. We beg it to be understood that we make these statements upon the rumors which were generally circulated in the city yesterday among the West-India circles.

This afternoon the business of the Colonial market has been suspended by the announcement that his Majesty's ministers have made slavery a cabinet question. Report adds that slavery will be abolished in three years, and that no compensation will be given. This announcement has occasioned great agitation, and most of the West-India planters have withdrawn their sugars from sale, to await the issue of this great event.

**Jamaica.**—A new and general ferment has been occasioned in the Island of Jamaica by the publication of a royal Proclamation issued by the king of England and accompanied by a circular from the Earl of Mulgrave, the Governor, prohibiting the formation or action of any societies for the forcible removal from the Island of the Dissenting Teachers and Ministers of Religion. His Majesty declares his intention to maintain and defend the principles of religious toleration throughout all his dominions, and warns all persons not to transgress the injunctions of his Proclamation at their peril.

[For the Abolitionist.]

**YE WHO IN BONDAGE PINE.****I.**

Ye who in bondage pine,  
Shut out from light divine,  
Bereft of hope;  
Whose limbs are worn with chains,  
Whose tears bedew our plains,  
Whose blood our glory stains,  
In gloom who grope :—

**II.**

Shout! for the hour draws nigh,  
That gives you liberty!  
And from the dust,—  
So long your vile embrace,—  
Uprising, take your place  
Among earth's noblest race,  
By right, the first!

**III.**

The night—the long, long night  
Of infamy and slight,  
Shame and disgrace,  
And slavery, worse than e'er  
Rome's serfs were doomed to bear,  
Bloody beyond compare—  
Recedes apace!

**IV.**

See! in the East breaks forth,  
Kindling the West and North,  
The glorious dawn  
Of FREEDOM'S natal day,  
That shall your race repay  
For years of misery—  
Ages of scorn.

**V.**

For every tear of woe  
Ye've shed—for every blow  
By tyrants given;  
For all your groans and sighs  
Your agonizing cries,  
Piercing the far off skies,  
And moving Heaven :—

**VI.**

Impartial Providence  
A splendid recompense  
Will you insure:  
For you, wealth, station, fame,  
A proud and deathless name,  
And the world's loud acclaim,  
Time shall procure.

**VII.**

Lorn Africa once more,  
As proudly as of yore,  
Shall yet be seen  
Foremost of all the earth,  
In learning, beauty, worth—  
By dignity of birth  
A peerless queen!

**VIII.**

Speed, speed the hour, O Lord!  
Speak, and, at thy dread word,  
Fetters shall fall  
From every limb—the strong  
No more the weak shall wrong,  
But LIBERTY'S sweet song  
Be sung by all!

Boston, March 20, 1833.

W. L. G.

# THE ABOLITIONIST.

VOL. I.]

MAY, 1833.

[NO. V.]

## QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The quarterly meeting of the Society was held at the Representatives' Hall, in the State House, in Boston, on Monday the 26th ult. The Rev. E. M. P. WELLS, one of the Vice Presidents, presided.

The meeting was opened with a prayer by the Rev. Mr. Phelps of Boston.

The following resolution was then offered by Mr. Oliver Johnson.

*Resolved*, That the principles and measures of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society are consistent with every duty which we owe to our country, and that benevolence to the masters, not less than to the slaves, requires us to advocate the doctrine of IMMEDIATE ABOLITION.

Mr. Johnson, Amasa Walker, Esq. and Mr. David T. Kimball, President of the Andover Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society, spoke with great ability in support of the resolution, which was adopted unanimously.

Mr. Garrison offered the following resolution.

*Resolved*, That the American Colonization Society, by its attempts to palliate the guilt of slaveholders, and by representing slavery as an evil justified by 'necessity,' hinders the progress of emancipation, and tends to depress the free people of color.

The resolution was supported by Mr. Garrison in an eloquent address, and passed without opposition.

The Rev. James D. Yates then offered the following resolution.

*Resolved*, That the American Colonization Society is pledged not to oppose the system of Slavery.

2d. It apologizes for Slavery and Slaveholders, and speaks peace to them in their sins.

3d. It regards Slaves as property.

4th. It increases the value of Slaves as Slaves.

5th. It is an enemy to the immediate substitution of righteous and equal law, for the unrighteous authority of the Slave-Masters.

6th. It is nourished by fear and selfishness.

7th. It pretends to aim at the utter expulsion of the colored people; that is, of about one sixth of the whole population of the United States from this their native country.

8th. It disparages, traduces and persecutes the free people of color.

9th. It prevents the instruction of colored people.

10th. It deceives and misleads the nation.

11th. It makes a disgraceful and criminal peace between the advocates of the colored people and their oppressors.

- 12th, and last—though not the least—It originated with Slaveholders; and as like begets like, it is a legitimate child, and carries the mark of its origin on its forehead.

The hour being late, Mr. Yates was able to make only a few but very appropriate remarks in support of his resolution, which was then adopted.

The Rev. Philemon R. Russell of Watertown, offered the following resolution, which was passed after a few animated remarks by the mover. He was, like Mr. Yates, obliged to cut short his address in consequence of the lateness of the hour.

*Resolved*, That it is highly important that literary and religious instruction be communicated to our colored population, in this country; and that the conduct of the citizens of Canterbury, Ct. towards Miss Crandall, in threatening to 'use every means in their power, to prevent her from establishing' and carrying into successful operation, a Boarding School, in that place, for colored Misses, is a solecism in a civilized community, and merits the stern rebuke of the Christian world.

Mr. Horace P. Wakefield appeared as a delegate from the Reading Anti-Slavery Society.

The meeting was very crowded, and the addresses were received by the audience with a deep and apparently favorable attention.

## MISSION TO ENGLAND.

At a meeting of the Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, March 16, 1833, it was voted to send Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Esq. to England, on behalf of the Society, for the purpose of soliciting aid for the proposed Manual Labor School for Colored Youth, from the philanthropists of that country, and to present in their true light the schemes of the Colonization Society. In consequence of the low state of the funds of the Society, it became necessary to call for contributions to aid in this object. We are happy to say that the friends of our cause have contributed liberally. Mr. Garrison has already left Boston, and will probably have sailed for England before our pages meet the eyes of our readers. There can be no impropriety, since he has left us, in saying, that we consider him emi-

nently qualified to promote the objects for which he is to visit England. His faithfulness to the great cause to which he has devoted himself, his ardent feelings, his energy, and his eloquence, can hardly fail to excite the warmest sympathy of our British friends.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY PUBLICATIONS.

We are frequently receiving Anti-Slavery publications from England. The activity and perseverance of the abolitionists in Great Britain is worthy of all praise. Among the pamphlets lately received, the following are particularly deserving of notice.

*The Anti-Slavery Record.*—This is a small monthly publication intended to diffuse information in a cheap form.

*A Letter to Thomas Clarkson*—By JAMES CROPPER; and *Prejudice Vincible;—or the practicability of conquering prejudice by better means than by slavery and exile; in relation to the American Colonization Society*—By C. STUART.

The arguments against the Colonization Society are presented in this pamphlet in a very powerful and convincing manner. Mr. Cropper's Letter and the greater part of Capt. Stuart's remarks having appeared in the Liberator, we do not think it necessary to give any extracts from the valuable tract.

*Three Lectures on British Colonial Slavery, delivered in the Royal Amphitheatre, Liverpool, on the evenings of August 28th, 30th, and Sept. 6th, 1832.*—By GEORGE THOMPSON.

In the months of August and September last, several public meetings were held at the Royal Amphitheatre, in Liverpool. According to an arrangement which had been previously agreed upon, Mr. Thompson delivered a lecture upon Slavery on Tuesday evening, August 28. The next evening Mr. Borthwick, a champion of the West India interest, delivered a lecture in answer to Mr. Thompson. Mr. Thompson replied the next evening. On Friday evening Mr. Borthwick rejoined, and Mr. Thompson delivered a third lecture in answer on Thursday, Sept. 6. The room in which these lectures were delivered, and which we believe will contain three thousand persons, was well filled on every evening. Mr. Thompson's lectures are very animated, and at times eloquent. Mr. Borthwick, a sketch of whose lectures we have seen, appears very feeble, in comparison with such an antagonist. We

extract one or two passages from Mr. Thompson's lectures.

The following extract on the claim of the planters to compensation, is as applicable to America, as it was in great Britain:—

'I am very friendly to compensation, Ladies and Gentlemen; I should like the negro to be compensated. (*Applause.*) I should like them to show how much we owe the negro for his hitherto uncompensated toil; what debt we owe to Africa, where no wind for ages has gone over her plains, without gathering up the sighs of bleeding, broken hearts; where there is no sand that has not been steeped with tears or the blood of captured victims. I should like to see what compensation we owe to the negro: how much to that aged man, tottering on the brink of the grave, whose limbs are now growing feeble, after years of unrequited toil; how much to that poor woman torn from her infant, and set to labor in the field, if, indeed, a valuation can be put upon the natural feelings of a mother towards the offspring of her body; and then I should like to strike a balance between the compensation due to the negro, and the compensation due to the planter. Eloquent speeches and arguments are made on the rights of the planter in the House of Commons, and echoed in the major and minor pro-slavery periodicals of the day. And at this moment, if Parliament were sitting, some West Indian partizan might be making an eloquent speech in favor of himself, and saying—'Take care of the planter, only think of the melancholy condition of the planter's wife if you reduce his income, by not giving him power to raise large crops and dispose of them. Give additional bounties to his sugar; lay more prohibitory duties on free-grown produce.—Mind that you protect the planter.' Next morning, some lady sipping her tea, and reading the *Morning Post*, might say—'Dear me, what an amiable speech! How he pities the planter! Really, I feel inclined to pity the planter, too.' (*Laughter.*) And thus all the lady's sympathy would be on the side of the planter, and she would think nothing of the slave. But perhaps some friend by her side might just whisper—'This gentleman, whom you are inclined to pity, is not in the West Indies, because he happens to be in London; he is not a planter, because he happens to be a member of the House of Commons; he is a mortgagee, and has certain parchments deposited with Messrs. Drummond & Co., giving him a claim on ten or fifteen hundred slaves, and emancipation would be the annihilation of the greater part of his securities. This is the source of his eloquence, consider this, and what remains, but a piece of empty, heartless, hypocritical declamation.' (*Applause.*) I am no enemy to compensating the slave owners, provided we do not make it a matter to be quibbled about, whilst 800,000 human beings are living and dying in bondage. As Lord Howick said some twelve months ago—'We ought not to be haggling about a question of pounds, shillings, and pence, while the victims of oppression are languishing in misery. If the rights of the negro are as sacred as those of the white man, we ought to set him at liberty, and settle scores amongst ourselves afterwards.' I have often heard that the moment we settle the question of compensation there is an end to the danger of emancipation; all the giants that are set up to frighten us, shrink into pigmies, and the phantoms evoked to deter us from proceeding, vanish into thin air. This reminds me of a gentleman who wrote a pamphlet, and said to a critical friend, who happened to be by—'Just give me your opinion of the title-page of this work?' There happened to be one word there that the critic did not like—'immediate,' for instance. Says he—'I hope you will expunge that word, I don't relish it at all.' The author taking a guinea out of his pocket, placed it upon the obnoxious word, thus: said—'How do you like it now?' 'Oh,' said the critic, (pocketing the guinea,) 'I like it very well; indeed, it will do un-

commonly well; nothing can be better.' (Mr. Thompson excited repeated peals of laughter by the humorous manner in which he 'suited the action to the word' whilst making this illustration.) And thus if we put gold upon the word '*emancipation*' all the danger vanishes, and we may emancipate the slaves as soon as we please. "Put money in thy purse, Roderigo—put money in thy purse." (*Laughter and cheers.*)

#### SLAVERY AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

A small volume with the above title, was published in England, in 1831, by the Rev. Wm. Wright. This work we have never seen. But the *Anti-Slavery Record* for August, 1832, informs us that the author is 'a clergyman of the Church of England, and for ten years in the service of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.' We copy from the Record the following interesting account, taken from Mr Wright:

'The first case which presents itself on this occasion, not so much from its peculiar atrocity as from the feeling which it created, and the consequences to which it seems to have led, is that of Coenrad Hendrik Laubscher, who was found guilty before the Supreme Court of an assault committed on Lodewyk, the slave of J. A. Truter, on the 3d of January, 1830, under the following circumstances:'

##### *Case of Laubscher and Lodewyk.*

In the year 1827 the slave Lodewyk, at that time the property of this same Laubscher, was prosecuted before the Supreme Court at the instance of his master, by the fiscal or attorney-general of the colony. The indictment was for a personal assault upon his master, which, by the colonial slave law, was a capital offence. The Protector of Slaves, in his official report of the trial, states that the charge was, that 'Lodewyk had struck his master several blows about the face and head, either with his fist or some hard substance enclosed within his hand, by which Laubscher was severely cut and bruised.'

'The prisoner, having heard the charge, stated that his master, having slept the whole night in his wagon, which was outspanned (unyoked, and the horses allowed to graze), at the Drie Fonteynen, on getting up on a Friday morning, called him to put on his shoes; and that, whilst he was so doing, his master said that he hurt his foot, and thereupon kicked him violently on his throat, and struck him several blows; and, on coming down from the wagon, was reaching his gun, when he (prisoner) being apprehensive that his master intended to shoot him, clasped him round the body to prevent him, when he, Laubscher, in consequence of the horses moving on, fell against some of the iron-work of the wagon, by which his face was much cut and bruised. That he (the prisoner) seeing this, ran off to get out of the reach of the gun, saying, at the

same time, that he did not intend to desert, but that he knew where he would go,—meaning that he would go to Cape Town to complain of his master's ill usage; showing, at the same time, a wound on his head, which he stated to have been inflicted by his master with the thick end of the wagon-whip; that he accordingly did come to town for that purpose, when Mr Servaas de Kock caused him to be apprehended; the said Laubscher having previously arrived in town and lodged his complaint at the Landdrost's office.'

Laubscher, in his deposition, affirmed that Lodewyk had struck him on the head and face; and alleged that he had struck Lodewyk with the handle of his wagon-whip in self-defence. Mentor, a slave boy (to whom Laubscher had promised his freedom just before the trial) corroborated this statement. And upon this evidence—for there was no other witness present—the Court condemned Lodewyk to death!

From this iniquitous sentence, however, poor Lodewyk was saved by an appeal to the Lieutenant-Governor (the worthy and humane General Bourke) who, as Judge in the Court of Appeals, reversed the sentence and acquitted the prisoner.

General Bourke, however, it appears, could not protect this unfortunate man from the implacable vengeance of Laubscher. Mr Wright thus narrates the sequel of the story; giving, at the same time, in his Appendix, the whole details of the legal evidence on the subsequent trial of Laubscher, from which his statement is abridged:—

'But another mode of punishment was in reserve for the ill-fated Lodewyk, to which I beg the reader's particular attention. During the period of his imprisonment, Laubscher had sold Lodewyk to one Bester, his son-in-law, under the express stipulation that he should never be allowed to visit his wife and children, who were still slaves of Laubscher. The children were three in number, aged two, five, and seven years. Bester subsequently sold Lodewyk to Mr J. A. Truter, under the same stipulation. But, 'so strong was good feeling in the bosom of this faithful slave,' to use the words of the attorney-general, that he braved every personal danger to get a sight of his wife and children. With this hope he often wandered up and down near the place of Laubscher, who, it appears, had some suspicion of the unfortunate man's intention, and set men privily to watch and seize him. Twice within the three years he had succeeded in communing with his afflicted wife and family. A third time, too, he had almost succeeded, but this attempt was doomed by the hard-hearted Laubscher, to be cruelly interrupted. His wife was then asleep with her little ones, but before Lodewyk had time to awaken her, he was discovered by Laubscher's spies. He attempted to hide himself, but was detected. On be-

ing apprehended, he said that there was no occasion to bind him, but 'that he would go and throw himself at his old master's feet, and speak a good word to him.' One of those who had seized him, Weise, Laubscher's steward, rode forward to acquaint Laubscher that Lodewyk was apprehended. It appears that he had been meditating deep and fearful vengeance. He was at the front door, with his walking cane in his hand; it was between eleven and twelve o'clock on Sunday night. He asked if they had bound Lodewyk carefully? The steward said that there was no occasion, as he was coming quietly to entreat his pardon. But mercy had no place in this old man's bosom. He called for his gun, and then ordered the steward to take hold of his cane. When Lodewyk arrived, Laubscher first told his steward to break his legs and arms with the cane; the steward refused; upon which he ordered the slaves to hold him fast, with extended arms, and commenced the attempt himself. After inflicting numerous heavy blows upon the legs of his timid and unresisting victim, he then commenced breaking his teeth, saying, 'You once broke my mouth also.' He continued at these operations for half an hour. The cane was sworn to be of the thickness of a good stout walking stick. Wiese in the mean time put away the gun. Laubscher then put him in the stocks, in a sitting posture, and in that position, gave him twenty stripes with his horse whip over the shoulders. He then put him in handcuffs, and beat him again until his whole arm was as blue as his jacket, and all swelled and bruised. Upon this Laubscher, exhausted, retired to rest, leaving the unfortunate wretch in torture scarcely conceivable, covered with wounds and contusions, and screaming with agony. The holes of the stocks in which his legs were fastened, were narrow, and raised about nine inches above the level of the floor, obliging him to sit in a very uneasy posture, which, added to the soreness of his knee and arm, caused him to scream out; but, in the words of his own affecting narrative, 'nobody came to relieve him.' After about half an hour Laubscher relented a little, or rather as he himself expressed it, recollected himself, and ordered the handcuffs to be taken off. 'I did not sleep the whole night,' continued the wretched slave, 'and cried for a long time, but nobody came.' At length the morning sun arose, but it was only to witness fresh deeds of cruelty. Lodewyk was released from his confinement, and, on his getting outside the door of his prison, his pursuer was in wait for him. He then ordered him to strip the upper part of his person, and to place himself flat on the ground, and in that position he scourged him on the back with a cat-o'-nine tails. He thus received twenty-eight lashes. As soon as he was permitted to rise and put on his jacket, Laubscher again resumed the cane,

and made Lodewyk walk several times backwards and forwards between him and the wall, each time repeating his blow with that weapon. Sometimes he threw the stick at him, when the poor creature was ordered to bring it back, and then he would strike him again with it. During all this time, to use the words of the witness, Weise, who appears to have been a humane man, he refused nothing that he was ordered to do, nor did he use any ill language—an instance of patience and forbearance almost inconceivable. At length Lodewyk was unable to move, when Laubscher ordered Weise to mount a horse, and drive him on foot, handcuffed, to his master's place, but Weise procured a horse for him. Upon his arrival at his master's place, he was sick and stiff, and was disabled for twenty-two days; and it appeared that he had previously suffered so much, that, even if he had not been fastened in the stocks, he would not have been able to have made his escape on the previous night from Laubscher's. Laubscher ordered Weise, if he made any resistance on the way, to beat him with his sjamboc. In consequence of the state of his right arm, he was unable to work at his trade. He could walk a little, but slowly, and with extreme pain. The whole particulars of this affecting trial, of which I have given but an outline, will be found in the Appendix, to which I beg to refer my readers. Suffice it here to say that, after an eloquent address by the attorney-general, the prisoner's advocate addressed the jury on behalf of his client, when the chief justice delivered a most impressive charge, and the jury, after retiring for half an hour, returned a verdict of guilty, accompanied with a recommendation to mercy, on the ground of the prisoner's 'old age and former feelings.' He was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, and a fine of fifty pounds to the king.

'This sentence most men would have considered not too severe; but those who understand the nature of colonial feelings will not be surprised at being informed that the whole case excited a strong interest—not in favor of the ill-fated Lodewyk, but of his cruel persecutor. An attempt to purchase the freedom of his wife and children by private subscriptions made by a few individuals, of whom I was so imprudent as to be one, together with an anxiety evinced to have some remuneration procured by law through the medium of a civil action, for the disabled Lodewyk, called forth the 'vulgar calumnies of the most scurrilous of newspapers. This same paper which purports to express the sentiments of the slave proprietors, passes the warmest eulogiums on Laubscher, describing him as 'one of the most respectable, peaceful, and friendly farmers in South Africa' (which his treatment of Lodewyk no doubt evinced!); and again, 'an able, and, in every respect, a venerable man'; while, at the same time, the poor suf-

ferer has epithets bestowed upon him as 'a murderous scoundrel,' 'a villain who once attempted to murder his master' (a crime of which even Laubscher never thought of accusing him), 'a rebellious slave, formerly his (Laubscher's) property, who was condemned to be hanged by the neck for having made an attempt on the life of his late master,' &c.; whose cruel vengeance he softens down into the milder name of a 'perhaps justly excited feeling,' and makes himself very witty on the 'paradox' of the chief justice, that 'he who strikes another man's slave, strikes a freeman with respect to him;' which surely is nothing but the language of reason and common sense.

'The editor of this paper (*Zuid Afrikaan*) pursues the subject and endeavors to excite hostility against Lodewyk by giving his history. This article is prefaced by an open and undisguised attack on the writer of the present pamphlet, [Rev. W. Wright] whom he has singled out for his editorial vengeance. Among other inventions, he broadly states that I had offered my aid to Lodewyk; and, after much vituperation, which I never thought it necessary to notice, he concludes his attack in these significant and unequivocal words:—  
'SUCH IS THE WRONG-HEADEDNESS OF THE JUNTA TO WHICH YOU BELONG, THAT THERE IS NO TREE HIGH ENOUGH WITHIN THE VICINITY OF CAPE TOWN TO HANG YOUR WORTHY PROTEGE AND HIS BENEVOLENT ADVOCATES.'  
'One of this editor's accusations against those persons, is that they had united in an attempt to purchase *Lodewyk's* freedom. Although I should have been pleased to join in such an act, it was his family, not himself, that it was intended to manumit, and this only with the voluntary consent of Laubscher; from which object I was diverted by being informed that Laubscher had himself designed to make this atonement to his victim and the public; but, if he ever intended to do so, he has not adhered to his design.'

Our readers will perceive, from the above affecting statement, that the Rev. author of this little work, like every other man who in a slave colony ventures to take a decided part on the side of humanity and christian duty, has suffered from calumny and persecution. His book contains other valuable matter, to which we may probably revert on an early occasion.'

It is often asked why anti-slavery writers are so fond of harrowing the feelings of their readers by accounts of atrocious cruelties perpetrated by slaveholders, since it cannot be pretended that such enormities are more frequent or of a more aggravated character than those which occur in places where slavery is not tolerated. We are not disposed to deny that the acts of greatest inhumanity among slaveholders have their parallels in the most

enlightened countries where slavery is prohibited. But we totally deny that barbarous cruelty is as common in places in other respects of equal civilization where slavery is prohibited, as in those places where it is tolerated. We publish such instances of cruelty, then, because they are more common in slave countries, and because they expose the natural tendency of arbitrary power to abuse. But we have another reason for calling the attention of our readers to cases of this kind—a reason which anti-slavery publications often advert to, but the force of which the apologists of slavery are very reluctant to perceive. It is this. The feelings with which most white persons in slaveholding communities regard such horrible outrages as those committed by Laubscher on Lodewyk—the want of common humanity which they exhibit where a slave is the injured party—demonstrate the thoroughly corrupting influence of slavery.

But the advocate of oppression still urges, 'Why do you tell us what happened at the Cape of Good Hope? What has that to do with the Southern States? If southern slavery is as bad, give us the facts.' We shall give facts enough in due time, and those who feel any doubt of the enormities practised by slaveholders at the south, will find facts enough to overwhelm them already on record, in the *Liberator*, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, and other anti-slavery publications. Though the extent and enormity of the oppression practised by slaveholders at the South are studiously concealed from the people of the North, and can only be visible to the omnipotent eye, enough and more than enough has appeared to make every unbiassed mind look with horror on the system. So far from doubting whether similar atrocities to those which Laubscher committed, would have been regarded in the Southern States as they were at the Cape, we know that cruelties equally revolting have occurred there, and the offenders have escaped without even an attempt made to bring them to justice.

Let us not be misunderstood. Our charge is not that the great body of slaveholders are cruel and bloodthirsty, but that many more of them are guilty of acts of barbarity, than of an equal number of citizens of the Northern States, and that many who do not abuse their own slaves, look with unconcern on acts of brutal inhumanity committed by their neighbors.

EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS,  
DELIVERED BEFORE THE N. E. ANTI-SLAVERY  
SOCIETY, BY WM. J. SNELLING, ESQ.  
(Concluded.)

I would, briefly, call your attention to the effects of prejudice upon the people of color in the free states. Permit me to say that they are not treated as free men and our political equals, should be treated. If they are not our equals in wealth and learning, if more of them in proportion to their number, may be found in our prisons than of whites, is it not in a very considerable degree, our own fault? No white mechanic takes a colored apprentice—the black has not the advantage of our schools—he gains not a convenient seat even in God's temple. His opportunities being less, his ignorance, and consequently his vice is more than ours. By treating him like a criminal we make him one, and we also make ourselves responsible, in a great measure at the judgment seat of God, for the crimes of which his compelled ignorance is the occasion.

There are many who excuse their prejudice by pretending that the blacks are a race intellectually inferior to ourselves. They say that no one has ever arisen to eminence among us. True, plants that are much trodden upon seldom thrive. I would, however, beg leave to refer those who hold this injurious opinion to the pages of Denham, Lang and Clapperton. I think that they will there find no evidence of any natural inferiority on the part of the black man. On the contrary they will find honorable mention of curly haired kings, sable skinned generals and thick-lipped poets, whose strains the proudest bard that ever sang in English might be proud to acknowledge. But what need to go so far for argument, to refute this calumny, when we have them almost at our doors. Look at Hayti! Thirty years ago, her now free inhabitants were slaves, as miserable and degraded as any that disgrace the soil of the continent. What are they now? They are not only free, but more accomplished and better informed, as a people, than many nations of Europe. Hayti broke the bonds of her thralldom alone; alone she contended with success against the utmost efforts of the most powerful empire of the earth; ay, she shared with England the honor of having effectually resisted Napoleon Bonaparte in the zenith of his military and political omnipotence. Now she has her laws, her schools, her orators, her statesmen. I may say with safety that not even our own country has made so great advances, considering the difference of advantages. If I be asked to shew individual examples of intellectual superiority, I name Boyer, Petion, Christophe, and last, and greatest, the great, the noble, the magnanimous, the unfortunate Toussaint L'Ouverture. Whoever has read the life of Toussaint will readily acknowledge, that no

revolutionary chief who ever existed, can be compared with him in all that constitutes true greatness, save our own immortal Washington. Ay, had Toussaint L'Ouverture been blessed with a white skin, hundreds would have gone in pilgrimage to his untimely grave, and watered the sod that covers it with their tears.

I think, that if the people of Hayti may be esteemed to represent the black race, that race may justly assert a superiority over some of the fairest of the Caucasian varieties.

Many are willing to emancipate the slaves, provided they can be *sent home, to their own country*; that is, to Africa. I should be glad to hear it proved, that Africa is the country of blacks born in America. I have always thought that a man's allegiance is due to the country in which he is born, and I am yet to learn the contrary. Do the free blacks consider Africa as their home? Do they joyfully accept the assistance of the American Colonization Society to get home? No, they are almost universally opposed to the scheme. They have lately held many conventions, and passed many resolutions opposing it. This, they hold, is their native land. They are resolved to remain in it, and to share its fortunes. They are right—here they were born, here their kindred abide, they speak its language, they are governed by its laws, they contribute their mite to its support—they know no other. They love the land that despises and oppresses them, and would fain cast them forth as aliens and outcasts. All the ill treatment they have received, all the iniquitous laws that have been passed against them, have not been able to alienate their love from America. There may be some among them willing to emigrate, there may even be more than the Colonization Society can find means to transport, but, as a body, they are devotedly attached to the soil that gave them birth. We may wonder at their patriotism, but we cannot deny its existence. The secret of it lies in four words—*this is their country*.

If the American blacks are Africans, then we, most of us are Englishmen. All of us are Europeans. It is a bad rule that will not work both ways. Let us suppose that the dreadful and dreaded cholera should fall so heavily and exclusively upon us whites, as to make us the minority of the population. Suppose that the majority should then insist upon sending us to our own country—what answer could we make? It would only be reversing the case.

Supposing it just and practicable to expel our colored brethren, ought we to desire their removal, as a matter of policy? The expulsion of the Huguenots from France, is universally considered one of the most impolitic acts ever performed by arbitrary power. Spain drove out the Moors. More than three centuries have since elapsed, and she has not yet recovered from the consequence of her own suicidal act.

Can we spare two millions and a half of people? Let us suppose that the labor of each individual is worth four-pence half-penny a day over and above the charges of his maintenance, which is certainly a very moderate calculation. At this rate, their labor is worth a hundred and fifty-six thousand two hundred and fifty dollars per diem, or something exceeding fifty-seven millions annually. Can we afford to lose so vast an amount? Have we, the people of the free states, especially, any reason to desire the absence of the free blacks? They are almost all seamen or laborers. If they contribute more occupants to our prisons than we do, in proportion to their numbers, the same reproach will also apply to the class of poor foreigners, which the Colonization Society has not yet thought of removing. They can perform as much labor as so many whites. If their presence be a disadvantage to us, it is daily decreasing, for they do not increase in the same ratio with us, and their moral condition is daily improving. A spirit of inquiry is abroad among them. They have discovered that knowledge is power and riches and honor. They can almost all write and read. Many of them have property, pay taxes and are united with their white brethren in church fellowship. Many are able writers, as a reference to the journals of their conventions will prove. Some of the reports of these bodies are equal to the official papers of any legislative body. I can produce composition written by blacks which the best scholar in the land need not be ashamed of. They are, to my certain knowledge, endeavoring to establish schools, and to give their children trades. Why should we wish to drive such people into exile? We certainly shall have room for them, for a hundred years to come. They are too few to take away the employment of white laborers. If they continue to improve, their usefulness will increase, and if they do not we shall be none the worse than we are now. It seems to me that it is rather our duty to aid those who are willing to help themselves, than to drive them away from us.

It is susceptible of mathematical demonstration, that it is impossible to get rid of our black population. There are two millions and a half of them, and their annual increase is fifty six thousand. Every individual whom the Colonization Society has removed, has, according to their own account, cost them thirty dollars. At this rate, it will cost more than two millions per annum, to remove the increase alone, and to even diminish the evil, more than the increase must be exported. It would cost, according to the estimate of the Colonization Society, ninety millions of dollars and take thirty years to effect their entire removal. And this supposes that owners would give up their slaves without compensation. I leave you to judge if such liberality can be expected from them. If it cannot, the weight of

their flesh and bones in coined silver would not suffice for the purpose. This is no dream, no speculation, but the result of arithmetical computation, from the data of these misguided philanthropists.

What nation was ever depopulated by gradual emigration? Some countries of the north of Europe, have sent their inhabitants forth *en masse*, indeed, but we cannot send forth our black population so. All the shipping of the United States, would not suffice to do it. We are ten millions, a mighty branch from the parent trunk, but that trunk is as large and as vigorous as ever. Ireland does not miss the thousands, I might say millions, whom she has given to the new world and the battle field.

There is an old proverb, which, though coarse, is expressive and true. The proof of the pudding is in the eating thereof. The American Colonization Society have been engaged in the work of expatriation more than fourteen years, and have exported, in that time, as they say, twenty-five hundred persons, some small trifle more than the increase of a single fortnight. Truly this is baling a cask with a wine glass, while another is filling it with a bucket. When I believe that the ocean can be emptied with a scoop, then I will believe that they can effect their purpose.

I do not impeach the motives of this society. On the contrary, I believe them to be good. They hope to colonize Africa. I hope they will. They believe that the blacks can never be happy here, and propose to place them where they will be more happily situated. They hold out to the nation the prospect of eventually getting rid of all its blacks, and to the blacks they hold out a perspective paradise in Africa. I believe, that while they imagine that they are doing good, they are really doing evil to both whites and blacks.

I think, that whoever will take the trouble to examine the subject will agree with me, that a gradual abolition is hopeless—impossible. I think that nine of every ten who listen to their reports are content to take what they say on trust, being blinded, on this subject, by prejudice. Many a man would feel alarmed for his country, and bestir himself in behalf of the slaves, but for the fallacious hope of a gradual cure of the disease, which they hold out to him. In this way they wrong the whites much—the blacks more.

I believe, and I have good reason to believe, that the reports respecting the condition of the colony of Liberia, which are monthly and daily promulgated by the agents of this society, are delusive. I believe, indeed, that the soil of Africa is good, but I am also firmly convinced that the climate is deadly, that half the emigrants who reach Liberia die, that the rest undergo a six months seasoning fever, that the civilization of Africa has not advanced

ed a jot for the last five years, that the colonists are subjected to an odious oligarchy, that there are not so many of them as the agents of the society have stated, and finally, that the majority of those actually settled there would return to America if they could. It is known to all here, that people from all civilized parts of the globe, seek America as a land of promise, but I have never heard that any have sought Liberia as a refuge from poverty or oppression, beautiful as it has been represented. But I rest my belief on more certain grounds—on letters received by a friend from a Liberian colonist, which certainly do not agree with the statements of the African Repository, or the reports of the Colonization Society.

I believe, that the Colonization Society enhances the value of slaves, and thereby encourages the domestic slave trade, and induces owners to tighten their grasp on their bondmen. For, it is evident, that if a certain number of slaves be exported from any state, Georgia, for example, the loss of their labor is felt, those who remain become more valuable to their masters, and others are soon brought from other States to fill the vacancy. *I know*, that the Society, does in its reports, brand all plans for the abolition of slavery, with the opprobrious name of madness. I know, that they do describe the free blacks as the most wretched, degraded race that ever polluted the earth, and insist that their condition never can be improved here. Let him who doubts, examine the African Repository and the Society's official reports. These statements and assumptions are echoed and approved by all the enemies of the blacks, all the gradual abolitionists, all the slaveholders, and more than half the public prints in the Union. They destroy the hopes of the free black, who aims at improvement, for can it be matter of wonder, that, hearing hundreds better informed than himself say these things, he should believe himself an outcast, from whom no good can ever proceed? They take away his motives to virtuous exertion, and thus use indirect compulsion to induce him to emigrate. They encourage and foster an unholy prejudice, which crushes the black to the dust, which they tell him that he is unworthy to tread. But I need not dilate farther on this head, since a week has scarcely elapsed, since I heard a prominent member of the American Colonization Society, publicly acknowledge, that the value of slaves was enhanced, and the degradation of all negroes, perpetuated by the means I have mentioned.

It is cruel, absurd and unchristian, to tell the negro, that he never can be happy or respectable in the land of his birth. Give him, at least, an opportunity of making the experiment. If a black mechanic shall work cheaper and better than his neighbors, will you not employ him? If a black merchant shall deal

on better terms than his white competitor, will you not buy of him? When a black physician, shall have proved his skill superior to that of others, will you not take his prescription? With him who will not, prejudice is stronger than interest or reason, and it is no matter how soon disease shall bring him to his senses. Give the black a fair chance---let him have the means of instruction---let all trades and professions be open to him. The laws do not forbid him to follow any honest calling, and these cases are, therefore, possible. If, two hundred years hence, there shall be no respectable or respected blacks in the country, it will then be time enough, to agree with the Colonization Society, that a dark skin is a natural, and therefore, a just cause of offence.

I believe that I do not condemn the Colonization Society on light grounds, or without a trial. They have tried themselves in the balance, and have proved themselves wanting. Fourteen years are enough to give to any experiment. They have been at work that time, and have utterly failed to effect each and every one of the objects they undertook to accomplish. Their labors have not even made themselves felt by any class but the free blacks, whose misery they have, *slightly*, increased. It is time to look for the cure of a great national shame and scandal by other means than theirs.

If then we cannot get rid of our slaves, shall we do nothing? Shall we suffer the evil to grow from bad to worse? Something, the slaveholders themselves admit, must be done. The case is a crying one. Remember Southampton. Shall we not endeavor to prevent a repetition of the horrors of that massacre? The peace of the South is gone forever.—Bloody retaliation and restrictive laws only make the matter worse. The ignorance of the slaves is no security, for it cannot last.—They have at last committed to memory a precept which their own masters have taught them, on such days as this. No slaveholder now feels his life safe. Will not our southern brethren permit us to mention the abolition of slavery? Then they will one day hear freedom to mankind proclaimed in a voice that will please them less than ours. Will they not give their slaves instruction? They will get it in spite of them. Millions cannot be kept in ignorance forever. Will they not give them the blessings of religion? Then some dark Mahomet will one day give them a religion of their own. If they do not join with us in some measures of abolition, their slaves will at least try to set themselves free. Let us try to discover some means to avert the bloody day of reckoning, which, in all human probability, must arrive sooner or later.

As we cannot get rid of the blacks, it behoves us to make their situation safe and tolerable to ourselves and them. Here they are,

and here they will and must remain, unless we exterminate them, whether we like it or not. It is certainly better to have them our friends than our enemies. If there is danger in immediate emancipation, there is yet more in the continuance of slavery. The massacre of San Domingo and the late insurrection of Poland ought to be warnings to us. If we give them freedom, we shall have a claim on their gratitude; if we do not, they will have every thing to hate and nothing to love us for. Had we not better give with a good grace, what we cannot safely hold a minute?

I do not believe that there is danger in immediate abolition, or that the interests of the slaveholders would materially suffer by it.—By abolition, I do not mean that any planter should give up his house and plantation to his slaves. The negroes are laborers now, and if freed would be laborers still. The relations between the two parties would not be much changed. Besides the whites would only relinquish what they have no right to keep, and something is due to justice, as well as to interest and expediency.

Something *must* be done, or we must patiently await an evil which is inevitable.—Whatever we do must be brought about by the force of public opinion. Let me say, that what the slaves themselves think will ere long be no unimportant matter. They may rebel, and they may be put down again. I have little doubt that they would. But the game will be repeated over and over again, for the march of intellect is ever onward. In the mean while what will be the condition of the south? It will be more just, more humane, and cheaper to set the slaves free at once. Our southern brethren may be surrounded, if they will, with intelligent, grateful friends. If they will not, they must be surrounded with brutal and revengeful enemies, and we must be called on to protect them. A worm turns when trampled on. It is our business. Justice, interest, humanity and reason demand our interference.

Many there are who decline to take any active interest in the important question of the abolition of slavery, because they say and think that their individual exertions and influence can avail nothing, and that it is best to watch the course of events quietly. If all men held this doctrine, no important measure could ever be taken. If our fathers had all thought so, the battle of Bunker's Hill would never have been fought, our independence would never have been achieved. Massachusetts would now be a British colony. In ours, as in all republics, the will, or in other words, the opinion of the majority must rule, and I doubt not that the majority will one day soon be of opinion that the abolition of slavery is indispensable. They would be of that opinion now, could they but be prevailed on to think on this subject. Evils seen in perspective are little regarded, but let one draft

be made of the able bodied men of the free states, and the attention of the whole community will be roused.

Every man has some influence, and ought to exert it in all matters that concern the welfare of his fellows. The mere opinion of any individual, if it do but excite the attention of his neighbor, has some influence on the conduct of that neighbor. I do not aspire on this occasion to convince, but I hope to induce some to think, and therefore to convince themselves. So thoroughly am I convinced of the holiness of the cause in which I am at this moment engaged, and of the soundness of the sentiments I have advanced, that I have none, the smallest doubt, that whosoever will examine, will embrace them, and make converts, in his turn, in a similar manner. I do not believe that a word spoken on this subject can be thrown away. I believe that no two sensible men can converse on this topic without coming eventually to a conviction of the utter folly, injustice and impolicy of attempting to expatriate our black population, of the necessity of abolition, and of the futility of the reasons which induce so many to oppose it. There can be no subject of more importance to us all, and I do earnestly entreat all who hear me, to think of it and talk of it. If you will do this, you will also act on it. The good work must and will go on, in spite of all opposition. Let me be called zealot, enthusiast, visionary, fanatic, what you will, still I would say, were it with my last breath, FORWARD!

[For the Abolitionist.]

#### THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDER.

(Concluded.)

After Ellen had concluded, I inquired if nothing could be done by the friends of religion and humanity for this oppressed people? Philo replied that while the laws of the country were opposed to the laws of religion and humanity, little could be done by individuals—especially while a great proportion of the people, from motives of self-interest, violently opposed any attempt to make a change in these laws. All they can do, at present, is to excite a spirit of inquiry on the subject of slavery, and endeavor to open the eyes of the community to its true character.

From this time we had frequent discussions upon this subject. One day when we were thus engaged, Mr. B., a gentleman I had before seen, came in, and as we continued the conversation, he remarked that people now-a-days seemed to be slavery mad: for his part, he saw no great harm in it: the slaves, he thought, were quite as happy as others of the laboring classes.

‘If that is the case,’ said my friend, ‘how happens it that no person was ever found who was willing to exchange conditions with them?’

'Why,' replied he, 'people do not always know when they are well off.'

'Who is to be the judge, then?' said I—'Surely not those who are benefited by keeping them in slavery?'

'No,' said Philo, 'the party concerned is never allowed to sit as judge or jury in his own case. Now I aver,' continued he, 'that slavery is not only a great evil, but a great sin.'

'That it *may* be an evil, I will admit,' said Mr. B.; 'but I do not see that it is a sin. It was practised at the time our Saviour was upon earth, and he did not condemn it, but by his Apostles, gave directions to servants to be obedient to their masters.'

'Yes,' said Philo, 'and the word of inspiration has also said, "remember those in bonds; as bound yourselves." But what I would contend for is, that for one portion of the human family to keep another portion of it in a state slavery, is utterly opposed to the laws of God, as revealed in the New Testament. It is true, it did not appear to be the object of our Saviour, while upon earth, to make any violent changes in the existing state of things; but in laying down the principles of his religion, he furnished rules for the conduct of all his followers. If you can point out a single precept of our Saviour which does not totally oppose the system slavery, I will yield the point.—No—the whole spirit of christianity is in perfect accordance with the words of God, as delineated by the prophet Isaiah:—"Is not this the part that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?" I can truly say I know of no greater sin than that traffic which makes one man the property of another. Indeed, strictly speaking, this cannot be done—for man belongs alone to his Maker;—but injustice and oppression are great usurpers.'

Mr. B. now thought it time to say something; and he observed that he could not view it in this light—for to him there appeared a perfect congruity between slavery and the general order of things—that there seemed to be a gradual descent from the first cause of all things to the lowest animal, and that slaves appeared to compose one step in this scale of gradation—that the Africans were evidently intended for this place, as they were inferior both in their intellectual and moral powers.—'And you know,' said he, with much sang froid, 'there *must* be hewers of wood and drawers of water.'

'Really, Mr. B.' said Philo, 'I should not have suspected you of such old fashioned, not to say unphilosophical notions. Why, you would scarcely find among the slaveholders themselves, one hardy enough to express such a sentiment. So you would make Africans the connecting link between men and brutes. No, depend upon it, the line between human

beings and the inferior animals is too distinct to be thus confounded. Without, however, contending for the equality of the whole human race, I would inquire if, by the same rule, we might not enslave *all* those who discover any inferiority of intellect, or moral obliquity among ourselves? Would it not, besides being extremely cruel, be the ready way of perpetuating this inferiority, and lead to the worst of consequences? No, sir, it is not the nature but the condition of the slave, which gives him this inferiority. Once place before him the incentives to exertion which actuate other men, and you will see him display the same powers.'

'How happens it, then,' said Mr. B. 'that we find the free blacks always among the most degraded part of our community?'

'Why, that,' replied Philo, 'can very easily be accounted for: having but recently emerged from slavery themselves, and marked by the same color as those who remain in that state, they have every prejudice to contend with; but, relieve the whole race from this deadening influence, and see if they would long remain the poor despicable wretches which they are now presumed to be.'

'Perhaps,' said Mr. B. 'it would be well enough to try the experiment, if they could be *gradually* emancipated; but to overrun the country suddenly by such a savage horde, would be a most dangerous project.'

'No such thing is thought of,' said Philo, 'by those who contend for immediate abolition: their labor would be as much needed on the plantations after, as before their freedom. It would only be recognizing their rights as men, instead of viewing them as things, to be bought and sold at the caprice of their owners. Their very masters would, I have not a doubt, by the exchange, find grateful and attached and active servants, instead of slothful, sullen, or revengeful slaves.'

'But,' inquired Mr. B. 'what compensation is the master to have for all this sacrifice of property.'

'Why, after all,' said Philo, 'what great sacrifice will he make? He will have, as I observed before, attached servants instead of slaves. And suppose the wages he would be obliged give them should amount to a little more than the food and clothing he had before supplied, it would probably be more than compensated by the zeal and fidelity with which he would be served. But supposing the case of immediate abolition, how can you prove that such would be the consequences? I can prove it, first, upon the principle of human nature, which is always softened by kindness, and stimulated to exertion by the hope of reward; and, secondly, by facts which you will find with a little examination, abundantly prove my position. I do not know of a single instance of evil consequences arising to the master from having liberated his slave.'

Ellen now remarked that her own observation could enable her to confirm both of the above assertions of her brother.

'Yes,' said she, 'during my absence I became well acquainted with a gentleman who, though he was a slaveholder, such was his love of justice, and his sense of religious obligation, acting upon a naturally humane and tender heart, that the system of slavery appeared to him in all its native deformity, and he confessed to me that not a day passed that his conscience did not reproach him with his guilt in this matter. 'And you,' he would say, 'who are from the north, where this evil does not exist, I know must be continually shocked at witnessing it. But what can I do? Heaven knows, I would gladly be rid of it. But my family!—by freeing my slaves, I should leave them in poverty. And this I cannot resolve to do.' You may perceive that his moral sense was still somewhat obscured by the relations in which he stood, or he would not thus have hesitated in the performance of his duty. Though he was in health when these conversations passed, before I left the place he died, and by his will it was found that he had given freedom to four of his most valuable slaves.—And his widow, who related afterwards the circumstances to me, said it was truly interesting to observe the characteristic manner in which they severally received this inestimable boon, but all with expressions of the most heart-felt joy: they were of one family, three sisters and a brother—to the sisters, she was herself the bearer of the glad tidings. One danced and clapped her hands; another burst into tears, and sobbed out—Oh! my dear master, it was just like him; the third received it with a modest dignity, as if she felt that she had only been put in possession of her just rights. They all, however, continued upon the plantation in the regular discharge of their accustomed employments, but with renewed alacrity; for the iron yoke of slavery no longer weighed heavily upon them.

'Ah, Miss Ellen,' said Mr. B. 'that is a pleasing picture, I allow; but does it not owe something to your imagination.'

'Nothing, sir, you may depend upon it. It is but a simple statement of facts, without the least embellishment. But I have still another fact to relate, which will no less prove our point. It is customary for the planters to allow their slaves small patches of ground to cultivate for their own profit, either to raise vegetables for their own use, or to sell if they prefer it. This small privilege, I believe, is seldom neglected, and by their zeal and industry is often made productive of very considerable gain. But the instance which I was going to mention will show to what an extreme this is sometimes carried. A gentleman, who had made the usual allowance to his slaves, perceived in the course of time, that a certain slave, who had been one of his most robust

and active hands, discovered marks of feebleness and exhaustion which surprised him, as there was evidently no unwillingness to work, and he did not seem to be affected by any specific disease. He determined, however, to watch him and discover, if he could, the cause. The mystery was soon unravelled: he found that he had long been in the habit of depriving himself almost wholly of sleep to work upon this little piece of ground—(ah! what an affecting picture does not this present!) But the worst of it is not yet told: his master thought that in *justice* to himself, and *kindness* to his slave, he ought to deprive him of this engrossing employment; and accordingly took away from him altogether, his beloved and too much cherished garden. Indeed, I afterwards learnt that this was frequently done, when the slaves overworked themselves in this way, which was often the case.'

As Ellen concluded this recital, my blood boiled in my veins; and such was my indignation, I could scarcely help breaking out into some intemperate expressions. Even Mr. B. seemed moved, but said that all these instances related to slaves naturally well disposed, good characters; but, in case of immediate abolition, what, let me ask, is to be done with the idle and vicious?

'Why,' replied my friend, 'let the refractory ones become amenable to the laws, and be dealt with in the same way that other criminals are. I see no difficulty in it—it would certainly relieve the master from a great deal of *trouble*, to say the least.'

'Then there are the children and the infirm—what is to become of them? The master, you know, would no longer be responsible for their maintenance.'

'Certainly not, (though, in fact, they *ought* to support the latter class at least, who have spent their strength in their service,) but should they, as probably would be the case, become dependant on those to whom nature has given them a claim, if the laborer received his just recompense, he would have no difficulty in performing this duty. And what man is there, who would not rather work a little harder, supposing it were necessary, to support his child or helpless parent, than to see them fed by the miserable portion dealt out by the grudging hand of his oppressor?'

'Why, my dear sir,' said Mr. B. laughing, 'you seem to forget the low and degraded character of the slaves, when you suppose them capable of such honorable sentiments. Now I admit that what you state might be the case, if they should be first educated, and then gradually emancipated.'

'Allow me, Mr. B. to say,' continued my friend, 'that you are in my opinion entirely mistaken. You begin at the wrong end. No—liberate first, and then educate; for knowledge and slavery cannot exist together, any more than light and darkness—for the first ray

that breaks in upon their minds, will reveal to them their rights, and lead them to burst their fetters at any and every hazard. Ignorance and slavery are natural allies. A *slave* is the most unteachable creature upon earth, and nothing can more plainly show the abominable nature of the system, than its incompatibility with education, all which can raise a human being above a brute.'

Mr. B. evidently not wishing to pursue the argument in a direct course, from the fear of a defeat; for he appeared to possess too much judgment not to perceive that he was on the wrong side, turned to Ellen and said,

'Now, Miss Ellen, I appeal to you: did not most of the slaves appear to be very contented and happy?'

'They, many of them certainly did,' replied she, 'and some of them seemed to think that black people were *made* to serve white people, and that it was impossible for them, to learn to read and write.'

'There,' said Mr. B. to Philo, 'what do you think of that?'

'Think of it?' said he, 'why, I think if I were going to depict Slavery in its most appalling colors, I should dwell with peculiar emphasis upon this fact; for what can more completely show its stupifying and besotting nature, than its having the power to make human beings so insensible to their true interests, and so ignorant of their just rights?'

'I would not,' said Ellen, 'be understood to say, that all are contented and happy—far from it; for very many, perhaps the greater part, suffer from feelings too keenly corroded by a sense of their wrongs; and I have heard of instances where the desire of liberty was so strong as to occasion a hopeless despondency, which death only could relieve. Indeed, I have found, where I have been, that great fear was entertained even of those who appeared the most faithful, should any thing like an insurrection occur; and there are not a few who betray, either by a sullen discontent, or a disdainful indifference, their perfect readiness for open hostility.'

Though I had listened with intense interest to this discussion, and had been successively agitated by various emotions, I had not opened my lips; but I now ventured to inquire, what was the labor in which the slaves were employed? My friend replied that the principal part of it consisted in the cultivation of sugar, cotton, coffee and rice. And are these articles all consumed by the planters themselves? I inquired.

Mr. B. at this, seemed very much diverted, and asked, if I supposed they acquired their princely fortunes in that way?

I felt mortified, though I could not see any thing so very absurd in my question; and, turning to my friend, I asked, how then the produce of their labor was disposed of?—for, continued I, it surely cannot be purchased

and consumed by any but those who either approve, or view Slavery with indifference; and I should hope the number of such was very small. At this, I observed Philo and his sister exchange glances, and for a few moments there was a total silence. At length said Philo,

'Your queries do not at all surprise me, for they are such as could not fail to be made by every person who viewed the subject in its proper light. No, the master would have but little use for his slave, if it were only to furnish subsistence for himself and his family; but, on the contrary, most of the products of their labor are consumed by these very people who profess to condemn the system, and lament over it, and wish the evil could be removed, without even for a moment seeming to have the thought cross their mind, that they are the ones who are the upholders and supporters of it. But once let such a just spirit of resistance prevail as to induce each and every one to make the generous resolution to forego the use of any of these productions, unless furnished by free labor, and we should find it would possess a power to lift this deadly weight, which now broods like an incubus over that fair portion of our country; for self-interest would soon point out to the slaveholder the only way in which he could make the products of his soil profitable, would be to liberate his slaves.'

Mr. B. now changed his mirth into anger, and told my friend, with some warmth, that he should not have expected such a wild proposition to proceed from him. 'Why, you do not seem to take into account the immense disorder, distress, and confusion, such a combination as this would occasion, both in commerce and manufactories, to say nothing of individual privation and inconvenience.'

'I am perfectly aware,' said Philo, 'that, for a time, it might operate as you suppose; but should any thing be put in competition with doing right? However, I have nothing to say to any one, who, after having put it fairly to his conscience, can say he sees no harm in taking his portion of the labor of the slave.'

I agreed perfectly with my friend, and determined thenceforth to use none of these articles, without first inquiring from what source they came. We now separated, and for myself, at least, occupied by a new train of thought, my wealth now no longer seemed useless to me; for gigantic schemes for the release and benefit of *Slaves* filled my imagination.

*Note.* It ought to be mentioned that the story of George and Letty in the first part of the *South Sea Islander*, and those of the emancipated slaves, and of the slaves overworking themselves on their own grounds, in this part, are facts.

[From the Liberator.]

LETTER FROM ARTHUR TAPPAN, ESQ.

Theol. Seminary, March 29, 1833.

MR. GARRISON:—In the correspondence of the Anti-Slavery Society, in this Seminary, the following communication has been received from a distinguished philanthropist, which, it is presumed, will be read with interest by the christian community.

New-York, March 26, 1833.

Mr. Lewis F. Laine, Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, in the Theological Seminary, at Andover.

DEAR SIR—Your communication of the 8th inst., has remained till now unanswered, in consequence of a press of other cares. You ask my opinion of the Colonization Society, and suggest the inquiry, 'Whether, with its present principles and character, it is worthy of the patronage of the christian public?' My engagements do not admit of my giving an elaborate answer to this inquiry, or explaining at length my views of the Colonization project.

When this Society was organized, I was one of its warmest friends, and anticipated great good from its influence, both in christianizing Africa and abolishing slavery in our country. At one time, I had a plan for establishing a line of Packets, between this city and the colony, and for opening a trade with the interior of Africa. I also offered to pay \$1,000 to the Society, if the 100 individuals, proposed in the plan of G. Smith, could be found within one year. I mention these things to show how heartily I entered into the scheme.

The first thing that shook my confidence in the Society, was the fact, that ardent spirits were allowed to be sold at the colony, and, as the Agents wrote me from Liberia, in giving the assortment suitable to make up an invoice, were considered 'indispensable.' I used the little influence I had, with the Society, to obtain a prohibition to the admission of ardent spirits into the colony, with what success may be seen in the \* fact, that no less than FOURTEEN HUNDRED BARRELS of the liquid poison, have been sold there within a year. With my feelings somewhat cooled by the knowledge that ardent spirits, tobacco, powder and balls, were leading articles of trade at the colony, I read with some care the arguments of that distinguished and fearless philanthropist, W. L. Garrison, in the Liberator, and was soon led to ask myself whether this 'splendid scheme of benevolence' was not a device of Satan, to rivet still closer the fetters of the slaves, and to deepen the prejudice against the free colored people. I now believe it is, and that it had its origin in the *single motive*, to get rid of the free colored people, that the slaves

may be held in greater safety. Good men have been drawn into it, under the delusive idea, that it would break the chains of slavery and evangelize Africa; but the day is not far distant, I believe, when the Society will be regarded in its true character, and deserted by every one who wishes to see a speedy end put to slavery, in this land of boasted freedom.

You are at liberty, to make what use you please, of this expression of my sentiments. I rejoice to witness the effort that is every where making, to 'let the captive go free,' and that the number is daily increasing of those who are resolved not to cease their efforts in every lawful way, to secure to our colored fellow citizens, equal rights with others. That your Society may be eminently instrumental in dissipating prejudice, and pouring light upon the intellect of the millions of our countrymen who are held in bondage, is the earnest prayer of your fellow laborer,

ARTHUR TAPPAN.

#### TRAFFIC IN HUMAN FLESH.

The traffic in 'slaves and souls' of men' forms the most extensive branch of American commerce!—As specimens of the manner in which these unhappy, guiltless beings are offered for sale, we copy the following advertisements from southern newspapers. Well may abolitionists be excused, in view of this horrible spectacle, if they exhibit great indignation and intense ardor. Blush, republicans! Mourn, christians!

BY HENRY O'HARA.

To-morrow, 28th inst. will be sold, at the north side of the Custom House, at 11 o'clock,

CHLOE, a good Cook, Washer and Ironer, and her Five Children, the eldest, a Boy 14, Eliza 12, Thomas 10, Anny 8, and Mick 5 years old.

BINAH, a good Cook, Washer and Ironer, and her 3 children, Cuffee, a boy 12, Hagar 9, and Binah 6 years old.

PATIENCE, a prime young Mulatto woman 20 years old, a first rate Servant, of warranted character.

BY BEE & CARTER.

On Friday, 29th inst. will be sold, at the north side of the Custom House, at 11 o'clock,

The balance of Negroes unsold, belonging to an assigned Estate, by order of the Assignee.

CONSISTING OF

Six valuable Fellows, Ship Carpenters and Caulkers, among whom are some of the best workmen in the city.

Conditions—Approved endorsed Notes, payable in 60 days, with interest from date, and mortgage of property. Purchasers to pay for papers.

†2

Feb. 27.

BY BEE & CARTER.

On Tuesday, 5th March, will be sold, at the north side of the Custom House, at 11

\* This statement, I am assured is made on unquestionable authority, and it is not contradicted by the Colonization Society.

o'clock, belonging to the Estate of Wm. McKinsie Parker, deceased.

A prime and orderly gang of 62 Negroes, accustomed to the culture of Sea Island Cotton, among whom are 29 Workers, 3 half Hands, and 8 Boys and Girls from 10 to 14 years old.

BY THOMAS N. GADSDEN.

To-morrow, 18th inst. will be sold at the north of the Exchange, at 11 o'clock,

THREE VALUABLE NEGROES.

A prime young Wench, about 17 years old, a complete House Servant, and good Seamstress, and a very likely Boy, between 13 and 14 years of age.

N. B. These Negroes are all of warranted characters, and can be treated for at private sale any time before the day of sale.

BY S. PHILBRICK.

A Negro Woman, about 35 years of age, a good plain cook and washer, accustomed to house-work and sewing.

Also, a Negro Fellow and his wife and a child, about 2 years old—good field hands.

BY J. B. HERBERT & CO.

*At Private Sale*—A Negro Woman, 40 years old, a good field hand, and her daughter 9 years old, a house servant.

Also, a Woman, 23 years old—an able house servant or field hand, with her 2 children, both Girls, 3 and 5 years old. Aug. 14.

BY S. PHILBRICK.

*At Private Sale*—A prime Negro Wench, about 16 years of age, of good character.

Also, a Negro Woman, about 35 years of age, a first rate cook, washer and ironer.

#### SAFETY OF EMANCIPATION.

We read with delight the subjoined article from the Liverpool Times, of February 19. Comment is unnecessary. It is time that the slanderers of Hayti and the revilers of the free people of color, should make themselves acquainted with the real character of the objects of their abuse.

#### FREE NEGROES AND SLAVES.

We subjoin from the report of the Commons' Committee on Slavery a few extracts from the important evidence of the Hon. Charles Fleming, the Admiral on the West India station, who has resided in Jamaica, and has frequently visited Cuba, Hayti, and the Caraccas. These extracts prove that the negroes will soon free themselves, if they are not freed by the government,—that free negroes are industrious, and will work regularly, even in the cultivation of sugar,—that they are competent to fulfil the duties of governors, generals, and priests,—and that the free blacks of Cuba and Hayti are incomparably better fed, and happier than the slaves of Jamaica:—

'2499. Were you much struck with the increased knowledge of the slave population when you last saw them, compared with what you observed among them when you saw them on a former occasion?—Yes very much, and I was confirmed by that in my opinion that they are not inferior to the white people in intellect.

'2500. From what you saw and what you heard from persons on whose information you can rely, are you satisfied that reading and listening to works read is very prevalent among the slaves in Jamaica?—Yes, I know it of my own knowledge, and I have been informed that it is very prevalent; I have seen one man reading a Gazette to a gang of slaves.'

'2503. Are you of opinion that if the power of reading becomes general among them, so stimulated by their condition as slaves, that the knowledge of what passes here upon the subject, and the knowledge of what passes in the Legislature of Jamaica upon the subject, is consistent with the permanent endurance on their part of the state of slavery?—No, I think it will put an end to slavery; it will be impossible to keep enlightened people slaves, treated as they now are, as has been proved by their late insurrection.'

The Admiral says—

'I am of opinion that the West Indies could be cultivated by free labor, and I ground that opinion upon my experience of what I have seen in Hayti, in the Caraccas, particularly where all are free, and in the islands of Trinidad and Cuba, and upon the industry of the free negroes in the islands of the Bahamas.'

'2685. Was not one of the generals in the Caraccas a black man? Yes, General Peyanga was a perfectly black man, a complete negro; he was a very well informed man, a very well educated person, and well read in Spanish literature; he was a very extraordinary man.

'2686. Did you happen to know whether English officers served under him?—Many were serving under him; I knew many other black officers, of very considerable acquirements, in the Caraccas and in Cuba also. I have known a black priest, a perfect negro, born in the Cape de Verd Islands, a very well informed person.'

Speaking of the black republic of Hayti, Admiral Fleming says—

'2725. Are you aware that there is a prohibition against all corporal punishment in that country?—Yes, I know there is.

'2726. Did they appear to you to be living comfortably?—Yes; the most happy, the richest, the best fed, and the most comfortable negroes that I saw in the West Indies were in Hayti, even better than in the Caraccas.

'2727. Were they decidedly better than the slaves in Jamaica?—No comparison.

'2728. Do you happen to know whether the population of Hayti has increased within the

last twenty years?—Of my own knowledge I cannot know that; neither are there any very correct returns; but I have every reason to believe that, since the last time the French retired from the island in 1804, the population has trebled.

'2753. What were their victuals, compared with the food of the slaves in Jamaica,—were they superior or much the same?—They were fed on meat principally; cattle is very cheap in Hayti.

'2754. Is meat much cheaper in Hayti than in Jamaica?—Yes; much cheaper; it is 2d. a pound, whilst the contract price in Jamaica is 12d.; in both places these are the highest prices.'

#### THE LOGIC OF ARITHMETIC.

The whites in the West Indies sometimes threaten to throw off their allegiance to Great Britain, in case of a compulsory enfranchisement of the slaves. A correspondent of the Jamaica Watchman, an anti-slavery paper, published at Kingston, (Ja.) gives the following statement, which in regard to that island is an unanswerable argument to all the bullying and vamping of the slaveholders.

Aggregate strength of the free black and brown population	75,000	
Deduct those whom it is supposed would be compelled to join the disaffected from the nature of their employment	1,000	74,000
His Majesty's regular forces with part of the marines		3,400
Maroons		1,400
Disbanded West India Regiment		300
		<hr/> 79,100
Add two thousand loyal whites		2,000
		<hr/> 81,100
Less white rebels	25,000	
Deduct the loyal whites	2,000	23,000
		<hr/> 58,100
Then add — [Slaves are meant of course]		350,000
		<hr/>
Balance in favor of the King and his government		408,100

Say ye rebellious dogs whether *ye can* transfer your allegiance to any other power or much longer continue to oppose yourselves to the laws and the Executive.

#### CANTERBURY AGAIN.

Another act of the Canterbury farce has been performed, and we now hope we have reached the end of the play. A manifesto addressed to the American Colonization Society, and signed by nine persons as the *Civil Authority*, and three of the same persons, and two others as the *Selectmen* of Canterbury, has appeared in the newspapers. This rather anomalous document, is intended as a justification of the proceedings of the Canterbury town meeting. Why it is addressed to the

Colonization Society is not stated, but this course, it is evident, was adopted because that body was considered the sure patron of persecution and prejudice. We trust that this motherly society will yield her protection to the frightened chickens who are endeavoring to shelter themselves under her wings. We do not think it necessary to examine this document, as it offers no good reason or even plausible apology for the conduct of the Canterburyans, and denies no material part of the charge against them.

We think it the less necessary to examine the Canterbury proclamation, because the whole proceedings of the town, have already been examined with great ability, in two letters to Andrew T. Judson, Esq. by the Rev. Samuel J. May, of Brooklyn, Conn. which have recently appeared in a pamphlet form. Though these letters represent the conduct of the Canterburyans in its true light, they are yet distinguished by Christian charity. This production we recommend to all who believe that the colored people, have the same right to be educated as the whites. We have room only for a single extract.

'The question between us is not simply whether thirty or forty colored girls shall be well educated at a school to be kept in Canterbury; but whether the people in any part of our land will recognize and generously protect the 'inalienable rights of man,' without distinction of color? If this be not done, in Connecticut, where else in our land can we expect it will be done, at least in our day? That it cannot be done even in this State without a struggle is now most shamefully obvious. A year or two since, some benevolent individuals proposed to erect an institution, at New-Haven, for the education of colored young men. The design was defeated by violent opposition. If the citizens had opposed merely its location in that City, they might have escaped condemnation, for such a seminary there might have been very prejudicial to Yale College. But it was only too apparent, that their hostility to the institution was peculiarly embittered by their prejudices against the color of those, who were to be educated at it. So too in the case at Canterbury; no one pretends there would have been any opposition to Miss Crandall's school, if her pupils were to be white. The tincture of their skin then it is which has called out all the men of influence in array against her; and has even procured from the free men of the town an expression of their 'unqualified disapprobation' of her plan.

'Here then, in Connecticut, we have had two recent instances of outrage committed upon 'the inalienable rights of man.' Among these rights, to use the language of the Declaration of Independence 'are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' Now Education has from the first, been regarded in this State highly conducive to the private happiness, and the public weal. Yet have our colored brethren been twice angrily denied permission to seek this blessing, to the extent that they have desired. Will the people of Connecticut generally, countenance these violations of our civil and religious principles? If they will, let them no longer claim to be a republican, much less a christian people!'

## DEATH OF JOHN KENRICK, ESQ.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, April 13, 1833,—the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The Board of Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society have heard with deep feelings of regret of the death of their venerable President, the late JOHN KENRICK, Esq. His ardent and active philanthropy, which even age could not cool, and especially his strenuous and long-continued exertions in behalf of the slaves and free people of color in this country, commenced at a time when their rights were but little regarded,—merited and obtained for him our warmest esteem. His private virtues had endeared him to all who knew him. His loss now seems to us irreparable. Yet we trust that his example will not be lost upon the members of our Society, but animate them to renewed exertions in the great cause of human liberty. Deeming it proper to place upon our records and to communicate to his family our feelings upon this occasion,

*Resolved*, That we sympathize with the surviving relatives and friends of the late JOHN KENRICK, Esq. in their feelings on the loss of a friend so much beloved and revered.

*Resolved*, That a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolution be communicated by the Secretary to the family of Mr. Kenrick.

## AFFECTING OCCURRENCE.

A few days ago, two colored men gave information to some members of the Anti-Slavery Society, that a negro slave from one of the southern States was on board a schooner in the harbor, that he was very desirous of escaping, and that he was watched for fear of his running away. The name of the vessel, as afterwards ascertained, was the Vienna, her master's Lorenzo Dow Morgan, and the slave's Burton Spicer.—She is said to be bound to New-York. A writ of *habeas corpus* was, on the petition of one of the members of the Society, immediately obtained from the Supreme Court, and served upon the Captain; and Spicer was shortly after brought up to the Supreme Court Room.

Before the Judges would take cognizance of the case, it became necessary to show that Spicer was detained against his will. He was accordingly interrogated upon the subject by the counsel, and informed that he was free in Massachusetts, and that no doubt the Court would so pronounce him, if the case was permitted to proceed. The poor fellow seemed very much agitated, and his whole frame trembled. He said he should like to be free in his own country, *where his relations were*. He was urged to make his election, and say whether he wished to be free and remain here, as he would be compelled to do, or to return to his relations as a slave. He concluded, after a strong and visible conflict between his feelings, to go back—and accordingly returned to the vessel. We are informed, and have no doubt of the fact, that the Captain had threatened to put him in irons, if he attempted to escape. The feelings of the slave did him honor. He was not insensible of the charms of liberty, but he was unwilling to desert his *relations*, even to obtain a blessing which he so ardently desired.

The case leads us to mention a principle of law which is not so generally known among us as it ought to be, viz:—that a slave, coming from one of the slave States, by the consent of his master, into a free State, becomes free. The only case in which the authorities of a free State are bound to deliver up a slave to his owner, is the one provided for by the Constitution of the United States, where the slave has run away from his master. In every other case, every person in the free States, is *FREE*.—*The Liberator*, of Saturday, April 13th.

## A NEW BALLAD.\*

'I'll tell you a story, a story so merry,  
Concerning the people of Canterbury; †  
About their town meeting and speechifying,  
To send all the blacks from the country flying.

It was said that a lady had dared to invite  
Colored girls to her school, that she'd teach them to  
write,  
And, to the disgrace of the town and the nation,  
Intended to give them a good education.

When this news reached the ears of the clerk of the  
town,  
He lengthened his visage, and cast his eyes down,  
Then swore by the shade of Jack Cade, no such school  
The village should darken while he had the rule.

So the townsmen are summoned. In haste they appear  
In their hall, all aghast, and all trembling with fear.  
An orator rises, 'A vote let me read,  
To declare to the universe some of our creed.

'*Resolved*, In this land to blacks souls are not given,  
That from Afric alone is the black road to heaven,  
And that we will resist teaching any such creatures,  
As rudely assailing a great law of nature's.'

'Can any one think,' he cries, 'nature intended  
By teaching, these black souls should ever be mended,  
Be fitted to meet with us whites, in debate,  
And aid us in making the laws for our State?

Can Connecticut men e'er become such vile asses  
As submit to this mixture of milk and molasses?  
Oh! save us, kind Heaven, from these foul disgraces,  
And bless our descendants with unmixed white faces!'

When this manly resolve this bold speech had sustained  
Long and loud were the plaudits the orator gained.  
Next springs up the clerk, but how vain is all verse,  
His wisdom, his fancy, his wit to rehearse.

'I rise, fellow citizens, sad and dismayed,  
Our good town is ruined, our rights are betrayed!  
If this school be established among us, what then?  
Black females are ladies, and negroes are men.

We must meet them at dinners, at parties, at prayers,  
Our houses and lands too would soon become theirs.  
What right have these woolly heads hither to come,  
Let them go back to Africa—there is their home.

In vain did our forefathers cross the rough sea,  
And leave us this land as the home of the free;  
In vain did our ancestors bleed, in vain toil,  
If we suffer these negroes to share in the soil.

Let us swear then together we never will yield  
To the negro a house, or a school, or a field;  
But while Quinebaug flows through our town, it shall  
never  
Reflect a black face from its bosom forever.'

He ceased, and the townsmen, with eager acclaim,  
Accept the resolve, which saves them from the shame,  
The calamity dire, the unending disgrace,  
Of treating like brethren the African race.

Oh! patriot sages of Quinebaug river,  
Your wisdom shall brighten the world forever,  
And humanity, weeping o'er error and crime,  
Shall be cheered by your vote to the last hour of time.

\* For a prose account of the transactions related in this ballad, see the Abolitionist for April, p. 61.

† These two lines are borrowed from an old ballad with the alteration of a single word.

# THE ABOLITIONIST.

VOL. I.]

JUNE, 1833.

[NO. VI.

## THE LATE JOHN KENRICK, ESQ.

Our last number mentioned the death of JOHN KENRICK, Esq. of Newton, President of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society. We are happy to have it in our power to lay before our readers some few particulars respecting the life of this venerable philanthropist.

He was born at Newton, Massachusetts, Nov. 6, 1755, and consequently, at the time of his death was in his seventy-ninth year.

'He was,' in the words of one who was well acquainted with him, 'characterised through life, by industry, economy, punctuality, and integrity.' By the exercise of these virtues, he acquired a handsome property, which he employed liberally in promoting benevolent objects.

Some years ago, he established a fund for assisting and relieving the unfortunate and industrious poor of Newton. The trustees of this fund, at present, distribute \$60 a year, from the income of the fund; and after 1850, will be able to distribute \$200 a year.

He had for many years before his death taken a deep interest in the abolition of slavery, and published a considerable number of articles on the subject, in the newspapers at different times. He was an ardent friend of the Republic of Hayti, and published several pieces in relation to it.

In the year 1816, he published a small volume compiled by himself, entitled the 'Horrors of Slavery.' This work is in two parts, the first chiefly composed of extracts from the speeches of British statesmen; the second, chiefly of extracts from American writers. It contains also an introduction and concluding remarks by the compiler. He printed 3,000 copies of the work at his own expense, which he distributed chiefly among the members of Congress, and of the State Legislatures, and other persons in the Northern and Western States.

Mr. Kenrick sent a copy of this work to Boyer, the President of the Haytian Republic. The following is a translation of a letter from President Boyer acknowledging the receipt of the volume.

## 'REPUBLIC OF HAYTI.

*Jean Pierre Boyer, President of Hayti.*

Port-au-Prince, June 9, 1818, }  
the 15th year of Independence. }

SIR,—I have received the work which you were kind enough to send me, entitled the *Horrors of Slavery*, and am duly sensible of your civility in presenting it to me. I have read the volume with the liveliest interest, and cannot but applaud the motives which induced you to prepare it. I fondly cherish the idea that the exertions of philanthropists, among whom you are so honorably distinguished, will ere long be crowned with the most brilliant success, and that humanity will no longer groan under the barbarous laws which still support in some countries the atrocious system of slavery. It will be your glory and consolation, Sir, and that of those who, like you, consecrate their talents and leisure, in pleading at the tribunal of reason the sacred cause of the oppressed, to see the victims of a detestable avarice, one day restored to the dignity of men, and enjoying their right of returned unceasing thanks to Heaven, in gratitude for what they owe you.

Continue, Sir, to execute the honorable design you have engaged in. Your philanthropic devotedness, your ardent zeal to promote the cause of justice and public morals, will make you deserving of the esteem and veneration of your cotemporaries and posterity. For myself, I feel a real satisfaction in offering you the expression of these sentiments, and in assuring you that I will do every thing in my power to co-operate with you in the holy work of regenerating those of our brethren who have been robbed of their liberty.

I have the honor to salute you, &c. &c.  
BOYER.

Mr. Kenrick took a deep interest in the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, and was from its commencement one of its most liberal patrons and useful friends. He gave several sums to the society, at different times, amounting in the whole to six hundred dollars, besides one hundred dollars specially devoted to the Manual Labor School. He was chosen President of the Society at its last annual meeting, and continued to hold the office at the time of his death.

His character was held in high and deserved estimation among his neighbors. He served in all the first military and civil offices in Newton, his native place, was for many years a magistrate, and from his 70th year, represented the town for seven years successively, in the General Court of Massachusetts.

In regard to religion, we again adopt the language of a friend, 'he believed it to consist in "*imitating the God who is worshipped*"—in doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly, in obedience to the commands of God—in visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction—in avoiding the spots, the vices, and the vain customs of the world—in undoing heavy burdens, and letting the oppressed go free.'

'He had a powerful mind in a powerful body. He was distinguished for energy, decision, independence and enterprise. His talents for business, whether public or private, were of the highest order. The most prominent feature of his intellectual character, appears to have been, strong, thorough, practical good sense. His stature, his size, his features, his powerful voice, and his commanding address, all betokened extraordinary physical and intellectual force.'

#### A ROMAN DEATH.

*Hypocrisy is the homage which vice pays to virtue.*  
ROCHEFOUCAULD.

The following story is copied from the Richmond Compiler:

A servant of a very respectable gentleman of this city had obtained forged papers for himself, wife and her mother, and took his passage on Sunday morning in the Patrick Henry, for Norfolk, intending to go on to New-York. In the course of the forenoon he was detected by Capt. Chapman; and on meeting with the Potomac on her way up to Richmond, Capt. Chapman put the whole party on board the Potomac, to be returned to their masters. The servant was very much depressed in the course of the day, and stated that he had no cause of complaint against his master, of whom he spoke in affectionate terms; but that he never could return to him after making an attempt to escape. The Potomac was late in getting up, and within a very short distance of Rocketts, about half past 11 o'clock. (on Sunday night,) the servant stepped over the side of the steamboat, before the wheel, very close to some of the passengers, who did not suspect his purpose. Wood was immediately thrown out to him, and the boat lowered—but in vain. The wretched victim of his own passions had disappeared and sunk.

The act of this poor slave in putting an end to his life, was certainly criminal when examined by the light of Christianity. But had it been done among the Romans, it would have been celebrated as a deed of heroic virtue. Poets and orators would have recorded the

name of the man who preferred death to slavery, among those of their Brutuses and Catos. Yet the Richmond Compiler sees in the author of this rash act nothing but the '*victim of his own passions.*' He might have seen, if he had reflected, the victim of a cruel system of oppression. We wonder he had not reproached the poor slave for his fraudulent conduct in killing himself, and thus cheating his owner out of his value.

There are several particulars deserving notice in the paragraph we have just copied. They serve to show that even slave states are ashamed of slavery. In the first place, neither the name of the slave nor of his master are given. Whence does this studied concealment arise, except from a consciousness that there was something wrong in a system which leads to such awful catastrophes?

Suppose an apprentice of a mechanic had hung himself in a northern city, how differently would the story have been told. 'We understand that James Tompkins, an apprentice of John Smith, a carpenter, who boarded with Mrs Adams at 99 Wendell-street, hung himself last night in his chamber;' &c.

Again. The Compiler thinks it necessary to apologise for the owner of the slave, by calling him a 'very respectable gentleman,' and saying that the slave 'stated he had no cause of complaint against his master, of whom he spoke in affectionate terms.'

In the next place, the Compiler is so delicate that he cannot use the word slave, but very affectedly always calls him a *servant*. The Virginians, it seems, are so much ashamed of slavery, that they think it necessary to use some less offensive term in its place. We rejoice to see this affectation. We hope it may prove a symptom of returning virtue, and we trust as they are now ashamed of the name of slaves, they may soon become more ashamed of the reality.

#### LETTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

The following letter from Captain Charles Stuart to the Archbishop of Canterbury, will, we think, be read with interest by all who acknowledge the rights of slaves to freedom. Though written principally in reference to the course pursued by the Society for Propagating the Gospel, it applies with great force to slaveholders in the United States.

LETTER.

MY LORD:—

Will you permit an humble member of the Church of Christ, to address you with affectionate boldness, on a subject near his heart?

That subject is, Negro Slavery!

Not long ago, I heard with grief the proclamation read, which recommended the Society for Propagating the Gospel, to public aid. I heard it with grief, because that Society is a Slaveholder; and because the direct occasion, had reference to its Slave estate. Turn not now away, I beseech you; for, my Lord, 'It is an easy thing to wear a mitre and a cross; but an awful thing to give account of a bishopric, before the Judge of quick 'and dead;' and I find that I cannot be at rest without thus addressing you, while I read the solemn words of God, in Lev. xix. 17—and again in James ii. 10.

The Society has had the said estate with Slaves, for upwards of 100 years. God, no doubt put it into their power, that they might obey Him, and let the 'oppressed go free.'—Col. Codrington put it into their power, that they might educate a certain number of white youths, and give religious instruction to the blacks. I need not tell your Lordship, how poorly both of these objects have been answered; neither need I affirm *which* the Society ought to have obeyed.

But what has the Society been doing since 1710, when the bequest was made them?

It has been preparing to obey God, as soon as might be prudent or convenient, by first preparing the Negroes for liberty.

Here are my poor, said God, they have been oppressed—I put them into your hands. 'Let them go, that they may serve me.'

We will, replied the Society, as soon as we have fitted them for it.

So, thirty years rolled away, a generation passed into eternity, and the next generation was still enslaved, and still not fitted.

'Let my people go,' said God, in 1740, 'that they may serve me.'

They are not ready yet, replied the Society.

A third generation rose in 1770, and again God said—'Let my people go, that they may serve me.'

We are getting them ready, replied the Society, as fast as we can. Do pray give us two generations more, for to tell you the truth, we want them to serve ourselves a little longer, and to make money for us, that we may build a college, and educate the white youths; and besides it would be running so sadly counter, to the generous and cultivated Barbarians!

Another generation passed into eternity undressed; and then another; and still the Society, instead of obeying, is only *preparing* to obey.

My Lord, what brought down upon Algiers the British thunder, but a similar procedure?

What but a similar procedure, my Lord, awakened the midnight echoes of Egypt, with the howl of the slaughter of the first born?

My Lord, who is it that keeps in His bottle, the tears of the afflicted; or whose ear is it, that is ever open to the cry of the poor, and who forgets not their blood?

Doth not *He* speak truly, who says, 1 Sam. xv. 22—'Behold, to obey, is better than sacrifice, and to hearken, than the fat of rams,' &c.

Now, my Lord, the question which I wish to place before you with affectionate boldness, is:—

What is the *real* character of measures, which consist in '*preparing*' to let the oppressed go free,' instead of letting them go; especially when the experience of 120 years calls out shame upon the futility of such preparations; for your Lordship no doubt is aware, that the great body of Slaves on the estate in question, are still living in open fornication and adultery?

What, then, is the *real* character of such measures?

Clearly, it is not obeying the letter of God's Word.

But does the spirit differ from the letter?

Your Lordship knows that the *spirit* is *always* to be collected from the letter, *except* where doing so would involve a *palpable* absurdity.

Now, would *abiding by the letter*, in the case before us, involve a palpable absurdity?—Would it be palpably absurd to believe, that infinite wisdom and goodness, commands the oppressed to be immediately delivered? Or *must* we conclude, that infinite love, knowing perfectly how very little men can be safely trusted with despotic power, still wills that the oppressed should remain in the hands of their oppressors, until their oppressors at the close of many generations, shall at length perhaps think them fit for liberty!

Let us look at the divine procedure, as recorded in the Bible.

Three thousand years ago, the Jews were in bondage in Egypt.

Did God sanction Pharaoh's keeping them in bondage, until the Egyptian task masters had prepared them for liberty? No!—He commanded Pharaoh to let His people go.

But perhaps they were prepared for liberty!

Their bones scattered in the wilderness, where they sinned, and the golden calf, molten and graven at the very foot of the Mount, fearfully reply that they were not.

Chushan Rishathaim, the Mesopotamian, in the 15th Century before Christ, reduced them to slavery for their crimes.—Judges iii. 7, 8. Did God permit him to keep them in bondage, till he had prepared them for liberty? No! God raised up Othniel, and delivered them, though *He knew* that they could soon again reduce themselves by their crimes, to bondage.

Eglon, the King of Moab, not long after, became their master, and his history supplies a similar evidence: God delivered them from slavery, most unfit as they proved themselves for freedom.

We have similar evidence, in Judges iv. 6, 8.—x. 11, &c.

But perhaps when long afterwards the Jews were delivered from the Babylonish Church, they had learnt not to abuse their freedom?

Who, then, crucified the Lord of Glory!

I venture to affirm, my Lord, without reserve, that we have no instance in the Bible, in which God sanctions one man, in keeping another man, without a crime, in bondage, in order to prepare him for liberty. The process is totally unscriptural. But is it not also as unphilosophical and irrational, as it is unscriptural?

Two things would be clearly indispensable, in or to sanction it.

I. *A right* to do so, and

II. *Right Agents*—a sufficient number of them—and a sufficient continuance, beforehand secured.

1. This of course must be a *right Right*; not merely a legal one, for legality may equally sanction Cannibalism, Suttees, or Negro Slavery. But legality cannot alter the nature of things, much less make *that right* amongst *Christians*, which is criminal even among heathens.

But there is no such right in the case before us. In the nature of God's holy Providence, it is unalterably a crime, for any power to subject any man to bondage, or to keep him in bondage, except as a righteous punishment for his own crimes; and until the Negroes be fairly tried and found guilty of some crime, which would warrant such a dreadful penalty, there can be no *right Right* to keep them in bondage, even for a moment. God has already announced the judgment of those who do evil, that good may come. Romans, iii. 8.

2. These are of two classes. The authorities employing, and the agents employed.

The authorities ought to be perfectly wise, disinterested and benevolent—they ought to be on the spot, superintending in person—they ought to be secure from the demoralizing influences of despotic power—and they ought to be able to secure the uninterrupted continuance of the process until perfected.

But where can such authorities be found?

The agents ought to be equally wise, disinterested, and benevolent—they ought to be secure from the same dangers—they ought to be incapable of discouragement or fatigue, and they ought to have a certainty of success.

Where shall we get such agents? or, how shall we secure them life? or if they die prematurely, how shall we get successors worthy of them? or, if we cannot, how shall we ensure success? or, if we cannot ensure success,

how shall we exculpate ourselves, for having kept our guiltless brother in bondage, merely because we feared that if we obeyed God, and let him go free, he might have abused his liberty? Or which side of the dilemma should we choose? 1st.—To keep our guiltless brother, with his innocent progeny, another generation or two in bondage, because we and our agents have proved too wicked to prepare them according to our views for liberty at an earlier period; and because, &c. Or, 2d.—To abandon at length our rebellious wisdom, satisfied with the tale of their wrongs carried against us to the ears of Jehovah, by the four generations who have perished beneath our oppression, and at length to learn, that obedience is the only true wisdom.

But the Society for Propagating the Gospel, might be more safely trusted than the Egyptians?

The history of Egypt and of Barbadoes will not bear out the boast.

But perhaps there is something in the Society for Propagating the Gospel, which makes it an exception to all general rules?

Where is it?

Can we find it in any peculiar blessings conferred on the Negroes by their Government?

So far from it, they have been surrounded, with the safety and benefits of immediate emancipation, under circumstances vastly less favorable than theirs, \* and still their Slaves are *Slaves* untutored, adulterous Slaves, as unfit for immediate liberty as ever!

Can we find it in any peculiar or unnatural difficulties with which the Society has had to contend?

Not at all. But on the contrary, it has been singularly and largely aided by the collections repeatedly sanctioned for it by the highest authorities, and it has received and acknowledged the most solemn and affectionate warnings.

And now, amidst all these facts, what is the spectacle which it is exhibiting?

Why, that after a set of the most honorable and accomplished men in the world, many of them dignities and ministers of a Christian Church, with every means which wealth, and influence, and learning, and power could give them, during a course of 120 years, in order to prepare their poor unoffending Negro fellow subjects for liberty, have professedly done all they could do for that purpose, the same need of preparation as formerly is still insisted upon, for continuing to keep them in bondage!

In short, my Lord, I look in vain for a ground

\* See *Gayenne* from 1794 till 1802. *Hayti* from 1794 until the present day. *Trinidad*. The *Nottingham*s of *Tortola*. *Sierra Leone*. The re-captured *Africans* in the *West*. The *Hottentots* at the *Cape of Good Hope*. *Bolivar*'s 800 *Slaves* in *Columbia*. The *Crown Slaves* lately freed, and the *Runaways* of *Martinique*, in *St. Lucia*.

on which to support the untenable position, that the right way, in which to prepare a poor ignorant man for liberty, is to keep him a Slave; especially when his preparation is conducted in a land of slavery, and entrusted to distant stipendiaries.

No, my Lord; the position is not under the ban of the Divine Law. The Scriptures altogether repudiate it.—The whole character of God is hostile to it.—The name of Christ bleeds under it.—The Gospel is dishonored by it.—It degrades the character, and endangers the safety of our country. The poor Negro is dying unredressed at its horrible mandate, and our own souls wither while we hug the idol of our iniquity, and go on demurely *preparing* for obedience, instead of obeying; although the clamorous and indignant tongue of a hundred years, is proclaiming in facts which we do not even pretend to deny, the criminal and ruinous absurdity of our procedure.

My Lord, your predecessors had the opportunity—their account is with God; and they are gone to render it in that judgment, where the Negro will be upon an equality with them. I would not be in their place to meet the poor Negroes' charge.

My Lord, you have the opportunity *now*.—But you too are rapidly passing away, and soon your place will know you no more.

My Lord, have you done all in your power to obey God, in this particular, instead of *preparing* to obey Him!! Have you done all you could, immediately to restore to your Negro fellow subject, his unforfeited rights; to right the actual sufferers—the present generation; instead of consigning them to death or slavery, and contriving how their progeny perhaps may hereafter be made free? Have you, my Lord, done all you could to absolve your own soul from being found *to-morrow*, amongst those who have wronged, or concurred in wronging the poor, because they are poor?—And permit me, I pray, in thus earnestly urging these solemn questions, to notice, that the man who has any agency in Negro Slavery, is not only directly responsible for the few, who might be more immediately dependant upon his power, but is largely chargeable with the whole crime, beneath which hundreds of thousands are cruelly and iniquitously bound down!

Here I refrain. Should the question arise, but what can we do? The answer, though comprehensive, is easy. I will not intrude it. It is at your Lordship's command through a thousand channels; through me, for one, should you be pleased to call upon me to lay it before you, whether personally or in writing. Meanwhile, commending your Grace to the blessing of Him who gave Himself alike for black and white; who has declared Himself the friend of the poor, and the avenger of the oppressed; whose name is Love, and who is not willing

that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance, I am, my Lord,

Respectfully and affectionately,

Your Grace's obedient servant,

C. STUART.

LONDON, Jan. 2, 1831.

#### THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The following article is a reply to a defence of the Colonization Society in the Christian Examiner. It was intended for publication in that work, but the editors declining to admit it, we very readily give it a place in our pages.

We, the writer of an article on this subject in the 53d number of the Christian Examiner, find ourself called upon to notice a paper in reply. We would have desired no stronger confirmation of our own views than this paper, and had we alone been concerned, we should have suffered it to remain unanswered. Any man who will read the two articles, with a sole view to a correct result, will see, that whatever the arguments in the first may be, the last has not met, much less answered them. The mass of readers, however, will not so examine. The current of popular feeling, we should rather say prejudice, sets strongly against our views, and in favor of those of our opponent. He has joined the ranks of a powerful and wealthy combination, whose motives and operations many think it little less than treason to examine. We take the field single handed, without backers and with no other advantages than strict truth and a righteous cause. Our opponent may shelter himself behind the names and example of presidents and governors. We, nevertheless, venture to attack his opinions and theirs; being fully persuaded that it is possible for great, good and wise men to be sometimes in the wrong. It will not, we think, be hard to prove the fallacy of our writer's views, nor will the task require many pages.

'Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just.'

We shall confine ourselves, strictly, to our text. In the outset the writer says, that no charitable institution has ever found more opposition than the American Colonization Society. We think he errs. We never heard that the Society had met with any organized opposition, till within the last year, and that opposition has been conducted by those whom one of its accredited agents, has scornfully designated as 'a hatter and a few hot-headed young men.' It is certainly not for an avowed advocate of the Society to complain of such opposition. If the Society has met with any other obstruction, we can truly say that we know not of it. We thought that it had ever been warmed by the noontide glare of popular favor.

The writer says that our views are those of a class called Abolitionists, who are pecu-

liarily intolerant and who habitually designate the Colonization Society as a set of 'men stealers.' He says that we sometimes hint at the *expulsion* of the colored population, and, very courteously, excuses us 'on the score of old habit and bad company.' We answer that if any class call the Colonization Society, men stealers, we have not done so. We never countenanced such perversion of the English language, and, in this matter, he has travelled out of his way to attack us. We say, too, that we keep no worse company than his own; for we have been long on terms of familiar intimacy with him, and knowing and respecting him as we do, we are surely qualified to judge in this particular.

The writer proceeds to complain that the views of ignorant, ardent friends of the scheme of African Colonization have been mistaken for those of the Society itself. What he believes to be the real and sole object of the institution may be found, he says, in its constitution, viz. 'the removal of such of our free blacks as are desirous to leave this country for a foreign one.' The society, has never, as he thinks, 'undertaken to drain this country of the slaves or of the free blacks, to suppress the slave trade, or to civilize the African continent.' That is, the literal words of the constitution ought to be sufficient for us, and we are not to gather the views of the Society from their acts, their official organs, the speech and writ of their agents, or the expressions of their most influential members. Let us apply this logic in another connexion.

The leading men of South Carolina, have ever declared their attachment to the constitution, and their love of peace and union. They have never said that they would commit treason. Above all, the constitution of the State says nothing about nullification. Therefore, to follow the argument of our friend to its end, the South Carolinians, have not assumed an attitude of defiance, it is no proof of hostile intentions on their part, that they have organized their whole physical force. The constitution indicates no such design, and consequently, what they do is laudable.

We suppose Henry Clay and Charles Fenton Mercer, are not among the ardent and ignorant members of the Colonization Society; yet they do not confine their views to the removal of such free blacks as are willing to emigrate. We are straightened for room, or we would give their very words in proof of what we say. We presume that those members whose speeches are published in connection with the annual reports, do not misapprehend the objects of the institution. Surely, if they did, the managers would not sanction their speeches with their approbation. Nine out of ten of these orators, avow that they aim at the removal of all our colored people, bond and free, that they contemplate the abolition of the slave trade, and in short, that they

hold all the opinions we have attributed to the society. It is said, that in all free institutions, the opinion of the majority must rule. Any one who will take the pains to read the Annual Reports and the African Repository, cannot fail to be convinced that the views above mentioned, are those of the very great majority, who have therein expressed their opinions. The tenor of the Reports and of the editorial matter in the Repository, is alone, sufficient proof, that the simple letter of the constitution, is no exposition of the views of the Society. There may be some few paragraphs in the official organ, which coincide with the letter of the constitution; but in no instance, we believe, does it assert that the Society has not ulterior objects.

The writer says that we 'confound the direct object of colonization with its possible and probable results, and its plans of action with the motives of those who encourage it.' We deny the assertion, for as he offers no proof, we are justified in calling it an assertion. The Society, through its organs and agents, never says to the public, 'Give us your money and we will remove a hundred blacks this year, a hundred more the next and so on, we will exercise our very inconsiderable influence to put a stop to the slave trade, we will encourage some two or three planters per annum to liberate their slaves, we will try to civilize the (exported) inhabitants of fifty leagues of African shore, and we will rid you of one black for every five hundred who shall be born.' If these words, which, it seems to us might describe the effects of the Society's labors thus far, were used, few and small indeed would be the contributions in aid of their cause. They do say, if we are not deceived, 'Give us your money and we will rid you of a race accursed by God and man, we will gradually destroy the system of slavery, we will soon terminate the slave trade, we will save you from the shame of negro amalgamation, and we will send civilization and Christianity to the remotest corners of benighted Africa.' We appeal to such of our readers as have contributed their mites to the funds of the Society, for the truth of this assumption. We will venture to say that ninety nine out of a hundred of them, have been induced to stretch forth their hands to the contribution box by such promises, direct or implied, and made by some agent or organ of the Colonization Society. We could bring proofs, but need not; for every man who reads the above sentences will find them in his own memory. It is idle to appeal to constitutions—we are to judge of the society's views by their acts, and by the avowals of their agents and of the majority of them, publicly made. If those agents do hold out to the public, hopes which they know can never be realized to any considerable extent, they are guilty of a base fraud, for which their principal is responsible. We think bet-

ter of them, but they are welcome to either horn of the dilemma.

The great object of the Colonization Society, says our friend is 'the education of the free blacks themselves.' We do not believe this; the manner in which the Society operates is a strong argument against the assertion. Is there any thing in the climate of Africa, which renders the mind more capable of receiving instruction than in America? Should we, to improve a race, begin with the adults and neglect the children? Should we remove either to a place where the means of instruction are and must be less and fewer than they are at home?

For every emigrant, transported thus far, upwards of \$54 have been expended, on the Society's own showing. If the object of the society be, indeed, what our friend states, let the society give their funds to the despised and reviled Abolitionists, and they will make them go much farther. For \$54, they will pledge themselves to give, at least four colored persons, as much instruction in the four first great branches of education, per annum, as can be had at our ordinary public schools. They will agree to teach them trades, by which they can gain a livelihood at home. (Query. With the great object of education in view, how many colored persons have the Colonization Society taught to read and write within the last sixteen years? We will acknowledge an obligation to our friend, if he will inform us.)

'No reader,' says our writer, 'who is familiar with the proceedings or publications of the Society, will suspect us of having misstated their design.' He brings three short, imperfect quotations from the Repository, to prove his assumption. The longest of them contains but four lines and a half, and none of them have any bearing upon the point. They are the mere recitative of the society, and merit about as much attention, as the protestation of a shopkeeper's apprentice, that he sells his goods cheaper than any one else. If the writer had consulted us, we could have furnished him with many better common place expositions, in general terms of the benevolent intentions of the Colonization Society, as by them put forth. These and another longer quotation, afterwards made for the same purpose, amount to this and no more.

The society wish to transfer the free blacks to Africa and do them good there.

The motives of their wish are very fine, indeed.

The black man is degraded here and you cannot make him otherwise.

It is otherwise in Africa.

Africa is a very fine place.

These sentences, we believe, comprise the essence of our writer's quotations; which he adduces as proofs that the Colonization Society, aim principally at the education of the free blacks. Proofs, quotha! If any one doubts

the fidelity of our condensation, we entreat him to refer to the article in question, which will satisfy him perfectly. If any thing was wanting to convince us of the hollowness of colonization principles, the fact, that a man of such abilities, as we know our friend possesses, can make out no better argument in their favor, would be sufficient.

We are familiar, very familiar, with the publications of the Colonization Society; as much so, indeed, as their usual dulness will permit, and we do not suspect, but positively assert, that the writer has misrepresented, we do not say intentionally, their design. They say in some places, that the free blacks are degraded and never can rise here, in others that they intend to secure the system of slavery, in others, that they will ultimately remove all the free blacks, and slaves also. Is this the way to educate the objects of their mistaken charity? Does the education of nearly half a million of people, depend on carrying a hundred of them across the Atlantic per annum? We do not take the trouble to prove the positive facts above alluded to here, because we have fully proved them in our former article, and though the writer brings abundance of words to controvert our positions, they do not convey one iota of argument; at least, if we understand them aright.

The writer indulges in self complacency, on reviewing his quotations. These, says he, are the passages *which the Abolitionists construe into vilifying the free blacks.* 'Man stealing' and 'expulsion,' indeed!

We pray him to observe, first, that we have never used any 'foul language' concerning the Colonization Society, and that we wish he would follow our example in this particular; 2nd, that no one but an idiot, would or could construe such passages as he quotes into vilification; 3rd, that he goes out of his way to attack the Abolitionists, who have nothing to do with our article; 4th, that the last of his quotations, (and which is much longer than the three others put together,) is not the language of the American, but of a state Colonization Society; 5th, that his quotations are nothing to the purpose; 6th, that they are not a fair specimen of the tone and manner of the African Repository; and lastly, that he does not meet the question at issue. The abuse of which we complained, is scattered throughout the Repository, and the Annual Reports, as any one, who will punish himself enough to read them, will admit. We gave examples of it in our former article, and as our friend evidently dislikes this subject, we will give no more here.

The writer proceeds to bring more evidence, as he calls it, that we may have 'enough of it, once for all.' There is enough of it, indeed—we are sorry, that it is no better. It amounts to this—Dr. Fothergill and Granville Sharpe thought it would be an excellent char-

ity, to send blacks to Africa, to be educated and improved. Mr. Finley, the founder of the Colonization Society, entertained similar views. Therefore, because such was the design of Mr. Finley, seventeen years ago, the Colonization Society have no other now! We have heard of the logic of the schools, and suppose that this is an example of that of the Colonization School.

We said that we were 'willing to believe that the emigrants have, at last, overcome the worst difficulties' of their situation, and this our writer considers an important admission. It seems to us, that it is no admission at all—certainly we did not intend it for one. We did not, and do not believe, that the emigrants have overcome the worst difficulties—we have evidence to the contrary—but we are willing to believe ourself mistaken. We profess some regard for the colonists in Liberia, and shall be willing and glad too, to be convinced that their situation is better than we think it is. We think the authorities our friend brings forward, are not worthy of credit. One of them is a fancy sketch from an English annual, Bishop Meade knew nothing about the matter, and the deputation of colored gentlemen, (we are glad, at last, to see a colonizationist admit, that a colored man may be a gentleman,) who went to Liberia for information, remained there but three weeks. They went, too, under the auspices of the Colonization Society, who, no doubt, shewed every thing in as favorable a light as possible. We know that the Liberia press is not free. The following document, which was pulled down from a public place in Monrovia, by a respectable ship-master of this state, shews this fact conclusively, as well as that the colonists have, or think they have, some grievances which they are not permitted to make public.

#### NUMBER 3.

*Liberty is the brilliant gift of Heaven—so says the Herald.*

Truth; which, like the sun, is too brilliant for any but the eagle eyes of free men to look upon, will ever be disliked and shunned by *Tyrants and Slaves*. Junius would never have been driven to use these means to expose the *oppression* under which we groan had there here existed a free press—but as no such thing exists in our colony; we have no other way to expose our *wrongs*—and IF THE DASTARD FINGERS OF THE TOOLS OF POWER persist in destroying these memorials of a *suffering and injured people* they SHALL be published in America and here read in a pamphlet form.

But to return to commerce—Let those who are opposed to free trade look around them, and let them calmly ask themselves how our houses were built and improvements made. Were they not reared upon the capitals of our *merchants and their correspondents*? Who is it here, who possesses any thing above the common necessities of life, who does not owe his *all* to *commercial accommodation*? Let us look back but a few years, (nay, we may see the time again) when this settlement was saved from starvation by the house of W——; and annihilate the commerce of the colony to-morrow, and in six months those who now live in *luxury*, will want the *common necessities of life*.

Even now, hard treatment has driven many of our citizens to Cape Mount and other places at the Windward where there is no restriction, and if things are not better managed here, that settlement will annihilate the trade of this, and while they are living in comfort we shall be delving and ditching for our *Task Masters*.

In my next, my fellow citizens, I shall present you with a tariff, on which \$4000 *per annum* may be raised to pay our Vice Agent and other officers. *The Colonization Society, will of course, pay their own.* But the main thing is a *Quarterly statement from the Colonial government*, of the expenditure of our money. We are not so blind, or foolish, or confiding, as to trust altogether to *others* while we are *capable of seeing for ourselves*. This statement is due to us—not to give it is an *insult and injury*, and this statement we must and WILL have. If we pretend to the rights of *Freemen*, we must enjoy these rights. If we are *SLAVES* we had better have remained in that situation in the healthy climate of *America*, than to drag out a miserable existence in this inhospitable clime.

JUNIUS.

(To be concluded.)

#### LETTER FROM MR. BUXTON.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON:

*My Dear Sir*—I am sorry I have so long delayed replying to your interesting letter. It has certainly not proceeded from any indifference to its contents, and it is indeed with the truest satisfaction that I hail the exertions of such a fellow laborer as yourself. I am much obliged to you, for the valuable parcel of pamphlets, other copies of which I have also received from other quarters. But it is wholly unnecessary to set me, or any of the true Anti-Slavery Party, in this Country, on our guard against the delusive professions of the Colonization Society or its Agent. We are perfectly aware how much it takes its root from the jealousy and dislike entertained towards the free persons of color; and though Liberia may be, and no doubt is, in itself, a useful and interesting undertaking, yet the assumption of its being a means of extinguishing Slavery within any reasonable time, is perfectly ridiculous. We, I trust, are likely to go a much nearer way to work. A crisis seems evidently approaching, and I trust indeed I may say, that our Nation and Government are awakened to the absolute duty and necessity of some *immediate* steps towards emancipation. I may be too sanguine, but I am ready to hope that another year will find our slave population in a very different state. The feeling on this subject, in the country, is become almost universal, and very strong; and it will, in all probability, show itself with an overwhelming force in the first meeting of a Reformed Parliament. Besides which, our Governments are well disposed, and the evidence given before the Committees of both Houses of Parliament last year, has shown them emphatically the fallacy of the objections and oppositions which are urged against us.

I enclose a paper which will prove that you need not be afraid of us with regard to Elliott Cresson; and wishing you every success in

your benevolent exertions to break the fetters of the enslaved,

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours, very truly,

THO. FOWELL BUXTON.

Northrup's Hall, Cromer, Nov. 12, 1832.

#### PATRIOTISM AND BENEVOLENCE OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

One of the most serious charges against the Colonization Society has always been, that its principles and measures necessarily favored the expulsion of the people of color from our country by force. Until recently, however, we had not supposed that the Society, as a body, would distinctly and openly approve of compelling its victims to quit the country against their will. We cannot regret that the veil is now raised, and the features of the monster are exposed in all their deformity.

At the last meeting of the Colonization Society, at a time when the public expressions of disapprobation against it, and the feuds which were known to exist among its members, probably led to caution in the expression of opinions, the following resolve was adopted on the motion of the Hon. Mr. Chambers of Maryland:

*'Resolved, That the Society view, with the highest gratification, the continued efforts of the State of Maryland to accomplish her patriotic and benevolent system in regard to her colored population, and that the last appropriation by that State of two hundred thousand dollars, in aid of African Colonization, is hailed by the friends of the system, as a bright example to other States.'*

This resolution naturally raises the question, what is this '*patriotic and benevolent system*' which affords so '*bright an example*' to other States, and which obtains for the State of Maryland this sisterly embrace from the Society? The uninitiated would probably suppose that it is a scheme of pure and angelic philanthropy. But it is in fact a system to compel every slave hereafter to be emancipated in Maryland to quit the State. We speak with coolness when we say, that we would almost as soon be concerned in highway robbery, piracy, or assassination, as aid the legislature of Maryland in effecting its atrocious objects. The disregard of human rights would not be greater in the one case than the other. The injury done by the attempts of a few lawless individuals is trifling, compared with that which is likely to fall upon thousands of innocent men who are to be crushed by this barbarous legislation.

The law of Maryland, to which the resolution we have quoted refers, was passed on March 14th, 1832. This law was intended to aid in colonizing the people of color in that State. By this act a board of managers for colonizing the blacks, is erected. The 2d. section of this law, whenever a slave is emancipated by deed or will, provides that it shall be the duty of this board 'to notify the American Colonization Society, or the Maryland State Colonization Society thereof, and to propose to such society that they shall engage, at the expense of such society, to remove the said slave or slaves so manumitted to Liberia; and if the said society shall so engage, then it shall be the duty of the said board of managers to have the said slave or slaves delivered to the agent of such society, at such place as the said society shall appoint, for receiving such slave or slaves for the purpose of such removal, at such time as the said society shall appoint; and in case the said society shall refuse to receive and remove the person or persons so manumitted and offered, or *in case the said person or persons shall refuse to be so removed*, then it shall be the duty of the said board of managers to remove the said person or persons to such other place or places beyond the limits of this State, as the said Board shall approve of, and the said person or persons shall be willing to go to, and to provide for their reception and support at such place or places as the said board may think necessary, until they shall be able to provide for themselves out of any money that may be earned by their hire, or may be otherwise provided for that purpose, and in case the said person or persons shall refuse to be removed to any place beyond the limits of this State, and shall persist in remaining therein, then it shall be the duty of said board to inform the sheriff of the county wherein such person or persons may be, of such refusal, and it shall thereupon be the duty of the said sheriff forthwith to arrest or cause to be arrested the said person or persons so refusing to emigrate from this State, and transport the said person or persons beyond the limits of this State; and all slaves shall be capable of receiving manumission, for the purpose of removal as aforesaid, with their consent, of whatever age, any law to the contrary notwithstanding.'

This is a part of the *patriotic and benevolent* system which Maryland adopts and the Colonization Society approves. No slave can

be emancipated in Maryland, without being driven from the State.

The 4th section of the same statute enacts, 'That in case any slave or slaves so manumitted, cannot be removed without separating families, and the said slave or slaves unwilling on that account to be removed, shall desire to renounce the freedom so intended by the said deed or will to be given, then it shall and may be competent to such slave or slaves so to renounce in open court the benefit of said deed or will, and to continue a slave.'

The *patriotism* and *benevolence* of this section surpasses, if possible, the preceding, it gives the slave the option, either of being colonized or remaining a slave. Truly 'the tender mercies' of slaveholders 'are cruel.'

One farther provision in the act may be considered as showing some relenting touch. We therefore quote it, as we would not wish to misrepresent it. The 5th section provides 'that it shall and may be competent for the Orphan's Court of this State, and for Baltimore City Court, to grant annually a permit to any slave or slaves so manumitted as aforesaid to remain as free in the said county, in cases where the said courts may be satisfied by respectable testimony that such slave or slaves so manumitted deserve such permission on account of their extraordinary good conduct and character.'

Believing as we do that every slave in Maryland has an equal right to reside there and be a freeman, as any white person in the State, we cannot but regard this refusal to permit emancipation except on condition of expulsion as cruel and tyrannical. We are not surprised that a slave State should forget that colored men have any rights, but we are surprised that Christians who are not concerned in slaveholding should approve of so nefarious a scheme.

We consider every member of the Colonization Society as an abettor of the compulsory colonization proposed by Maryland. We see no loop hole or cranny by which any one can escape from this conclusion. Compulsory colonization has been approved of by an express vote of the Society, and every man who remains a member of the Society must be considered as assenting to it.

It may, however, be urged by some conscientious colonizationists that they do not approve of the resolution passed by the So-

ciety, and therefore cannot be personally responsible for it.

It is true that societies often pass votes which are not approved of by all their members, and that those dissenting from the votes are not considered as personally to blame for them, however unwise they may appear. But we think there is a great difference between votes that are objectionable merely because they are impolitic and such as are positively immoral. One may be a member of a society which adopts a very injudicious measure for effecting a particular object, yet if the measure be not immoral, he is not to blame for continuing a member if he thinks the operations of the society are on the whole useful.

But, on the other hand, where a society adopts a resolution that is immoral, however useful any member may consider the association to be on the whole, it seems to us that he cannot conscientiously remain a member, for if he does, he must be morally responsible for the acts of the body.

Our argument will perhaps be better understood by examples.

Suppose that a temperance society should pass a vote to have lectures on temperance delivered once every week by members of the society; one who thought such a measure unnecessary and inexpedient and had voted against it on that ground, might still with propriety continue a member, as he would not thereby be making any sacrifice of moral principle. But suppose the society should pass a vote that the lecture on every fourth week should be against Christianity, against the institution of marriage, or in favor of licensing lotteries, could a person who was opposed to this vote on moral grounds, conscientiously continue a member? If he did, might he not be justly called an enemy of Christianity, and a friend to prostitution and lotteries?

We shall be much obliged to any colonizationist who will answer us three questions by a simple negative or affirmative.

1. Can a person conscientiously remain a member of a voluntary association which passes a vote expressing approbation of immoral conduct or principles?

2. Is the statute of Maryland which we have quoted consistent with the morality taught in the gospel?

3. Can any one who regards that statute as immoral, conscientiously remain a member of the Colonization Society, after the vote which it passed in approbation of the statute?

PAXTON'S LETTERS ON SLAVERY.

*Letters on Slavery addressed to the Cumberland Congregation, Virginia, by J. D. PAXTON, their former Pastor. Lexington, Ky.: published by Abraham T. Skillman, 1833, 12 mo. pp. 207.*

The author of this little volume was, as he informs his readers, formerly pastor of the Cumberland Congregation, in Virginia. By marriage two families of slaves came into his possession. He was conscientiously opposed to slavery, and his wife's opinions on the subject coincided with his own. 'We both,' to adopt his own language, 'felt it our duty to free said slaves, as soon as it could be done to their apparent advantage. We watched the progress of the colony at Liberia for several years; and in the meantime used means to prepare our slaves for freedom. As soon as we were satisfied that they had better prospects there of doing well for themselves, than they could have with us, we encouraged them to go; gave them such an outfit as our means afforded, and sent them to the colony.'

Mr. Paxton's conduct in emancipating his slaves appears to have excited some animadversion among his people. A few months after he wrote an essay on Slavery, three numbers of which he published in the Family Visitor, a religious paper. This essay, though written with great mildness and forbearance, gave so much offence that he felt it advisable to resign the charge of his congregation. He shortly after addressed to his congregation, the letters that compose this volume, in which he vindicates himself and discusses the general subject of slavery.

These letters appear to have been written several years ago, but the author did not think it expedient to publish them at the time they were written.

We regard these letters as particularly valuable. They are the testimony of one who has been a slaveholder, against a system which he had himself witnessed. They are a testimony against slavery, from one whose apparent worldly interest must have led him to support the institution. Besides this, they are obviously the work of a highly cultivated, intelligent, and benevolent mind; and though they present the truth plainly and forcibly, they do it with great kindness and charity for the feelings and prejudices of opponents.

The subject of the work may be judged of from the following table of Contents.

Introductory—Narrative of Facts, &c.—Ministerial Prudence in Regard to Slavery—Reasons for discussing the Subject—Origin and Nature of Slavery in the United States—Inconsistent with our free Institutions, and the Natural Rights of Man—Its Inconsistency with the Moral Teaching of Scripture—The Servitude tolerated by the Jewish Law not Slavery for Life—Examination of Leviticus xxv. 44—46.—The Practice of the Patriarchs, &c.—Examples of God's Judgments for Slavery—The bearing of these things in the Old Testament on the Teaching of the New respecting Slavery—Various Evils of Slavery—Some Arguments or Excuses considered—What must we do with our Slaves—Several Plans—Motives to immediate Effort from the Doctrine of Divine Recompenses.

Appendix—The Article at which Offence was taken—Tables of the Five Official Censuses of the United States—Some Facts from Berard 'On the Effects of Civilization on Longevity.'

The moral and scriptural arguments against slavery are presented with great ability. We are acquainted with no work in which the teachings of the Old and New Testaments on the subject, are examined in so thorough and satisfactory a manner. Slaveholders, it is well known, have often sought to sanction their iniquity by an appeal to the Bible. Our author proves, we think in an unanswerable manner, that though a modified and temporary slavery was tolerated among the Jews, yet that the old testament shows clearly that holding slaves was always considered sinful in the eye of heaven, and that it often specifies this as one of the iniquities which drew down divine punishment upon various nations. That slavery is inconsistent with the great principles of Christianity few will dispute. The reason why slaveholding was not more specifically denounced as criminal, in the new testament, our author conceives to be, that it was unnecessary, as the old testament had pointed out its sinfulness in many instances; that the moral law of the Jewish dispensation was not repealed but enforced by the gospel.

Though we do not coincide with our author in all his views, particularly in regard to the best mode of putting an end to slavery, yet we think the work is calculated to do great good in our country, and heartily recommend it to our readers.

As specimens of the tone and spirit of Mr. Paxton's work, we offer the following extracts. They deserve serious attention in all parts of our country.

'It is the undoubted right of those who believe slavery wrong, and the laws and policy of the State inexpedient and unwise, to use their influence to procure the requisite change. Let them exert their influence to enlighten and give a proper direction to the public mind. They owe it to themselves, to the public, to

human nature, as well as to the best interests of the slave. We know that opinions govern the world. There are many errors of a practical kind which long govern the multitude, after they have been exploded by the great mass of intelligent men. One reason of this is, those intelligent men allow themselves to practise with the multitude, their correct opinions to the contrary notwithstanding. Their correct opinions, therefore, go for nothing, because contradicted by their practice. This is most lamentably the case with respect to slavery. Few intelligent men among us justify it; and yet the great body of them practise it. How are the unthinking multitude to find out that it is wrong, while not only the intelligent, but the moral and religious continue the practice?

We insist, therefore, that we all owe to the cause of freedom, not only a correct opinion, but a consistent practice.

Were professors of religion and friends of freedom—all who wish to remove the evil of slavery, to come out and act consistently and steadily, the good effects of it would soon be seen and felt. Had the church, at the commencement of African slavery in this country, taken the proper course, it would in all probability have put a stop to it. Had the friends of religion and morals united with the friends of emancipation, at the close of the revolutionary war, and abandoned slavery, the system would before now have gone down. And were the friends of religion and morals and personal freedom now to abandon slavery, and keep up before the public eye its moral and political evils, the system could not stand long before them. A practical standard of morals and religion would be held up, which would condemn slavery. Slavery would soon come to be viewed as we now view polygamy, concubinage, the slave trade, and massacre of prisoners. Most persons have some sense of religion, and wish to get to heaven. Slavery would soon come to be viewed as incompatible with getting there; and one modification after another would take place, until it passed away.

This ought to be accompanied with a steady and persevering effort to so change the laws of the State as to put an end to the whole system. Until a considerable change is made in the laws, great difficulties will lie in the way of accomplishing many things that at once ought to be done. The shameful traffic in them ought at once to be stopped; their marriages and family relations ought to be protected; and all obstructions to educating them ought to be removed. Many lament these evils, and blame the State for permitting them, who appear to forget that a part of the law-making power is in their hands. They have never used their influence with their representatives so to change the laws as to remove the evils. They of course stand chargeable with a part

of the guilt. Our public men will do what they know the people wish to have done. If they refuse, the people can fill their place with others who will carry into effect their will.'—pp. 175, 176.

'It is a hateful feature of the present system of slavery, that it gives no protection to family connections—to the marriage relation, or to female purity. The slave is held as property, and may be sold, or given away, or disposed of by will; and, life and limb excepted, be treated as other property.

Occasionally, the husband and wife belong to the same person, and live together; much more frequently, however, they belong to different owners, and see each other more or less frequently, according to their distance apart, and the time allowed them for that purpose. Their marriages are not recognized or protected by law. The reason no doubt is, that this might interfere with the right of property in the master. If the law protected the marriages, it might at times prevent sales and transfers of slave property.

Some slaves have, indeed, a marriage ceremony performed. It is, however, usually done by one of their own color, and of course is not a legal transaction. And if done by a person legally authorized to perform marriages, still it would have no authority, because the law does not recognize marriage among slaves, so as to clothe it with the rights and immunities which it wears among citizens. The owner of either party might, the next day or hour, break up the connection in any way he pleased. In fact, their connections have no protection, and are so often broken up by sales and transfers and removals, that they are by the slaves often called 'taking up together.' The sense of marriage fidelity must be greatly weakened, if not wholly destroyed, by such a state of things. The effect is most disastrous.

But there is another circumstance which deserves our notice. What effect is likely to be produced on the morals of the whites, from having about them, and under their absolute authority, female slaves who are deprived of the strongest motives to purity, and exposed to peculiar temptations to opposite conduct! The condition of female slaves is such, that promises and threatenings and management can hardly fail to conquer them. They are entirely dependent on their master. They have no way to make a shilling, to procure any article they need. Like all poor people they are fond of finery, and wish to imitate those who are above them. What, now, are not presents and kind treatment, or the reverse, if they are not complying, likely to effect on such persons? And the fact that their children, should they have any through such intercourse, may expect better treatment from so near relations, may have its influence. That the vice prevails to a most shameful ex-

tent is proved from the rapid increase of mulattoes. Oh, how many have fallen before this temptation: so many, that it has almost ceased to be a shame to fall! Oh, how many parents may trace the impiety and licentiousness and shame of their prodigal sons, to the temptations found in the female slaves of their own households. Irregular habits are thus formed, which often last through life. And many a lovely and excellent woman, confiding in vows of affection and fidelity, trusting to her power over her devoted lover, has, after uniting her fate with his, and giving him all that a woman has to give, found when too late how incorrigible are those habits of roving desire, formed in youth, and kept alive by the temptations and facilities of the slave system.

Now when we read the repeated declarations that 'fornicators and adulterers shall not inherit the kingdom of God;' and call to mind the teaching of our Lord, that all intercourse between the sexes, except what takes place between one man and one woman in marriage faith, amounts to those crimes; how can we, as believers in Christianity, uphold a system which presents this temptation both to the bond and free, and yet escape a participation in the guilt?'—pp. 128, 129.

#### SLAVERY IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

The following extracts are from a work called 'Three Years in North America, by James Stuart, Esq.' It is spoken of as a work of great ability and candor. It is but seldom that we have anything published in this country in which the horrors and abominations of slavery are spoken of in the terms which they ought to be. We trust that Mr. Stuart's work will be soon republished in this country. We have not seen the work itself, but copy from the Anti-Slavery Record.

'My stopping place was on a rice plantation, so unfavorably situated during the unhealthy season of the year that the planter and his family always leave it. The slaves were numerous, and were, I had reason to believe from what I afterwards heard, as well treated as they generally are in this country; but it did not seem to me that their want of education, and the want of ordinary comforts, place them in a situation much removed from the brutes. They had little clothing, all of one drab color, and not one of them had bed-clothes. I had full leisure to talk with them, but of course I was bound to do so with prudence. All of them, however, with whom I had an opportunity of conversing, declared themselves unhappy and miserable in their situation. A certain task is allotted to each of them, and, if this is not done, they are subjected to one of three punishments, whipping, wearing irons, or putting in the stocks. I was told here, on authority which seemed to be quite unquestionable (that of a wealthy planter who lived in this neighborhood,) that a planter, whose estate is at no great distance from the high road which I was travelling, was in the habit of punishing his slaves, when he thought that they required severe discipline, by putting them in coffins, which were partly nailed down, and that this punishment had again and again resulted in the death

of the slaves. The gentleman who communicated this information to me spoke of it with horror; but upon my asking him why such conduct was not punished, since it was known in the neighborhood, by virtue of the law, which declared the killing of a slave to be murder, he replied that his neighbor took very good care of himself; the punishment was inflicted only in the presence of slaves, whose evidence was inadmissible. He added, however, that the coffins had been seen, and that the slaves, who it was said had lost their lives, had disappeared, and that no doubt was entertained that their deaths had been occasioned by their being shut up in coffins. The same person who has recourse to this savage punishment works his slaves on Sundays, though contrary to law, taking care that no white man sees them.'—Vol. ii. pp. 118, 119.

'I have seen enough to be satisfied that, generally speaking, the slaves are brought up in such ignorance, as well as in a way so repugnant to moral feeling, in the earlier part of their life, that it is surprising to see so many marks of civilization among them. Marriage among them is generally allowed; but, where a young man has a fine family, the planter very often, with a view to the increase of his stock, forces him to have many wives: and in the same way married females are often obliged to receive more husbands than one, as the planter may order. In fact, the slaves are as much obliged to obey the commands of their masters in respect to sexual intercourse as any thing else, the effects of which upon their morals may be easily conceived. Such a system is no doubt discouraged by many of the masters whose dispositions are humane; but that this evil does exist to a great extent is unquestionably true.'—Vol. ii. p. 120.

The following is Mr. Stuart's account of a conversation which he heard between 'a very wealthy and well known planter' of South Carolina, 'not by any means a young man,' and a physician.

'The planter and the doctor seemed to be on intimate terms, which rendered their conversation tolerably unreserved. The doctor asked the planter what could have induced him to stay at such and such a plantation during the unhealthy season. I shall never forget the *sang froid* with which the question was answered by his friend. He said he found that half a dozen of the girls could not longer be trusted without a husband, for one of them had been already seized by the blacksmith at his gate, and that he thought it was not only for his interest, but that of the plantation generally, that he should be the first husband. This answer, of course, gave rise to a great deal of merriment among the friends; and the doctor, who gave us accounts of his management of his own slaves of a similar kind, of course admitted the validity of the reason. In the course of the conversation which followed, it turned out that this planter was frequently waited upon at table by his own children, and had actually sent some of them to the public market to be sold as slaves!'—Vol. ii. p. 127.

Passing over several passages descriptive of the grievous oppression of the free people of color, we find Mr. Stuart again advertising to the treatment of the slaves in the following terms:—

'I was placed in a situation at Charleston, which gave me too frequent opportunities to witness the effects of slavery in its most aggravated state. Mrs. Street (the mistress of the hotel) treated all the servants in the house in the most barbarous manner; and this although she knew that Stuart, the hotel-keeper here, had lately nearly lost his life by maltreating a slave. He beat his cook, who was a stout fellow, until

he could no longer support it. He rose upon his master, and in his turn gave him such a beating that it had nearly cost him his life; the cook immediately left the house, ran off, and was never afterwards heard of,—it was supposed that he had drowned himself. Not a day, however, passed without my hearing of Mrs. Street whipping and ill using her unfortunate slaves. On one occasion, when one of the female slaves had disobliterated her, she beat her until her own strength was exhausted, and then insisted on the bar-keeper, Mr. Ferguson, (a Scotchman,) proceeding to inflict the remainder of the punishment. Mrs. Street in the mean time took her place in the bar-room. She instructed him to lay on the whip severely in an adjoining room. His nature was repugnant to the execution of the duty which was imposed on him. He gave a wink to the girl, who understood it and bellowed lustily, while he made the whip crack on the walls of the room. Mrs. Street expressed herself to be quite satisfied with the way in which Ferguson had executed her instructions; but, unfortunately for him, his lenity to the girl became known in the house, and the subject of merriment, and was one of the reasons for his dismissal before I left the house;—but I did not know of the most atrocious of all the proceedings of this cruel woman until the very day that I quitted the house. I had put up my clothes in my portmanteau, when I was about to set out; but, finding it was rather too full, I had difficulty in getting it closed to allow me to lock it; I therefore told one of the boys to send me one of the stoutest of the men to assist me. A great robust fellow soon afterwards appeared, whom I found to be the cook, with tears in his eyes;—I asked him what was the matter? He told me that, just at the time when the boy called for him, he had got so sharp a blow on the cheek-bone from this devil in petticoats, as had unmanned him for the moment. Upon my expressing commiseration for him, he said he viewed this as nothing, but that he was leading a life of terrible suffering;—that about two years had elapsed since he and his wife, with his two children, had been exposed in the public market at Charleston for sale,—that he had been purchased by Mr. Street,—that his wife and children had been purchased by a different person, and that, though he was living in the same town with them, he never was allowed to see them;—he would be beaten within an ace of his life if he ventured to go to the corner of the street. Wherever the least symptom of rebellion or insubordination appears at Charleston on the part of a slave, the master sends the slave to the goal, where he is whipped or beaten as the master desires. The Duke of Saxe Weimar, in his travels, mentions that he visited this goal in December 1825; that the ‘black overseers go about every where armed with cow hides; that in the basement story there is an apparatus upon which the Negroes, by order of the police, or at the request of the masters, are flogged; that the machine consists of a sort of crane, on which a cord with two nooses runs over pulleys; the nooses are made fast to the hands of the slave and drawn up, while the feet are bound tight to a plank; that the body is stretched out as much as possible,—and thus the miserable creature receives the exact number of lashes as counted off.—The public sale of slaves in the market place at Charleston, occurs frequently. I was present at two sales where, especially at one of them, the miserable creatures were in tears on account of being separated from their relations and friends. At one of them, a young woman of sixteen or seventeen was separated from her father and mother, and all her relations, and every one she had formerly known. This not unfrequently happens, although I was told and believe that there is a general wish to keep relations together where it can be done.

‘The following extract of a letter from a gentleman at Charleston, to a friend of his at New-York, published in the New-York newspapers while I was there, contains even a more shocking account of the public sale of slaves here:—Curiosity sometimes leads me

to the auction sales of the Negroes. A few days since I attended one which exhibited the beauties of slavery in all their sickening deformity. The bodies of these wretched beings were placed upright on a table,—their physical proportions examined—their defects and beauties noted. ‘A prime lot, here they go!’ There I saw the father looking with sullen contempt on the crowd, and expressing an indignation in his countenance that he dare not speak; and the mother, pressing her infants closer to her bosom with an involuntary grasp, and exclaiming in wild and simple earnestness, while the tears chased down her cheeks in quick succession—‘I can’t leff my children! I won’t leff my children!’ But on the hammer went, reckless alike whether it united or sundered for ever. On another stand I saw a man apparently as white as myself exposed for sale. I turned away from the humiliating spectacle.

‘At another time I saw the concluding scene of this infernal drama. It was on the wharf. A slave ship for New-Orleans was lying in the stream, and the poor negroes handcuffed, and pinioned, were hurried off in boats, eight at a time. Here I witnessed the last farewell—the heart-rending separation of every earthly tie. The mute and agonizing embrace of the husband and wife, and the convulsive grasp of the mother and child, who were alike torn asunder—for ever! It was a living death—they never see or hear of each other more. Tears flowed fast, and mine with the rest.’

‘Charleston has long been celebrated for the severity of its laws against the blacks, and the mildness of its punishments towards the whites for maltreating them. Until the late law, there were about seventy-one crimes for which slaves were capitally punished, and for which the highest punishment for whites was imprisonment in the penitentiary.

‘A dreadful case of murder occurred at Charleston in 1806. A planter, called John Slater, made an unoffending, unresisting slave, be bound hand and foot, and compelled his companion to chop off his head with an axe, and to cast his body, convulsing with the agonies of death, into the water. Judge Wild, who tried him, on awarding a sentence of imprisonment against this wretch, expressed his regret that the punishment provided for the offence was insufficient to make the law respected—that the delinquent too well knew that the arm which he had stretched out for the destruction of his slave was that to which he alone could look for protection, disarmed as he was of the right of self defence. But the most horrible butchery of slaves which has ever taken place in America was the execution of thirty-five of them on the lines near Charleston, in the month of July, 1822, on account of an alleged conspiracy against their masters. The whole proceedings are monstrous. Sixty-seven persons were convicted before a court, consisting of a justice of the peace, and freeholders, without a jury. The evidence of slaves not upon oath was admitted against them, and after all, the proof was extremely scanty. Perrault, a slave, who had himself been brought from Africa, was the chief witness. He had been torn from his father, who was very wealthy, and a considerable trader in tobacco and salt on the coast of Africa. He was taken prisoner, and was sold, and his purchaser would not give him up, although three slaves were offered in his stead. The judge’s address, on pronouncing sentence of death on this occasion, on persons sold to slavery and servitude, and who, if they were guilty, were only endeavoring to get rid of it in the only way in their power, seems monstrous. He told them that the servant who was false to his master would be false to his God—that the precept of St. Paul was “to obey their masters in all things,” and of St. Peter, “to be subject to their masters with all fear,”—and that, had they listened to such doctrines, they would not have been arrested by an ignominious death.’—Vol. ii. pp. 141—147.

*Note.* Since the foregoing article was prepared, we have ascertained that Mr. Stuart’s work has been re-published in this country.

#### NEW ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.

It is with great satisfaction that we record the formation of three new Anti-Slavery Societies. They afford indisputable evidence of the progress of correct principles.

An Anti-Slavery Society has been formed in Portland, Me. with the following officers.

Hon. Prentiss Mellen, *President*; Samuel Fessenden, Rev. Gershom F. Cox, *Vice Presidents*; P. H. Greenleaf, Esq. *Corresponding Secretary*; Daniel C. Colesworthy, *Recording Secretary*; John Winslow, *Treasurer*; Bezaleel Cushman, Jonathan Dow, James B. Cahoon, Henry H. Boody, Seba Smith, Nathan Winslow, Oliver B. Dorrance, *Counsellors*.

On April 10th, an Anti-Slavery Society was formed at Tallmadge in Ohio, called the *Tallmadge Anti-Slavery Society*. Its principles are the same as those of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

The citizens of Fayette, Ross, and Highland Counties, Ohio, have recently formed a Society called the *Abolition Society of Paint Valley*. Its officers are as follow.

Col. Thos. Rogers, *President*; Hon. Hugh Smart, *Vice-President*; Joseph T. Irwin, *Recording Secretary*; Rev. Jas. H. Dickey, *Corresponding Secretary*; Mr Joseph Lawhead, *Treasurer*; Messrs Hugh Ghormly and Jas. McConnell, members of the executive committee for Fayette county, Messrs Robert Braiden and Geo. Brown for Ross county, and Messrs Samuel Smith and Samuel McConnell for Highland county.

#### NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

We notice with great satisfaction some suggestions in the *Friend*, in reference to a National Anti-Slavery Society. The progress of opinion in regard to slavery has been so great during the last few years, that an institution of this kind seems to be required, in order to give greater effect to individual efforts. A great anxiety to form such a Society has been often expressed by members of the N. England Anti-Slavery Society. If our friends at Philadelphia will call a public meeting in that place at any time during the present season, for the purpose of organizing a National Society, we promise them the attendance of some delegates from this quarter. We heartily assent to the remarks of 'THE FRIEND,' which follow:—

'We proposed a question in our last number, whether a national Anti-Slavery Society could not be formed in Philadelphia, for the purpose of calling the attention of our readers to the subject. There are many considerations that seem to indicate Philadelphia as the proper location for such a society. Its central position between the east and west—the prevailing tone of the public mind is fitted to impart strength and permanence to such a

society, to which may be added the well known facts that *here* the first abolition law ever passed in this country originated, and the first society for the express purpose of abolishing slavery was formed.

But it may be asked, wherein would the proposed society differ in its principles from the Pennsylvania Abolition Society? Are not the objects contemplated by the former embraced by the latter? In relation to the great question of slavery, they would be one in principle. The Pennsylvania society has been, and still is very useful in the cause of anti-slavery. Their funds and resources are principally expended in the support of schools for the education of colored children. I hope the society will long continue to direct its attention to this important object. But it is local in its character. We want a *national* Anti-Slavery Society, which would embrace a larger sphere, and enroll among its members, many men of talents and influence, who do not belong to the Pennsylvania Society, and who, perhaps, might not incline to become members. I hope the time is not distant, when such a society will be organized in this city.'

#### ADVANTAGES OF PAID LABOR.

Reason and experience both teach that paid labor is cheaper than compulsory. This truth is strikingly illustrated in the facts stated in the following letter addressed to the editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, which appeared in a recent number of that work.

TO THE EDITOR.

DEAR SIR:—

Some time since, I sent you an account of a mechanic who, by paying each of the slaves whom he had hired, one dollar per week, obtained more work from five, than he had been able to procure before from eleven of them. To-day a circumstance has come to my knowledge which ought to speak volumes to those who keep slaves.

A person who has been in the habit of trading to York River, for oysters, was in the practice of hiring black men from their masters. These poor dispirited creatures worked so slow, that it generally took about three weeks to load his vessel. At last he hit upon the experiment of giving them a reward of fifty cents a day, (for themselves,) for each good day's work. The consequence is, that he now gets his vessel loaded in about five days, at a much less expense. This shews that *VOLUNTARY labor is much SUPERIOR* to that which is *COMPULSORY*.

Let those who employ slaves, remember that it would be better to hire even *their own* slaves, or pay those whom they hire from others, than undertake to compel them to work.

A SUBSCRIBER.

## MR GARRISON.

This gentleman sailed from New-York for England on the first of May. He goes accompanied by the good wishes and prayers of all the friends of abolition. The following lines were written by him on board the vessel after sailing.

## SONNET.

Unto the winds and waves I now commit  
My body, subject to the will of Heaven;  
Its resting place may be the watery pit—  
'Tis His alone to take who life has given.  
But, O ye elements! the deathless soul,  
Impalpable, outsoaring time and space,  
Submits not to your mightiest control,  
Nor meanly dwells in any earthly place.  
Ocean may bleach, earth crumble, worms devour,  
Beyond identity, its wondrous frame;  
Decay wilts not the spiritual flower,  
Nor age suppresses the ethereal flame.—  
Thus thy dread sting, O DEATH! I dare to brave—  
Thus do I take from thee the victory, O GRAVE!  
*On board the ship Hibernia.* }  
May 2, 1833. }

## TO THE HIBERNIA.

O, speed thee! speed thee! gallant bark,  
Across the bounding wave;  
Thou bearest to old Britain's shores,  
The Champion of the slave.  
Propitious breezes waft thee on,  
Safe o'er Atlantic's sea;  
For many a heart with fervor sends  
A benison to thee.  
And he who fears not to commit  
His body to thy care,  
Fears not to brave the winds and waves,  
Knowing that God is there.  
He goes to raise the standard high,  
And freedom's flag unfurl,  
And to proclaim the rallying cry  
Of freedom to the world.  
Then swift and steady be thy flight,  
Across the briny wave;  
And safely bear, Oh noble bark,  
The Champion of the slave.  
PHILADELPHIA, May, 1833.

ADA.

## EPITAPH ON JOHN JACK.

The following epitaph on a slave buried at Concord, in Massachusetts, is, as we are informed in Mr Willard's Address to the Worcester Bar, ascribed to Daniel Bliss, Esq. an ante-revolutionary lawyer. It may be found in Alden's Collection of Epitaphs.

God wills us free;  
Man wills us slaves.  
I will, as God wills;  
God's will be done.  
Here lies the body of JOHN JACK,  
A native of Africa,  
Who died March 1773,  
Aged about LX years.  
Though born in a land of slavery,  
He was born free:  
Though he lived in a land of liberty,  
He lived a slave;  
Till by his honest, though stolen labors,  
He acquired the source of slavery,  
Which gave him his freedom,  
Though not long before death,

The grand tyrant,  
Gave him his final emancipation,  
And set him on a footing with kings.  
Though a slave to vice,  
He practised those virtues,  
Without which, kings are but slaves.

The Treasurer of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society acknowledges the receipt of the following donations in March, April and May, viz.

## FOR THE MISSION.

Ladies Anti-Slavery Society of Reading	10 00
Gentlemen do. do.	12 00
John T. Hilton, being amount contributed at a meeting of colored persons in Boston, on 19th March,	25 00
A Friend, by S. E. Sewall, Esq.	10 00
Nathan Winslow, Esq. Portland, Me.	20 00
W. R. Jones do.	5 00
Wm. H. Morgan do.	5 00
E. F. B. Mundrucu	5 00
Colored Male citizens of Albany, N. Y. by Mr W. P. Griffin	6 00
Michael H. Simpson	20 00
S. E. Sewall,	10 00
Moses Kimball	5 00
A Friend	20 00
Jno. N. Barbour	5 00
Daniel Gregg	5 00
Jno. Stimson	3 00
Ellis Gray Loring	5 00
Jno. E. Fuller	3 00
Frederick Hughes	5 00
Drury Fairbanks	5 00
D. L. Child	3 00
E. M. P. Wells	5 00
Young Ladies (Colored) Albany, N. Y.	8 00
Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn, New-Haven, Ct.	5 00
S. Philbrick	3 00
Miss Deane	3 00

Ladies of Rev. D. T. Kimball's Society in Ipswich, to constitute him a life member	15 00
A Friend by S. E. Sewall for the Manual Labor School	10 00
Annual subscription of \$2.00 each, from Herman Holmes, Robert Roberts, Joseph Pierce, James G. Barbadoes, Samuel H. Colton, J. Nichols, J. C. Smith, David H. Ela, Rev. Phineas Crandall, Edward Johnson, Nathaniel Budd, Wm. Irvier, Lewis Law and David Worthing	28 00
A Friend, by Rev. Henry Jones	1 00

*For the Mission—Received by Mr. Garrison.*

S. G. Shipley	2 00
A Friend	1 00
Dr Geo. Harris, Moor Town, Pa.	5 00
C. Washington, Trenton, N. J.	3 00
Mrs. R. Henson, do. do.	2 00
A colored Friend in Philadelphia	0 50
From the colored friends in Philadelphia, through the hands of Mr Joseph Cassey	100 00
Colored friends in Brooklyn, N. Y.	8 00
Colored friends in New-York city	124 00
do. Providence, R. I.	30 00
Colored 'Mutual Relief Society' of do.	15 00
Colored 'Female Literary Society' of do.	6 00
Colored 'Female Tract Society' of Providence, R. I.	4 00

# THE ABOLITIONIST.

VOL. I.]

JULY, 1833.

[NO. VII.]

## PROGRESS OF PREJUDICE AND PERSECUTION.

A law, the substance of which we give below, was passed by the legislature of Connecticut at its late session and approved by the governor May 24, 1833. This statute is entitled '*An Act in addition to an Act for the Admission and Settlement of Inhabitants in Towns.*' The preamble recites that 'attempts have been made to establish literary institutions in this State for the instruction of colored persons belonging to other States and countries, which would tend to the great increase of the colored population of the State, and thereby to the injury of the people,' and therefore enacts in the first section 'that no person shall establish in this State any school, or literary institution for the instruction or education of colored persons, who are not inhabitants of this State, nor instruct in any school, or other literary institution whatsoever in this State, or harbor or board for the purpose of attending or being instructed in any such school, or literary institution any colored person who is not an inhabitant of any town in this State, without the consent in writing first obtained of a majority of the civil authority, and also of the Selectmen of the town in which such school, or literary institution is situated; and every person who shall knowingly do any act forbidden as aforesaid, or shall be aiding therein, shall, for the first offence, forfeit and pay to the treasurer of this State a fine of one hundred dollars, and for the second offence, a fine of two hundred dollars, and so double for every offence of which he or she shall be convicted.

'Provided that nothing in this act shall extend to any district school established in any school society under the laws of this State, or to any school established by any school society under the laws of this State, or to any incorporated academy or incorporated school for instruction in this State.'

The second section provides 'that any colored person not an inhabitant of this State,

who shall reside in any town therein for the purpose of being instructed as aforesaid, may be removed in the manner prescribed in the sixth and seventh sections of the act to which this is an addition.'

The third section merely provides for persons who are not inhabitants of the State, but residents for the purpose of being instructed, being witnesses in cases of prosecution under the act.

The fourth section enacts, 'that so much of the seventh section of the act to which this is an addition, as may provide for the infliction of corporeal punishment, be and the same is hereby repealed.'

Our readers will at once perceive that this statute was enacted as a sequel to the Canterbury farce. It is hardly necessary to mention that Andrew T. Judson, the great Canterbury agitator was the prime mover of this act.

We confess that we were surprised at the passage of a statute so inhuman and so disgraceful to the State of Connecticut. It is not, perhaps, to be regretted on account of the colored people at whom it is aimed. The excess of its malice and violence must, we think, render it impotent, and at the same time call forth the feelings of many benevolent minds in favor of the intended victims of this legislation.

We could hardly credit our senses when we read this barbarous statute. Can the legislators of Connecticut seriously believe that colored persons are made worse by instruction? Or do they fear that all the institutions of their State are to be swept away by an irruption of colored Vandals, if a school for young colored girls be tolerated for a moment.

We rejoice in believing that this petty ebullition of prejudice is likely to be totally harmless as it regards the colored citizens of the other States. The constitution of the United States provides that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several

States. The meaning of this clause is sufficiently clear; and its application to the Connecticut statute very obvious. A colored citizen of Massachusetts or any other State going into Connecticut is entitled to all the privileges and immunities of a citizen of Connecticut. If then it is not a penal offence for a citizen of Connecticut to reside in any town in that State for the purpose of being instructed, it cannot be made a penal offence for a citizen of Massachusetts to commit the same act. When the legislature of Connecticut shall make it criminal for her own citizens to be instructed, it may also make it penal for the citizens of other states coming within her borders, to receive instruction; and not before.

It gives us great pleasure to say that Miss Crandall's school has not as yet been put down. It appears from a communication from Mr. George W. Benson, in the *Liberator*, of June 15th, that she has eighteen or twenty scholars. We understand that she is prepared to contest the constitutionality of the Connecticut statute, whenever she has an opportunity.

#### SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

In our last number we gave some extracts from Mr. Stuart's *Three Years in America*. The following passages are from the same work. Mr. Stuart's observations on slavery in this country deserve attention, because he is evidently a man of great fairness and candor. If his work shows any marks of partiality, they are in favor of the United States. What he says upon this subject, therefore, must be regarded as the reproof of a friend, not as the attack of an enemy.

'A pamphlet was lately published by a free man of color, at Boston, named Walker, expatiating on the cruelty of the treatment to which men of color were subjected in many of the States, which has excited great indignation in the southern slaveholding states;—and it so happened that upon the very day on which I attended the sitting of the legislature at Richmond, a letter from the mayor of Boston, in answer to a communication from the slaveholding states, declaring his disapprobation of the pamphlet, but at the same time expressing his opinion, that the writer did not seem to have violated the law, was laid before the house. Mr. Otis, the mayor of Boston, while in that letter he makes a declaration that the pamphlet does not contravene any law, with singular inconsistency adds, in his public letter, that he regards it with deep disapprobation and abhorrence. This seemed a strange communication from a magistrate in a non-

slaveholding state. A bill was immediately brought into the House of Delegates here, which from its title, 'To prevent the circulation of seditious writings,' I should rather have expected to be proposed in some other country than this. The fate of this bill—I never knew.

'I was anxious to see the anti-slavery pamphlet, which was making so much noise, and went into a bookseller's store of the name of Scaraway, or some such name, as I think, but I found his prejudices were as strong as those of any of his countrymen. 'Any man that would sell it should (he said) be gibbeted.'

'The effects of slavery are nowhere more visible than in Virginia; the population not having increased like that of the free states of the north. In 1790, Virginia contained in her boundaries one-fifth part of the whole political power of the American confederation, was twice as large as New-York, and one-third larger than Pennsylvania;—but times are changed. Her political weight will be just one-half of that of New-York in the Congress under the new census, and one-third less than that of Pennsylvania;—she will have to rank with Ohio,—a state that was not in existence when she was in the zenith of her prosperity.'—Vol. ii. pp. 54, 55.

'We were ferried over the Roanoke river in a flat, drawing not six inches of water, by slaves, without the horses being taken out of the stage, and afterward stopped at Halifax to change horses. While I was sitting in the portico there, for the day was very hot, I was accosted by a gentleman who requested me to let him know what was the number of slaves for sale at the court-house to-day. I explained his mistake to him, and I then asked him some questions with respect to the slave-market here. He said the price generally given for a young man was 375 dollars, though for the best hands 400 dollars are sometimes given; that 250 dollars was the price for a fine young woman, until after she had her first child, after which she becomes more valuable, as she was then more to be depended on for increasing the stock. He never, he said, separated husband and wife, but some people did separate them, as well as children, and then they had a crying scene, that was all.'—Vol. ii. p. 56.

'I have already mentioned that all the waiters in the hotels where I lodged were slaves, but they were not positively ill treated, like the unfortunate creatures at Charleston. They had no beds, however, to sleep upon,—all lying, like dogs, in the passages of the house. Their punishment was committed by Mr. Lavand to Mr. Smith, the clerk of the house, who told me that no evening passed on which he had not to give some of them stripes; and on many occasions to such an extent, that he was unable to perform the duty, and sent the unhappy creatures to the prison, that they might

have their punishment inflicted there by the jailor. Nothing is more common, than for the masters and mistresses of slaves, either male or female, when they wish them to be punished, to send them to the prison, with a note to the jailor specifying the number of lashes to be inflicted. The slave must carry back a note to his master, telling him that the punishment has been inflicted. If the master so orders it, the slave receives his whipping laid flat upon his face upon the earth, with his hands and feet bound to posts. In passing the prison in the morning the cries of the poor creatures are dreadful. I was anxious to get into the inside of this place, but though a friend applied for me, I did not succeed. Mr. Smith told me that he was very desirous to leave his situation, merely because he felt it so very disagreeable a duty to be obliged to whip the slaves.

There were about 1000 slaves for sale at New-Orleans while I was there. Although I did not myself witness, as I had done at Charleston, the master or the mistress of the house treating the slaves with barbarity, yet I heard enough to convince me that at New-Orleans there are many Mrs. Streets. The Duke of Saxe Weimar, who was at New-Orleans in 1826, and who lodged in the boarding house of the well-known Madame Herries, one of the best boarding-houses at New-Orleans, has given a detailed account of the savage conduct of this lady to one of her slaves, which I transcribe in his own words: 'One particular scene, which roused my indignation in the highest manner, on the 22d March, I cannot suffer to pass in silence. There was a young Virginian female slave in our boarding-house, employed as a chambermaid, a cleanly, attentive, quiet, and very regular individual. A Frenchman residing in the house called in the morning early for water to wash. As the water was not instantly brought to him, he went down the steps and encountered the poor girl, who just then had some other occupation in hand. He struck her immediately with the fist in the face, so that the blood ran from her forehead. The poor creature, roused by this unmerited abuse, put herself on her defence, and caught the Frenchman by the throat. He screamed for help, but no one would interfere. The fellow then ran to his room, gathered his things together, and was about to leave the house. But when our landlady, Madame Herries, was informed of this, in order to satisfy the wretch, she disgraced herself by having twenty-six lashes inflicted upon the poor girl with a cow-hide, and refined upon her cruelty so much, that she forced the sweetheart of the girl, a young negro slave who waited in the house, to count off the lashes upon her. This Frenchman, a merchant's clerk from Montpelier, was not satisfied with this: he went to the police, lodged a complaint against the girl, had her arrested by two constables, and whip-

ped again by them in his presence. I regret that I did not take a note of this miscreant's name, in order that I might give his disgraceful conduct its merited publicity.'

'The laws respecting slaves are as cruelly strict and tyrannical here as at Charleston, or in Georgia. The state Legislature have now, on the 6th and 17th days of March, passed two acts, not many days before I reached New-Orleans, containing most objectionable provisions.

'The first act provides, 1st. That whosoever shall write, print, publish, or distribute any thing *having a tendency* to create discontent among the free colored population of this state, or insubordination among the slaves therein, shall, at the discretion of the court, suffer death, or imprisonment at hard labor for life.

'2d. That whosoever shall use language in any public discourse, from the bar, the bench, the stage, the pulpit, or in any place, or in private discourse or conversation, or shall make use of signs or actions *having a tendency to produce discontent* among the free colored population in this state, or to excite insubordination among the slaves therein, or whosoever shall knowingly be instrumental in bringing into this state any paper, pamphlet, or book, having such tendency as aforesaid, shall, at the discretion of the court, suffer at hard labor not less than three years, nor more than twenty years, or death.

'3d. That all persons who shall teach, or cause to be taught, any slave in this state to read or write, shall be imprisoned not less than one, nor more than twelve months.

'The second act provides, 1st. For the expulsion from the state of all free people of color, who came into it subsequently to the year 1807; and then confirms a former law, prohibiting all free persons of color whatever from entering the State of Louisiana.

'2d. It sentences to imprisonment, or hard labor for life, all free persons of color, who, having come into the state, disobey an order for their departure.

'3d. It enacts, that if any white person shall be convicted of being the author, printer, or publisher of any written or printed paper within the state, or shall use any language with the intent within the state, or shall use any language with the intent to disturb the peace or security of the same, in relation to the slaves or the people of this state, *or to diminish that respect which is commanded to free people of color for the whites*, such person shall be fined in a sum not less than 300 dollars, nor exceeding 1000 dollars, and imprisoned for a term not less than six months, nor exceeding three years; and that, if any free person of color shall be convicted of such offence, he shall be sentenced to pay a fine not exceeding 1000 dollars, and imprisoned at hard labor for a time not less than three years and

not exceeding five years, and afterward banished for life.

'And 4th. It enacts, that in all cases it shall be the duty of the attorney-general and the several district attorneys, *under the penalty of removal from office*, to prosecute the said free persons of color for violations of the act, or, *whenever they shall be required to prosecute the said free persons of color by any citizen of this state*.

'These acts are signed by Mr. Roman, Speaker of the House of Representatives; by Mr. Smith, President of the Senate; and by Mr. Dupre, Governor of the State of Louisiana, all in March, 1830.

'Nothing can be more clear than that neither the liberty of the press, nor the liberty of speech, exists in a state or country where such laws are to be found in the statute-book. The following occurrence proves pretty convincingly the truth of this observation. It took place on one of the last days of March, while I was at New-Orleans:—A slave was hung for some trifling offence, but none of the newspapers took the slightest notice of the execution; the editors being naturally afraid that their doing so might be construed into an offence against the laws passed only a few days previously. I only accidentally heard of the execution some days after it happened, and was told there were not thirty persons present at it.

'What makes the severity of those laws even more galling is, that their retrospective effect forces into banishment many citizens of New-Orleans,—free men of color,—who were among the most conspicuous defenders of the state during the invasion of the British in 1814.

'The enactment against writings was intended to be enforced against the only liberal paper in New-Orleans, '*Le Liberal*,' which occasionally inserted articles favorable to the black population.

'The publication of newspapers is not a thriving speculation in the despotic states of the Union. I view South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana decidedly in that light, because in those states the liberty of the press is denied altogether to the colored, and, in a very considerable degree, to the white population. Compare the increase of newspapers in some of the free states with their present condition in the three slaveholding states to which I have alluded, and the result will go far to establish my proposition. Sixty-six newspapers were published in the State of New-York in the year 1810: 211 are now published. Seventy-one newspapers were published in Pennsylvania in 1810: 185 are now published. Fourteen newspapers were published in Ohio in 1810: sixty-six are now published. But in South Carolina ten newspapers were published in 1810, and only sixteen now. Thirteen newspapers were published in Georgia in 1810, and only the same number now. *Ten*

newspapers were published in Louisiana in 1810, and now *only nine* are published. Louisiana is the only state in which the number of newspapers has decreased during the last twenty years, and yet during that period the population has increased from 20,845 to 215,272, so that while the population is *nine* [ten] times as great as in 1810, the effect of arbitrary laws has been to render the number of newspapers less for 215,000 inhabitants than for 20,000.—Vol. ii. pp. 132, 133, 134, 135.

'Every thing I saw in my perambulations and rides in the neighborhood of New-Orleans confirmed me in the belief that the slaves, especially the females, are in general cruelly treated in respect to the tasks allotted to them, and the stripes and degradation to which they are subjected. In this warm climate they seldom complain of want of clothing. In most cases it is not so much with the quantity, as with the quality, of their food that they find fault.'—Vol. ii. p. 138.

#### PROFESSOR WRIGHT.

The abolitionists in Boston have been recently favored by a visit from Professor Wright of the Western Reserve College. During his stay in this place, he delivered several lectures on the subject of slavery, to crowded auditories. We have every reason to believe that these powerful and eloquent addresses produced a very favorable impression for the cause which he espoused.

Mr. Wright also had two public discussions with Robert. S. Finley, Esq. the champion of Colonization Society. The first was held at Park-street Church on Thursday, May 30, on the following propositions, maintained by Professor Wright, and denied by Mr. Finley.

I. The operations and publications of the American Colonization Society tend to increase the prejudice already existing against the people of color.

II. The influence of the colony, as it is at present managed, is injurious to Africa.

The second discussion was held in Bowdoin Street Church, on Friday, May 31, on the following propositions, of which Mr. Wright supported the affirmative, and Mr. Finley the negative.

I. The operations and publications of the Society tend to perpetuate slavery.

II. The only hope of abolishing slavery lies in promulgating the doctrine of IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

Both discussions were very animated and were listened to with deep interest. Mr. Wright spoke with great earnestness and maintained his positions by close and logical arguments. Mr. Finley, on the other hand, as we have been informed, for we had only an opportunity of hearing a small part of these

discussions, contented himself, for the most part, with saying such things as would make an agreeable impression on the audience, without caring to defend the points which had been assailed by his adversary. Mr. Finley is apparently a practised speaker. His manner is fluent and familiar, and well calculated to interest a general audience.

The advocates of both parties, in these discussions, we believe claim the victory, for their respective champions. But the friends of slavery and colonization, can hardly deny that some of the most weighty arguments advanced by Mr. Wright, were left unanswered by Mr. Finley.

#### THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

(Concluded.)

We affirm that our statement of the probable cost of transportation was not, as our friend asserts 'flagrantly *ex parte* and extravagant.' We did not borrow from Mr. Tazewell's report, or adopt his views. This gentleman may or may not be opposed to colonization—but what matters it, if his logic be correct, whether he be friend or foe? Truth is not less truth, because it is told by an enemy. However, we did not reckon from his data, but from those of the Repository. We made our calculation, and stated a much smaller result than Mr. Tazewell did. We said that colonization would cost fifty-four dollars a man and the Repository confirms it. Mr. Tazewell says it will cost a hundred dollars a man. We quoted Mr. Tazewell's report, merely to show that our estimate was not extravagant, and this our moderation, the writer perverts and casts at us as a reproach. We say again, what we proved in our former article, that the Colonization Society has repeatedly held up the deportation of slaves as an inducement to add to their funds, and this being a fact, it is fair to cast the market price of the slaves into the estimate, for the experience of the Society has shewn exclusively that very little is to be hoped from the liberality of the masters. We have given our authority, which is the official organ of the Society, and not Mr. Tazewell, and if the result of our calculation does not please our friend, he ought to complain of the Repository only.

'He divides the whole income of the Society up to 1831, \$145,000, by the number of emigrants carried over, 2,500: and so makes it as clear as a sum in simple division, that each man has cost over fifty dollars. This is calculation again with a vengeance. It establishes—what?—the cost of individual transportation at this time? By no means. &c. &c.'

It is, indeed, calculation with a vengeance, for neither our friend nor the Colonization Society will ever be able to get over it. It is

this, probably, which makes him so angry and abusive. What would he have clearer? What! shall we say that individuals transported cost the people of the United States no more than their passage money? Shall we not cast into the account the sums paid for territory, for rum and gunpowder, to civilize the natives, the salaries of we know not how many agents and sub-agents, the pittance of scribblers who puff the Society in magazines and newspapers, the cost of transporting many emigrants to the sea board, and the aid they receive after they land in Liberia? This would be, to use our candid friend's own words, calculation with a vengeance. We suppose we shall be told next, that a company on the peace establishment (of 50 men) costs but \$250 a month. Surely,—they receive but five dollars each. The pay of the officers, the cost of clothing, arms, equipments, ammunition, rations and barracks, ought doubtless to be left out of the estimate.

We can assure the writer that when the people shall know that they have expended \$145,000 to export free blacks, and that but 2500 have been exported, all his logic will not persuade them that they have not paid over fifty dollars a head—a great deal too dear for the whistle. As such has been the aggregate result of many years' experience, we think it is not very likely that the price of the colonization of a free christian black man will ever materially diminish. We have neither time nor inclination to follow our friend through the former fluctuations of the market, nor is it at all essential. We have proved all we undertook to prove, and that is enough for our humble ambition. As to what is said of the probability that the emigrants will one day defray their own expenses, it is mere speculation, and we decline to notice it farther.

We doubt not that there are more colored persons willing to emigrate than the Colonization Society have means to transport,—but not from any part of the Union where they have freedom of choice. The Society cannot get a man from Massachusetts. Doubtless, in States whence free men are forbidden to emigrate on pain of being sold into perpetual slavery, where they may be apprehended on the mere suspicion of any white vagrant, and sold to pay their jail fees, there must be many who are willing to leave a land where there is neither peace nor justice for them. These, we suppose, are the numerous applicants of whom our friend speaks. We think an apologist for the Colonization Society ought to be ashamed to avow the fact, since he must at the same time acknowledge that if the institution does not use compulsion itself, it abets the compulsion of others. Perhaps, too, we might say that the oppressive laws to which we have alluded would never have been made but for the influence of the Colonization Society. Such is the presumption, we may say,

the conviction of many solid persons. Our people, said the committee of the Maryland Legislature (in substance) shall not emancipate unless they colonize also. Directly after, a law was passed, which operates so hardly on the free colored people, that it seems to have been intended to drive them into the arms of the Colonization Society.

The Society has abolished the slave trade, says our friend, along two hundred and eighty miles of sea coast, whence 5,000 slaves were formerly taken annually. What then—the slaves are still sold, though in another market. We shewed in our first paper that the Society admit that the slave trade has increased constantly ever since they have been in operation. After this, what need to speak of abolishing the trade by the ministry of the Society? We shall here add the opinion of Capt. Morrell, a recent voyager on the coast of Africa, which is all that need farther be said on the subject.

‘How,’ says this very intelligent writer, ‘is this horrible traffic to be finally and totally abolished. The root, the source, the foundation of this evil is in the ignorance and superstition of the negroes themselves. However severe the edicts which nations may pass against the slave trade, they will never deter from engaging in it a certain class of reckless adventurers which are found in every country; whose motto is ‘neck or nothing.’ They are willing to run the risk of dying the death of pirates in consideration of the immense emolument which attends the successful issue of the perilous enterprise. Like every species of smuggled goods, slaves will always find a ready market, and a price proportionably high to the hazard of introducing them: and so long as a door remains open for disposing of human beings, the progress of reform in this particular will be very slow. *It is of but little use to block up the mouth of the Senegal or any other river in Africa while the whole extent of coast remains open and may be landed on at different seasons of the year. Nothing but a total, unqualified prohibition of this soul-debasing traffic by every power in both hemispheres, particularly by those of South America can afford any rational hope of its final abolition.*’

Captain Morrell does, indeed, speak favorably of Liberia and the Colonization Society a little after, but as what he says is avowedly taken from a newspaper extract, it cannot be considered an offset against his own opinion just above expressed.

Our friend goes on to show that the main object of the Society is as he states by extracts from certain speeches and letters, which go to shew that some good has been done and that the removal of our entire colored population is not contemplated. It seems to us singular, however, that he should avail himself of a kind of evidence which he will not permit us to use. When we quote the works

of any eminent colonizationist as explanatory of the views of the Society, they only express the opinions of an individual; but when he thinks fit to quote Mr Blackford’s speech and Mr Early’s letter, it is ‘to shew that he has not mistaken his own principles for the Society’s. He ought to remember that what is sauce for goose is sauce for gander; that what is not sufficient evidence for us is not sufficient evidence for him. We think this unfair practice, though we do not impute an unfair intention to him. Moreover, Mr Blackford is not even a member of the Colonization Society. We know not who Mr Early is.

We never imputed to *all* auxiliary societies the principles of the parent Society, and we believe we have never quoted any thing against the parent Society, which was not expressed by some of its members. If the Auxiliary Society of Fredericksburg do not aim at the removal of the entire colored population, it is to their credit, and proves that they may justly claim an intellectual superiority to the mother institution.

The last of the extracts is an avowal by the National Society that they had done ‘all that could reasonably be expected to be done by their instrumentality.’ We verily believe it. They have done all that could *reasonably* have been expected of persons of their principles; but not all they contemplated or had repeatedly held up to the people as their design.

The writer shews, plainly, that the Colonization Society is opposed to slavery in the abstract. They say, as we never denied, that slavery is an evil, and that something ought to be done, in a hundred places. But they do not say what shall be done. They say that the question ought not to be agitated, that they have no design to interfere with the rights of slave owners to their property, that ‘emancipation without emigration is dreamy madness.’ We shewed in our former paper that they do unequivocally, in the most explicit terms, express their disapprobation of emancipation on any terms but emigration, and of all efforts to remove what they acknowledge to be a national curse. They never let slip an opportunity to abuse those who think that the subject should be agitated, and that speedier means than theirs should be employed. We have studied their documents very attentively, and this seems to us to be the synopsis of their doctrine. ‘Slavery is a great evil and a fruitful source of crime and oppression. But it would be criminal to attempt to remove it. It is a crime in one man to keep another in bondage. But by ceasing to sin, he would sin yet more. Circumstances have made that which is essentially criminal and vile, innocent and praiseworthy.’

If these are not the views of the Society we are unable to comprehend our mother tongue. Else why so many expressions of disapprobation of slavery and of all attempts

to remove it as are found in all the matter they have printed. The Society blows hot and cold upon the idea of emancipation in the same breath, but unless we are greatly mistaken, the cold greatly exceeds and prevails.

After all, the difference of opinion on this subject between colonizationists and abolitionists (among which last we are proud to be ranked) may be summed up in a few words. The former look on the slaves as property; we look upon them as men. They consider only the rights of the masters; we have regard to the rights of both masters and slaves. This is the true distinction in this matter, and we should be sorry and ashamed if there were not many more points of difference.

We said that the Colonization Society habitually vilify the free blacks, and gave what we thought and think sufficient proof of the charge. Our friend denies it, saying that the Society was and still is a charitable institution, whose prime object was the benefit of the free blacks. At the same time he says that the Society 'have not scrupled to describe the situation of that class in this country in its true light.' We deny that the Society do describe that class in its true light, and whether it does or not, we say that our friend knows nothing of the matter. We believe that he is not acquainted personally with any negro in the world. How then does he pretend to know the moral condition of the whole class? We are better informed in this particular. We know a great many blacks, and consequently esteem many of them. If our friend will take one of our arms, highly as we esteem him, we will give the other to one out of many of our colored friends, and walk through Washington-street between them, feeling equally honored with the company of each.

If the object of the Colonization Society be, as our friend states, for the benefit of the free blacks, it seems to us that these last should by this time have discovered and appreciated the benevolence of the Society. It is not so however. They consider themselves wronged, oppressed and insulted by it, and detest its very name. The name of a colonizationist is to them as that of Benedict Arnold is to their white brethren. They never go to the Colonization Society for advice regarding their affairs, they never ask them for the means of instructing their children in letters and the mechanic arts; on the contrary, they avoid them as they would a pestilence. They apply, on occasion, to the abolitionists. Dogs have the faculty of discovering their friends and enemies. Have the colored race less intelligence than dogs?

The writer admits, and we thank him for the admission, that the blacks themselves ought to be the judges of the colonization project. 'Let the blacks decide the matter for themselves. If they can be comfortable here,

or think they can, let them remain, and God help them to be so.' With this sentiment at heart our friend should never have written a syllable on the Colonization Society. The blacks have decided on the question unequivocally. Their opinion, as expressed by their representatives, is, that those who consent to be colonized, are 'enemies and traitors.' We are aware that our writer affirms that this is but the sentiment of a party; but can he shew any proof that there is a party any where among the free blacks who hold a contrary opinion? He cannot. There is no such party in any place where freedom of choice is permitted. Let the blacks themselves be the judges, with all my heart. But let their judgment be free. Where they are liable to be apprehended on the suspicion of the lowest vagabond and sold into slavery, where they are banished at a month's warning from their homes, where their lives are rendered insupportable by the colonization and nullification spirits, it cannot be said that they are free agents, and the fact, that a thousand poor, persecuted colored people have been compelled to be willing to emigrate, is no proof that any, even the most inconsiderable portion of the colored population approve the principles of the Colonization Society.

One more point of our friend's argument remains to be noticed. He treats the idea that his beloved institution holds up contrary motives to the south and north in the same organs, as supremely ridiculous. We cannot see it in the same light. When the idea of the ultimate termination of African slavery is held up by the Society as a motive to contribute to their funds, is not this argument evidently addressed to the north? Would such discourse (alone, without qualification) be palatable to the south? When the Society promise to secure the tenure of *property* by removing the free blacks, is it to the north that they address themselves? Surely the two promises do not coincide with each other. It is the Society, and not us, whom our friend ought to blame for this inconsistency, which, we take it, is indicative of a mean, shuffling policy, which dares to take no decided stand, and which, we trust, will never be imitated by the abolitionists.

In answer to all the sneers cast by our friend at the abolitionists, we say that we took the field one year only since, twelve in number, with a 'quaker and hatter' at our head. We are now a thousand, and every day brings recruits to our ranks. The Colonization Society is the main obstacle in our way, and its course, we think, is and must be henceforth downwards. We found the Leviathan weltering in the sea of popularity, unconscious of a foe, and despoising him when he appeared. We roused him from his torpor, and compelled him to give proof of vitality. We have fixed the harpoon, and the monster begins to blow

and bellow. We are now pulling upon the line, and we shall soon, we trust, come to lancing. Above all, we have planted the banner of FREEDOM TO MANKIND. Pluck it up who can.

To conclude; for we are in truth very weary of trying to extract argument out of that which contains none—our friend has not disproved one of our positions by logical deduction. He has given us an exposition of the views of the Colonization Society, drawn, not from facts or past experience, but from the stores of his own invention. It is perfectly evident to us that he has not studied the subject, for he has given us his own crude speculations instead of the truth. Were the Colonization Society what he imagines it to be and no more, we would join it to-morrow; but we know and have proved it to be a different thing. When our friend can meet us fairly, we shall ever be ready to splinter a lance with him, but if he does not come into the lists better armed, we shall henceforth think it beneath our magnanimity to contend with one so ill prepared. His views, if we understand them right, are based not on what the Colonization Society is and has been, but on what it may be henceforth. It may, he says, rid the country of the blacks, it may extinguish the system of slavery, it may give the slave taade a death blow, and it may convert and civilize Africa. Ay, it *may*—and the sky *may* fall, and we *may* catch larks. The one proposition is as well supported by experience and analogy as the other.

#### SLAVERY IN PENNSYLVANIA.

The friends of freedom were somewhat surprised and mortified, at seeing in the Census of 1830, the number of slaves belonging to Pennsylvania set down at 386, when the Census of 1820, had only shown 211 in the State. This unexpected result very properly excited the attention of the State; and at the last session of the legislature a committee was appointed in the Senate to investigate the cause of this apparent increase. Mr. Breck, from the committee, made a report in which the subject is very fully and satisfactorily examined.

His report states that a law was passed in 1780, enacting 'that all persons, as well negroes and mulattoes as others, who shall be born within this state from and after the first day of March, 1780, shall not be deemed and considered as servants for life, or slaves; and that all servitude for life, or slavery of children in consequence of the slavery of their mothers, in the case of all children born within this state from and after the passing of this act, shall be, and hereby is, utterly taken away,

extinguished, and forever abolished; that every negro and mulatto child, born within this state after the passing of this act as aforesaid, shall be deemed to be, and shall be, by virtue of this act, the servant of such person, or his or her assigns, who would, in such case, have been entitled to the service of such child, until such child shall attain unto the age of twenty-eight years.'

The report then proceeds.

'In consequence of this provision for their gradual emancipation, we do not find, by the census of 1820, (forty years after the date of the act,) any person reported to be held in bondage in this commonwealth, under twenty-six, and few under forty-five years of age; and all those who take an interest in the extinguishment of slavery here, very naturally looked to the census of 1830, as the epoch that was to put a period, or nearly so, to that unhappy state of things amongst our colored population. What, then, must have been their astonishment, when the tables of the marshals of the two districts exhibited an increase, from 211 individuals returned in 1820, to 386 returned in 1830! scattered, too, over twenty-seven counties, and of ages under twenty-six, and even under ten! By what process was this brought about? Unless founded in error, it was manifestly a gross violation of the statute of 1780. It is the principal duty of your committee to explain this; and in endeavoring to do so, it will be necessary to advert to a misconstruction of that law in Washington and other counties, by which the child of a servant, until the age of twenty-eight years, was held to servitude for the same period, and on the same conditions as its mother, who was the daughter of a registered slave. This error was practised upon up to the year 1826, and was the means of wrongfully keeping in bondage many individuals, for several years beyond the legal period. At length the Supreme court settled the point definitely, at Pittsburg, on the 26th September, 1826, in the case of *Miller v. Dwilling*, and decided that no child can be held to servitude till the age of twenty-eight years, but one whose mother was a servant for life, or a slave at the time of its birth.

There cannot now, then, be any pretence for keeping children, born in this commonwealth, at service beyond the age of twenty-eight, nor would any such have appeared in the columns of the census of 1830, had not the two marshals, by their injudicious instructions to their deputies, directed them to enter as slaves, all colored people of both sexes, who were held to service for limited periods. These deputies, as is apparent on the face of their reports, have strictly followed those instructions, and returned as slaves, even children under ten years of age, who could not legally be held to service under 21. As well might

those officers have directed their assistants to register as slaves, all white children apprenticed to trades.

This irregularity on the part of the two officers, has been the cause of reporting in 27 counties :

53	Children under 10 years,
192	Individuals, aged from 10 to 24,
45	do from 24 to 36,
29	do from 36 to 55,

319

Making an aggregate of 319, of whom only a very few of the last class could possibly be legally held as slaves; because the law of March, 1780, which declares all the children of slaves born in this commonwealth, after that date, free at twenty-eight, could not allow any person under fifty years of age to be held in slavery in 1830. So that very few of the class between thirty-six and fifty-five, which, in that year, contained only twenty-nine individuals, could then be legally held in bondage.

The gradual decrease, at the four first periods at which the people of this nation were numbered, shows that no such ill-judged instructions were then issued by the marshals to their deputies; for,

In 1790	3737	slaves are returned,
" 1800	1706	" "
" 1810	795	" "
" 1820	211	" "

and had not this palpable mistake been committed in 1830, by which the return is increased one hundred and seventy-five in ten years, we should have had for the true number, *sixty-seven*, instead of three hundred and eighty-six; for these sixty-seven constitute the difference between the whole number returned in the census, and the number reported under fifty-years of age. And this we find confirmed by the return made in the septennial state census, in 1828, when the official computation was only seventy-six.

Your committee may, therefore, safely say, that, at this day, being nearly three years after the national census was taken, there cannot be more than sixty persons held as slaves in the whole commonwealth.

But are there not many colored individuals, not born in Pennsylvania, and not of right classed as slaves, who are held to service for limited periods, even after the age of twenty-eight? In answer to the question, your committee will state such facts as have been communicated to them by persons well acquainted with the subject.

Negroes of all ages are brought, in considerable numbers, into the southwestern counties, bordering on Virginia, and emancipated on condition of serving a certain number of years, seldom exceeding seven, unless they happen to be mere children. About half the usual price of a slave is paid for this limited

assignment; at the expiration of which, the individual obtains entire freedom, both for himself, and such of his children as may be born in Pennsylvania.

In this manner, many colored people, of both sexes, are sent from the adjoining slaveholding states, particularly from the state of Delaware, and manumitted in this commonwealth. Deprived of this privilege, so advantageous, both to the benevolent master, and unhappy bondsman, what alternative remains for the poor slave? None other than endless servitude, either in the place of his nativity, or among the cotton and sugar plantations of the south. Endless servitude, not only for himself, but for his children, from generation to generation.

As a proof that Delaware, and even Maryland, send their slaves here, it may be stated, that in Delaware, the number of slaves has decreased in the last ten years, 1204, and in Maryland, 4520.

Nevertheless, a doubt has arisen, whether it be proper to allow this state of things to continue, or to provide by law against the introduction amongst us of that species of population.

On this subject, your committee beg to remark, that by the last census, our colored inhabitants amounted to about 36,000; of which, 30,000 inhabit the eastern district, and only 6,000 the western; and this number, so small, compared to the white population, is scattered among fifteen hundred thousand of our own color; making one colored individual to forty-two white. So few of these, it is believed, by your committee, need not at present be an object of uneasiness, and would not seem to require the enactment of any restrictive laws; more especially as they are, for the greater part, industrious, peaceable, and useful people. It is enough for us to take care that the children *born* in our own commonwealth be protected against involuntary service, after the age of twenty-one, without preventing the humane or interested owners of slaves, born elsewhere, from manumitting them on our soil; and thus, after a short service, giving liberty to themselves, and those of their children who may be born among us; and who, did not their masters possess this facility, would be held, they and their unhappy offspring in perpetual slavery.

Such a course, then, as would shut the door of philanthropic Pennsylvania to those who, from motives of humanity or interest, may wish to grant manumission to their slaves, could not but be repugnant to the feelings of every citizen within our borders. Believing this, your committee cannot recommend, for the adoption of the Senate, any measure that may tend to disturb the present usage, or that shall deprive a negro or mulatto, born a slave out of Pennsylvania, of a chance of obtaining his liberty by a commutation of his personal

services during a brief period in this commonwealth, for those of perpetual bondage elsewhere.

In drawing up this report, our object has been principally directed to the means necessary for an explanation of the causes which led to the erroneous returns of the marshals; and we have, in making the investigation, ascertained them to be, as we think, such as are set forth in the preceding pages, and which we will, in conclusion, briefly recapitulate.

*First*—The illegal manner in which the grand children of the registered slaves of 1780, were held to service for twenty-eight years, in some parts of Pennsylvania, until the decision of the Supreme court put a stop to it in 1826.

*Secondly*—The practice, along our southern borders, of buying slaves born out of the state, from persons who manumit them in Pennsylvania.

*Thirdly*—The mode in which the census was taken, and which classes as slaves, children and others who are only held to service for a comparatively short period; after which they and their offspring born in this state, become free forever.

It will be gratifying to your committee, if they shall have been at all instrumental in removing the imputation to which Pennsylvania seemed obnoxious, by the official act of the two marshals, and thus exonerate her from the stigma of fostering in her bosom, as it would appear by the census, a nursery of slaves. It is an opprobrium that nearly affects the character of the state, and is not the less injurious, because it is undeserved. The honor of our citizens, collectively and individually, is concerned in having it wiped away; and your committee flatter themselves, that by adopting this their investigation, which they respectfully, and with great deference, submit to the Senate, an official denial of the imputation may be considered as flowing from that act of approval and adoption.

The humane and liberal feeling exhibited in this report is highly creditable to the state of Pennsylvania. It presents a remarkable contrast to the proceedings of the Connecticut legislature which we have just noticed. It is gratifying to find one State which is not unwilling to afford an asylum to the oppressed,—one State which does not blindly adopt the common cant of southern feeling and southern prejudice. We recommend the statesman-like views of the imagined danger to Pennsylvania from the influx of colored people, to the consideration of these Connecticut wiseacres, who foresee the impending ruin of their State in the establishment of a school for colored females.

## BRITISH OPINIONS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

A little pamphlet with the above title has just been published by Messrs. Garrison & Knapp. The character of the publication may be judged of from the following advertisement which is prefixed to it.

‘During the past year the character of the American Colonization Society has been a subject of frequent discussion. The interest taken in the question has created a great demand for publications in relation to it. As a proof of this, it may be mentioned that a large edition of *Garrison’s Thoughts on Colonization*, 2750 copies, was disposed of in the course of nine months.

The interest in the subject has not in any degree abated at the present time. And those who are opposed to the Society have for a long time felt the want of some tract, in which the arguments against the institution should be presented in a form sufficiently cheap to fit it for general circulation. To supply this want is the object of the present publication. A number of pieces have lately appeared in Great Britain in which the pretensions of the Colonization Society are discussed with great candor and ability. The whole of one pamphlet on this subject and parts of others are embraced in the following pages.

Much has been recently written in this country as well as Great Britain, in relation to the Colonization Society, and with great ability. We have chosen to confine our republication to British articles, for several reasons. First, the British pieces have not, and cannot, without re-publication, enjoy so great a circulation among us as the American have already done: and secondly, the Englishmen who write upon this subject, are at a distance from the sources of American prejudices; their opinions, therefore, deserve respect as those of impartial spectators.

We do not offer any remarks in favor of the articles contained in this pamphlet. They will recommend themselves to all who will read them.

The articles now offered to the American public are as follow:

1. The whole of a pamphlet with the following title, *‘A Letter to Thomas Clarkson by James Cropper; and Prejudice Vincible, or the practicability of conquering Prejudice by better means than by Slavery and Exile; in relation to the American Colonization Society.* By C. STUART.’

2. Extracts from a pamphlet entitled, *‘Facts designed to exhibit the real character and tendency of the American Colonization Society.* By CLERICUS.’

3. Extracts from the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

4. Extract from the *Liverpool Mercury*.’

We heartily recommend this pamphlet to all who are desirous of judging fairly of the American Colonization Society.

This tract is published cheap for the purpose of general circulation, being sold at 10 cents single, and \$5 a hundred.

[From the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.]  
COLORED PEOPLE IN PHILADELPHIA.

'The colored population of Philadelphia have, for a few years past, progressed in the melioration of their moral and physical condition with a rapidity which cannot but be gratifying to the philanthropic. Several libraries have been established, reading rooms opened, and debating societies organized. We have been informed by a gentleman present at the regular meeting of one of their debating clubs, that the discussions were conducted with a degree of spirit and propriety, and displayed a cogency and acuteness of reasoning and an elevation and elegance of language for which he was little prepared. The subjects of discussion generally relate to their own rights and interests, and frequently result in decisions from which the prejudiced mind of the white man would startle with apprehension. A change is rapidly coming over this people. They are now numerous, united, and bitterly conscious of their degradation and their power. To this let the pride, the independence, and ambition which science ever imparts, be added, and the consequences, though beyond the reach of conjecture, would doubtless be such as to involve the character and condition of the whole country.'

#### ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

*Mutato nomine de te narratur.*

It has for some time past been obvious to all careful observers, that British Colonial Slavery was rapidly approaching its termination. Every day's intelligence received from Britain affords fresh proof that Parliament will soon adopt some decisive measure in relation to this great subject.

On the 24th of May, 1832, a select committee of the House of Commons was 'appointed to consider and report upon the measures which it might be expedient to adopt for the purpose of effecting the extinction of slavery throughout the British Dominions at the earliest period compatible with the safety of all classes in the colonies, and in conformity with the resolutions of this House, of the 15th of May, 1823.'

In pursuance of this resolution, a committee of twenty-five persons was appointed, embracing

some of the most distinguished members of the House.

The committee, as we learn from the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, commenced its sittings on the 6th of June, and closed them on the 11th of August, on which day they made a report to the House, embracing the minutes of the evidence taken before them. These minutes extend to 655 closely printed folio pages, and are contained in a volume which was ordered to be printed, August 11, 1832.

The account of this interesting report, will be borrowed entirely from the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, for we have not seen the report itself.

In their report the Committee say.

'In the consideration of a question involving so many difficulties of a conflicting nature, and branching into subjects so various and complicated, it appeared necessary to your Committee, by agreement, to limit their direct enquiries to certain heads.

'It was therefore settled that two main points arising out of the terms of reference should be first investigated, and these were embraced in the two following propositions:—

'1st. That the slaves, if emancipated, would maintain themselves, would be industrious, and disposed to acquire property by labor.

'2d. That the dangers of convulsion are greater from freedom withheld, than from freedom granted to the slaves.

'Evidence was first called to prove the affirmative of these propositions, and had been carried on, in this direction, to a considerable extent; and was not exhausted, when it was evident the session was drawing to a close; and that this most important and extensive enquiry could not be satisfactorily finished. At the same time your Committee was unwilling to take an *ex parte* view of the case. It was therefore decided to let in evidence of an opposite nature, intended to disprove the two propositions, and to rebut the testimony adduced in their support. Even this limited examination has not been fully accomplished, and your Committee is compelled to close its labors in an abrupt and unfinished state.'

'On the affirmative side of the question, as to the expediency of an immediate or early extinction of slavery,' we learn from the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, that twelve witnesses were examined, and on the other side twenty-one.

The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* says,

'It will appear from the report of the Committee that the main points of their enquiry were embraced by the two following propositions, including, in fact, all that Mr. Buxton, in moving for that Committee, had pledged himself, or even thought it necessary to attempt to prove, viz:—

'1. THAT THE SLAVES, IF EMANCIPATED, WILL ADEQUATELY MAINTAIN THEMSELVES BY THEIR OWN LABOR; and 2nd. THAT THE DANGER OF WITHHOLDING FREEDOM FROM THE SLAVES IS GREATER THAN THAT OF GRANTING IT.

'These two propositions, we conceive, the evidence before us has most irrefragably and triumphantly established; and the controversy, therefore, as respects the expediency of an early emancipation, may be considered as decided. The justice and humanity of such a measure has long ceased to be a question.'

We shall extract some of the evidence as it appears in the Reporter. The following passages are from the evidence of Wm. Taylor, Esq., a gentleman who had resided 13 years in Jamaica.

'The younger Negroes on Mr. Wildman's estates had never received any instruction prior to his visiting Jamaica for the first time in 1826. This was done in consequence of the express injunctions of Mr. Wildman himself. The adults now receive no education whatever. As to the capacity of the slaves for receiving instruction, they were much like other human beings; some were apt, and others very stupid, and some remarkably acute. He could not say they were equally apt with the Scottish peasantry; but their circumstances were disadvantageous in a peculiar degree, and in spite of these he had seen, in a multitude of instances, a wonderful aptness for instruction. There appeared in them no natural incapacity whatever for instruction. He had been struck with the retentiveness and minuteness of their memories, and especially in the children.

'With respect to the provident or improvident use of money, he thought them pretty much like the peasantry of other countries, but considerably less given to intoxication than the peasantry of Scotland, and infinitely less than the soldiery who go out to the colonies, the mortality among whom is attributed to their fondness for spirits. There were on the estates some Negroes who would not touch spirits, while others were incorrigible drunkards. Any money he paid the Negroes at any time for wages was generally expended in the purchase of food.'

'He had never known an instance of a free black taking the hoe, and working in the field with the gang, or in the boiling house; but he had known slaves to work for wages in their extra time on sugar estates. Soon after he took charge of Papine, a long line of fence was to be made between that and the Duke of Buckingham's estate, formed by a trench of four feet deep, with a mound thrown up. It is usual to do such labor by task work, at so many feet a day. The laborers complained that they could not perform it in the usual

hours of labor. The overseer on the other hand affirmed that they were imposing upon me, and it was solely owing to sloth that they did not easily get through their task. The overseer wished of course to get as much work as he could, and *they* had naturally an indisposition to do more than they could help. They were told to resume their work the following morning, and, if they performed it within the time, they should be paid for every minute's or hour's additional work they might perform. They began the task at five in the morning, and had finished it by half-past one, and the very slaves who had before complained, received pay for four hours' extra labor.'

'Mr. Taylor, being asked whether the stimulus of the whip, at present the only stimulus, being withdrawn, and the Negro made free, he thought he would be likely to work industriously for adequate wages, replied that, if the Negro is placed in a situation where he must starve or work, he would work. If in the present state of things he were to be told, Keep your provision ground, and keep your house, and come and work for a shilling or other sum a day, he would say, I will not do it; for I can make more by working my grounds. But if the grounds were taken away, and he must understand that he must starve or work, he would work. The consideration by which in the case of freemen the matter would be governed would be this, whether it were most profitable to receive wages, or to rent land and raise produce upon it. If put into a situation where the fear of want would bear upon him, and the inducement to work was plain, then he would work. He drew this opinion partly from his knowledge of emancipated slaves, but chiefly from his knowledge of the slaves under his own care, among whom the good preponderated far above the bad. He found them like the Scottish peasantry, fulfilling all the relations of life. He found them revering the ordinance of marriage. He found them, particularly on the Vere estate, an orderly and industrious people; and he was strongly impressed with the opinion that, if placed in the circumstances of the English and Scottish peasantry, they would act similarly. They were, generally speaking, very industrious in laboring on their provision grounds. It was a frequent practice to work for one another for hire, the hire being 20*d.* currency a day (14*d.* sterling,) and a breakfast. Mr. Wildman indulged his Negroes with fifty-two Saturdays in the year, instead of twenty-six, the number allowed them by law, that they might be able to attend divine service, and have no excuse for continuing to work on Sunday. This gave them additional time; and as Mr. T. had a large garden, and was very unwilling to draw from the labor of the estate to keep it in order, he was frequently in the habit of hiring them to work there. Some would come and offer their services, for

which he gave them their breakfast and 2s. 11d. a day currency, being 2s. 1d. sterling. He was decidedly of opinion that, when an offer was made to pay Negroes for their labor, they were always ready to work. He had known them, even when digging cane-holes, perform the task of 120 cane-holes, and, on being offered pay, dig 20 and 40 cane-holes, after having finished their task. But, by the ordinary method, the same quantity would not have been dug except by tremendous whipping. Ninety cane-holes indeed on unploughed land was the general task; but 120 if the land had previously been loosened by the plough. The farther exertion, however, produced by the stimulus of wages was such that the driver said it was too much for them, and begged Mr. Taylor to interdict their doing so much. At the end of the week almost every slave had done so much extra work as to receive 3s. 4d., which he paid them, according to agreement. If they had worked in the usual way under the whip they might have finished 120 holes in the course of the day, barely completing it at the end of the day; but if told that, if they did the same work, they might as soon as it was done go away, they would, by abridging their intervals of rest, finish it before three o'clock in the afternoon, beginning at five in the morning.

'In general he found them willing to work in their extra time, for hire; he spoke only of Mr. Wildman's slaves. Task work indeed was very generally resorted to, planters thinking that in that way the Negro did his work in a much shorter time. At the same time he was convinced that a mixed system of slavery with its unavoidable expences, and free labor with its wages, would not answer in the long run. He conscientiously believed that if slavery were put an end to, and the slaves emancipated, it would answer to the proprietor. He admitted that if a herald were at once to proclaim freedom in Spanish Town, in unqualified terms, to all slaves, anarchy and confusion might be the result. But, by proceeding cautiously, and previously providing the means of restraint, and, above all, by making it known to the slave that it was the King's pleasure that he should still labor when he became free, and if the planters concurred in using this language, so as to remove all idea that the King and his master were at variance, the freedom of the slaves might be safely, and easily, and even profitably accomplished.'

'The desire of freedom was very prevalent among domestics as well as field slaves. He had known persons, especially in sickness and old age, indifferent to freedom, and the head man on an estate may be indifferent to it, but that is not the case generally. He could point out a head-driver, living on an estate where his privileges and means of acquiring property were great, and who, considering freedom as the being turned out upon the open Savan-

nah, said he would rather forego his freedom. Most of the cases of manumission he had known were among domestic slaves, and among them also most of the applications for manumission occurred; but he does not know that this is owing to a more intense desire of, but simply to greater facilities of acquiring, freedom; they therefore aim at it; but generally throughout the island, the slaves of all classes are anxious to obtain their liberty.'

'He could not even call to mind one instance of a slave having had his freedom offered and refusing it, but he could call to mind almost hundreds of instances where pressing applications had been made for freedom by slaves, with applications to himself for money to enable them to buy it.'

'Whenever they could contrive by task-work, or other arrangements, to obtain any extra time, their grounds were crowded with them, laboring for their own benefit. They cannot, therefore, be said to be an indolent race, or incapable of being actuated by the motives by which labor is generally prompted. His own experience assured him of the contrary. He admitted that the propensity of the Negro, as of all men in warm climates, was to indolence; but, whenever the hope of pecuniary advantage could be brought to bear on this indolence, it was powerfully counteracted. He was well acquainted with the inhabitants of Scotland, and he had never known an intelligent and well-instructed Scotchman who would work hard without an inducement; but, for the same motive of personal advantage, the Negro might most decidedly be induced to work to an immense extent. Having tried the experiment of voluntary labor for wages in his own garden, the man who most frequently applied for employment was the most idle and worthless man on the estate. The steady Negroes were far less willing to work in his garden, having large and well cultivated grounds of their own; while this fellow had neglected his ground and had therefore no temptation to go to it, and was glad therefore to be employed in the garden, or he would collect a little fruit, or procure some billets of wood, and carry them to Kingston market, converting them into cash. This man, more frequently than any other, came to work in the garden the whole day till four o'clock, and he then took his 2s. 11d. of hire and proceeded to Kingston to convert the money into comforts; while the other Negroes were unwilling to do so, it being more profitable to go to their own grounds—thus decidedly showing their judgment in discriminating as to the kind of labor that would reward them best and selecting that. In fact the negroes are far from being the rude uncultivated barbarians they are sometimes represented to be. The estimate in this country of their character is a great deal too low. He himself had no notion of it till he was called to manage those es-

tates; and he had been ten years in the island and was still in great ignorance of the agricultural laborers in Jamaica; and he then found that far too low an opinion had been formed (and this he declared to many in Jamaica) of their state of civilization. The Negroes who worked in his garden worked diligently, because he discharged them if they did not. The idle man, who was the chief laborer, was well watched by the gardener, and if slothful was sent away. The fear of this operated to produce application as the fear of the whip did in the field. Working in his garden was however less hard than digging cane-holes.'

Mr. Taylor's views in regard to emancipation, appear in a paper which he wrote some years ago for the information, and which was exhibited to him during his examination. It is as follows:

'First let emancipation, and strict police arrangements, be contemporaneous. Ample materials would be found for a police corps in the colored class, whose services could be had at a low rate of charge. Avoid paying the emancipated Negroes by means of allotments of land, as those would detach them from regular daily labor; but pay them in money. At first there would be difficulties, but gradually the equitable price of labor would be ascertained, and act as the produce of regular labor. A stipendiary magistracy would be necessary, because the peculiar prejudices of the present magistracy generally unfit them for the office. The island would have to be divided into districts, each possessing a certain portion of the constabulary force, with a stipendiary magistrate, and a house of correction or other penitentiary. Were the island thus divided, and the police and magistrates properly organized, I firmly believe that emancipation might take place with perfect security. Of course there would be difficulties, obstacles, and disappointments, in carrying into effect the detail of the system of emancipation; but if Government would address themselves actually to the work, telling the planters on the one hand that such is their determination, and the Negroes on the other that while they aim at instituting equal laws, and securing them their civil and religious liberty, they by no means design that idleness should be at their option,—I am convinced that the result would be as beneficial, in a pecuniary way, to the planter, as it would be elevating and humanizing morally to the present degraded slave. The present system is incurable; it will not modify: it must be utterly destroyed. My experience, as a planter, assures me that to attempt to ingraft religion and humanity upon slavery, with the hope of profitable results, is a vain and fruitless endeavor. A religious man is a most unfit person to manage a slave estate. The fact is, cruelty is the main spring

of the present system. As long as slavery exists, and the whip is the compeller of labor, it is folly to talk of humanity. Legitimate motives are taken away, and coercion becomes the spring of industry; and in proportion to the application of this, that is, coercion, is the effect on labor. The Negro character has been much underrated, even, I think, by the Negro's friends. When justice is done to him, even in his present degraded circumstances, he shows a sagacity and shrewdness, and a disposition to a regular social life, which emphatically prove that he only requires freedom secured to him by law to make him a useful, and, in his situation, an honorable member of the human family.' Mr. Taylor added that he firmly believed all that he had stated in this paper to be true. It had been privately written, and he never expected to see it again, but he perfectly agreed now in every sentiment it contained.'

We regret that our limits will not permit us to make any farther extracts from this interesting report.

The proceedings of the British government have recently exhibited a fixed determination to bring the system of colonial slavery to a termination.

The following is an outline of a bill which the ministry have laid before Parliament. We copy from the Boston Daily Advertiser.

'The plan devised by the British ministry for the abolition of slavery in the West Indies is given in the London Courier of the 11th. The following is a view of the leading features.—Every slave is to be at liberty to claim to be registered as an apprenticed laborer. According to the terms of this apprenticeship, the power of corporeal punishment is to be transferred from the master to a magistrate. In consideration of food and clothing, and other usual allowances, the laborer is to work for the master three fourths of his time, and may claim employment from him, at a fixed rate of wages, for the remaining fourth, or may employ himself elsewhere. At the time of the apprenticeship, a price is to be fixed upon the laborer, and the wages are to bear such a proportion to that price, that the laborer, if his whole spare time be given to his master, will receive one twelfth part of that price annually, and in the same proportion for a smaller term. On becoming an apprentice, the negro is to be entitled to a weekly money payment, if he shall prefer it, instead of food and clothing. Each of them is required to pay half yearly a portion of his wages, the rate of which is to be fixed, to an officer appointed by the King: and in default of such payment, the master is to be liable, and may in return, exact an equivalent amount of labor without payment in the succeeding half year. On payment of the price fixed, each apprenticed negro is to be

absolutely free. He may borrow the sum required for this payment, and bind himself as an apprentice to the lender for a limited period. A loan, to the amount of £15,000,000 sterling, is to be granted to the proprietors of West Indian estates and slaves, to be distributed among the different colonies according to the number of their slaves, and the amount of their exports. The half yearly payments abovementioned are to be applied in liquidation of the debt thus contracted by the planter to the public. All children, under the age of six years at the time of the passing of the act, are to be free, and are to be maintained by their parents: but, on failure of such maintenance, may be apprenticed without receiving wages to the master of the parents, the males till the age of 24, and the females till the age of 20, when they and their children are to be absolutely free. The bill farther provides, that nothing contained in it shall prevent the King from assenting to such acts as may be passed by the Colonial Legislatures for the promotion of industry or the prevention of vagrancy, applicable to all classes; and that, on the recommendation of these Legislatures, aid may be granted out of the revenue of Great Britain, for the purpose of justice, police and education.'

The details of the foregoing plan are not all of them quite intelligible. As far as we can understand them, though the proposed measure is far from doing complete justice to the slave, it is yet immeasurably in advance of the present system, and will be hailed with joy by all the friends of emancipation.

#### 'THE SLAVE TRADE AT RICHMOND.'

It is perhaps not an uncommon thing for the Richmond Enquirer to publish such advertisements as that which follows, and which is taken, as will be seen by its date, from a recent number of that paper. It so happens, however, that our eye has not before been caught by any such; nor even now, but for the words at the head of this paragraph, which form the pith of the advertisement, would it probably have attracted attention. But when all parties and all right thinking individuals in this country, and the law of the land, agree in considering the foreign slave trade as felony of the worst sort, it does startle one not a little, to find, in the capital of Virginia a man thus advertising himself as carrying on a Slave Trade, not less objectionable on principle, and ostentatiously setting forth to 'gentlemen' the facilities, the accommodation, and the comfort, (the 'jail attached' constituting, we presume, a part of the comfort) with which he can carry on the nefarious traffic. Surely, public sentiment, in such a civilized community as Richmond, must be outraged by such an open display of the evils incident to slave-

ry, and which even those who profit by it must feel to be unfit, most unfit to be blazoned forth in the face of a free and christian community. —*Journal of Commerce.*

'NOTICE.—This is to inform my former acquaintances and the public generally, that I yet continue in the Slave Trade at Richmond, Virginia; and will at all times give a fair and market price for young Negroes. I live on Shockoe Hill, near the Poor-house, where application is desired to be made. Persons in this State, Maryland or North Carolina wishing to sell lots of Negroes, are particularly requested to forward their wishes to me by mail at this place; and also, persons living near Richmond, having one or more for sale, will please inform me of the same, which will be immediately attended to. Persons wishing to purchase lots of Negroes are requested to give me a call, as I keep constantly on hand at this place a great many for sale, and have at this time the use of one hundred likely young Negroes, consisting of boys, young men, and girls; among which are several very valuable house servants of both sexes, and I will sell at all times at a small advance on cost, in lots to suit purchasers. Persons from the southern states wanting to buy a choice lot of slaves, will do well to call on me, as I shall be able to furnish them at any time; and gentlemen in the south or elsewhere, who may wish to communicate on this subject are respectfully requested to forward their letters to me at Richmond, which will be duly attended to. I have comfortable rooms, with a jail attached for the reception of Negroes; and persons coming to this place to sell slaves can be accommodated, and every attention necessary will be given to have them well attended to; and when it may be desired, the reception of the company of gentlemen, dealing in slaves, will conveniently and attentively be received. My situation is very healthy and suitable for the business. LEWIS A. COLLIER.

April 19.

#### WHITTIER ON SLAVERY.

*Justice and Expediency; or Slavery considered with a view to its Rightful and Effectual Remedy—Abolition:* By JOHN G. WHITTIER. Haverhill: C. P. Thayer & Co., 1833, pp. 23.

It is one of the most gratifying signs of the times, that publications are every day appearing both in Great Britain and this country, in which slavery is placed in a just light, its moral and political evils fearlessly denounced, and the means for its removal distinctly pointed out. Mr. Whittier's pamphlet is of this character. The author, after showing the inefficiency of various modes which have been proposed for abolishing slavery, particularly colonization, devotes the greater part of work

to advocating immediate abolition. He does this with great warmth and eloquence. His arguments are sound, well arranged, and tersely expressed. Every part of his pamphlet exhibits high moral principle and strong moral feeling. As we think the work is calculated to do good, we hope it will receive an extensive circulation.

#### WRIGHT'S SIN OF SLAVERY.

*The Sin of Slavery, and its Remedy; containing some Reflections on the Moral Influence of African Colonization:* By ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR., *Professor of Math. and Nat. Phil. Western Reserve College.* New-York: Printed for the Author. 8 vo. pp. 52.

We did not receive this pamphlet till the day of our publication had so nearly arrived as to render an extended notice of it impossible. Such of our readers as are familiar with the author's writings on the subject of slavery, will need no commendation from us to induce them to peruse it. We trust to be able to give a more full notice of it next month.

#### NEW ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.

At a meeting of the friends of Abolition in Providence, R. I., a Society was organized and the following gentlemen unanimously elected as officers:

JOSIAH CADY, *President.*

RAY POTTER, *Vice-President.*

THOMAS WILLIAMS, *Cor. Secretary.*

HENRY E. BENSON, *Recording Secretary.*

JOHN PRENTICE, *Treasurer.*

*Counsellors*—Gilbert Richmond, Jas. Scott, Wyllis Ames, Wilbour Tillinghast, John Viall.

We have heard of the formation of an Anti-Slavery Society in New-Haven, but have not received the names of the officers.

#### CONVENTION OF PEOPLE OF COLOR.

The Annual Convention of the people of color was held in Philadelphia last month. There were 56 delegates present from the following places.

NEW-YORK. City of N. Y. 5; Brooklyn, L. I. 2; Poughkeepsie 2; Newburg 2; Catskill 1; Troy 1; Newtown, L. I. 1.

CONNECTICUT. Hartford 1; New-Haven 1.

RHODE ISLAND. Providence 1.

MASSACHUSETTS. Boston 3; New-Bedford 1.

MARYLAND. Baltimore 1.

DELAWARE. Wilmington 1.

PENNSYLVANIA. Philadelphia 5; Westchester 5; Carlisle 4; Harrisburg 2; Pittsburgh —.

NEW-JERSEY. Gloucester Co. 5; Trenton 2; Burlington 2; Newark 1.

The Convention was organized by the choice of the following officers:

Mr ABRAHAM D. SHADD, of Pennsylvania, President; RICHARD JOHNSON, of Massachusetts, 1st Vice do. John G. Stewart, of Albany, 2d Vice do.; Ransom F. Wake, of New-York, Secretary; Henry Ogden, of Newark, N. Y. Assist. Secretary.

From the Liberator.

#### AN APPEAL FOR THE OPPRESSED.

Daughters of the Pilgrim Sires,  
Dwellers by their mouldering graves,  
Watchers of their altar fires,  
Look upon your country's slaves.

Look! 'tis woman's streaming eye,  
These are woman's fetter'd hands,  
That to you, so mournfully,  
Lift sad glance, and iron bands.

Mute, yet strong appeal of wo!  
Wakes it not your starting tears?  
Though your hearts may never know  
Half the bitter doom of liers.

Scars are on her fettered limbs,  
Where the savage scourge has been;  
But the grief her eye that dims,  
Flows for deeper wounds within.

For the children of her love,  
For the brothers of her race,  
Sisters, like vine-branches wove,  
In one early dwelling place—

For the parent forms that hung  
Fondly o'er her infant sleep,  
And for him to whom she clung,  
With affection true and deep—

By her sad forsaken hearth,  
'Tis for these she wildly grieves!  
Now all scatter'd o'er the earth,  
Like the wind-strewn autumn leaves!

Ev'n her babes so dear, so young,  
And so treasured in her heart,  
That the chords which round them clung,  
Seem'd its life, its dearest part—

These, ev'n these were torn away!  
These, that when all else was gone,  
Cheer'd her heart with one bright ray,  
That still bade its pulse beat on!

Then to still her frantic wo,  
The inhuman scourge was tried,  
Till the tears that ceased to flow,  
Were with redder drops supplied.

And can you behold unmoved,  
All the crushing weight of grief,  
That her aching heart has proved,  
Seeking not to yield relief?

Are not *woman's* pulses warm,  
Beating in that anguish'd breast?  
Is it not a *sister's* form,  
On whose limbs those fetters rest?

Oh then save her from a doom,  
Worse then aught that ye may bear;  
Let her pass not to the tomb,  
Midst her bondage and despair.

GERTRUDE.

[From the Sabbath School Visiter.]

#### VERSIFICATION OF A RECENT ANECDOTE.

A TAWNY slave whom grace had changed,  
Was asked, with scornful voice,  
'In what religion did consist,  
And why he should rejoice?'  
'*Massa,*' he cried with simple tone,  
'In my poor way I'll tell,  
'T is only *ceasing to do wrong,*  
And *learning to do well.*'

'And when poor black man feels his heart  
Filled with the love of God,  
He can rejoice, give thanks, and sing,†  
Though smarting with the rod.

\* Isaiah, i. 16, 17.

† Acts, xvi. 25.

# THE ABOLITIONIST.

VOL. I.]

AUGUST, 1833.

[NO. VIII.]

## COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

We have received from a correspondent the following account of the meeting of a Colonization Society in Connecticut. We give it as another proof, if any were wanting, of the tendency of the American Colonization Society, to which this is an auxiliary, to foster and increase the disgraceful prejudices against the people of color, which already prevail to so melancholy an extent in our country.

On Thursday last, I attended the Annual Meeting of the Colonization Society. The address was from Hon. Eben. Young, member of Congress and President of the Society. He drew a contrast between the Anti-Slavery principles and Colonization principles. He then went on to show how easily the Colonization Society, if unopposed, would go on to rid the country in a few years of the curse of slavery.

Afterwards the Report was read—in which, among other things, it was stated, 'that the practicability of the removal to Africa of the entire colored population, had been demonstrated.' Its acceptance was moved. The Rev. Samuel J. May, rose and objected to its acceptance on the ground that it contained several very inaccurate statements, and commented upon them. It was however accepted. Soon after Mr. May brought forward the following resolution.

'Resolved, That the avowed objects of this Society, i. e. the establishment of a Colony in Liberia of suitable persons—and the evangelization of Africa, cannot be effected until an improved class of colored people shall have been raised up in our own country. They must be educated here, that they may be prepared for Africa. The fountains of knowledge and of grace should be open to all persons in our own country, especially to those whom we purpose to send out to enlighten the dark places of the earth, and disseminate the blessings of knowledge and of religion.'

Mr Judson, who has come out a zealous colonizationist, immediately proposed the following amendment—'provided the sentiments of the Abolitionists be considered by us dangerous to the peace of the country, and the preservation of the union.' Mr. May replied that he had no objection to Mr. Judson's bringing forward any resolutions he pleased. If Mr. Judson

meant to attack the principles of the Anti-Slavery Society, Mr. May said he was then ready for their defence; but that he could see no propriety in Mr. Judson's appending such an amendment to the resolution. After a good deal of debate Mr. May was permitted to speak to his resolution. He said he should speak as a colonizationist, though his connexion with the Society would cease with that meeting. He would not utter all the thoughts and feelings which pressed for utterance whenever he thought of the too long disregarded claims of our colored brethren to all the blessings of knowledge and religion. He would speak in behalf of the avowed objects of the Colonization Society, and in view of them he insisted that they could not be attained, unless a better class of emigrants could be prepared here by education.

As soon as Mr. May was seated Mr. Judson rose and declared, that neither he nor any one else, was opposed to the education of the colored people; but he and others were opposed to their being taught the principles of the Anti-Slavery Society, the first of which was, he said, that the Constitution of the United States was not to be at all regarded, &c. &c. He went on to say that the resolution was in effect asking the Col. Society to encourage the plan of teaching the colored people sentiments at war with the objects and purposes of the Society, and sentiments too of a treasonable character, &c.

Mr. May replied that the gentleman had gone out of his way to misrepresent the Anti-Slavery Society, and to pervert the meaning of the resolution—that he meant by education what we all mean by the word, when we apply it to white children; that he was willing to specify the branches of science if that would satisfy Mr. Judson; and that his simple object in bringing forward the resolution was to ascertain whether the Colonization Society meant to encourage the education and elevation of the colored population of these States.

One gentleman rose, and said he objected to the resolution, because it was bringing the Society into collision with a recent Act of the Legislature. Mr. May very properly replied that believing as he did the truth set forth in the resolution, as a member of that Society, he should feel called upon to expose the impropriety of that Law—and of the conduct of those men through whose influence it was

enacted: that if the laws of our Legislature were not wholesome, we were bound to oppose them, and labor to procure their repeal; and he for one was always ready to do so.

Another gentleman rose and said he should oppose the resolution, because he thought it squinted at the Canterbury School, and he did not wish the Colonization Society, to take part in the contest one way or the other.

Mr. May replied that it looked right at the Canterbury School; and said, Mr. President, this Society cannot help taking some part in the controversy that has been awakened concerning it. The leaders in the persecution against that School have publicly appealed to the Colonization Society as having acted in its behalf, and the Society is now called upon to say whether it approves or disapproves the things which have been done avowedly under its auspices.

The debate lasted more than an hour, and then the resolution was indefinitely postponed.

We beg our readers to reflect upon the facts which our correspondent has stated, in connexion with previous occurrences in Connecticut. Miss Crandall attempts to establish a school for colored girls at Canterbury. A town meeting is held, in which violent resolutions are passed in order to deter her from proceeding. At this meeting Andrew T. Judson Esq. acts a conspicuous part. The authorities of the town, perhaps feeling conscious that these proceedings were not quite creditable to them, address a vindication of their proceedings to the Colonization Society. Mr. Judson's name is appended to this manifesto. By the influence of Mr. Judson a law is soon after passed by the legislature of Connecticut making it a penal offence, to establish a school for colored children who are not inhabitants of the State. Mr. Judson is, in short, without dispute, the prime mover of all these atrocities.

Under these circumstances it seems to us that the branches of the American Colonization Society, but more especially a branch of it established in Connecticut, were loudly called upon to declare publicly and explicitly their opinion of the attempts in Connecticut to deprive people of color of the blessings of education. The Connecticut Society whose proceedings we have recorded, we readily acknowledge, has returned an explicit, if not a satisfactory answer, to the question which the Canterbury affair and the Connecticut law had presented to them. The Society refuses, in the first place, to entertain a resolution in which the necessity of educating the colored people here is maintained, and that there may

be no room for doubt or cavil in regard to the opinions of its members upon this subject, elects Mr. Judson, the great leader of the Connecticut crusade against education,—its agent and orator.

[For the Abolitionist.]

MESSRS. EDITORS:

Having been present at an animated conversation between two intelligent gentlemen of New-Haven, on the subject of Slavery and the Anti-Slavery association, in which some interesting topics were discussed, I wrote down, from memory, the principle part of what I heard, and offer the notes of the dialogue to your notice, in the belief that the summary of argument, presented with all the simplicity of unpremeditated talk, may interest your readers, as it certainly did more than one bystander beside myself.

One of the gentlemen being a member of the Colonization Society, I have prefixed the letter C to his part of the debate, and designated by the letter A the share taken by the other, who is a member of an Anti-Slavery or Abolition Society.

The allusions to a local occurrence and the sentiments expressed by a distinguished private citizen of New Haven did not, as it seems to me—confine the interest of the matter to this place. The principles are of general and national importance.

Respectfully yours, &c.

A NEUTER.

New Haven, July 13, 1833.

## DIALOGUE

BETWEEN C, A COLONIZATIONIST, AND A, AN ABOLITIONIST, ON THE SUBJECT OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

C. I do not question the sincerity of your motives, but surely you and the rest of the *Anti-Slavery* ultras are doing much mischief by the intemperance of your zeal.

A. Is the sentiment just expressed by you an individual opinion of your own? Is it adopted on the view of any actual instance of evil? Or do you speak a general idea of our proceedings,—and is your particular judgment founded only on the fact that an impression unfavorable to our Society and its principles, is very extensively diffused in the community?

C. The impression is certainly very general, among sensible men, that you are wrong, and the universality of that opinion is with me

as strong presumptive proof of its correctness. You allow your feelings to hurry you along without the guidance of your reason; and only help to rivet the chains that you profess to be so anxious to remove; and you are exciting ill-will, prejudice, and jealousy among the Southern people.

A. I beg pardon for so boldly differing from you; but it seems to me that *those* persons may be most justly charged with yielding too much to their *feelings*, and disregarding the dictates of *reason*, who take up an opinion, as you have done, without examining its *foundation*, and merely because it is fashionable. If your judgment of us is correct, it would be *equally* so though it were peculiar to yourself. An unfounded opinion is a *prejudice*; and gains no valid authority from the number of persons who imbibe it. And, pray, whom do you call particularly sensible men?

C. It is hardly necessary to mention names, *ab uno disce omnes*—one will suffice,—the learned and experienced NOAH WEBSTER publicly avowed himself a disapprover of your doctrines, at the meeting house, when Professor Wright delivered his address. You know too that a majority of the most respected citizens of Connecticut agree with Dr. Webster in this opinion; and that elsewhere, the same class of men are generally on the same side.

A. I grant that a majority of the well informed do not yet give us their active support, and yet do not see that I am necessarily in error.

C. The opinions of such men, surely, are entitled to great weight.

A. Not as a matter of course, nor without exception. The opinion of *no* man is of any authority on a subject that he has *not* examined. You and I will not differ in respect to the character of the excellent and venerable citizen whom you have named,—but you would be as far as I am from allowing *his* opinion (for example,) or that of any other man breathing, to guide your conduct or your thoughts in a matter which he knows *nothing* about—or knows but *superficially*. If your child is ill, there are many wise and learned men whose advice you would not take as to the medical treatment of his disease. You would not allow even such men as Dr. Webster to model your opinions on religious or political subjects—nor advise you about the docking an entail or foreclosing a mortgage.

C. On subjects in their nature abstruse,

or technical, of course I should rely on the judgment of men that are by profession acquainted with the particular subject. But slavery is a matter that we *all* can understand—and *all* men are competent to judge of the probable effect of your measures.

A. All men may, with equal truth, be said to be *competent* to make shoes or cut down trees; yet those who never learn *how*, will remain ignorant; and the opinion of a learned professor of moral philosophy as to the best mode of cobbling shoes or felling timber, may be as worthless as that of a cobbler upon a question in metaphysics. You ought to seek for a surer footing on which to rest your censure of us, than merely an unthinking clamor.

C. But it is more *probable* that so many sensible men should be right than a few who differ from them. I do not know that the members of the Anti-Slavery Society have any remarkable degree of learning or skill on the subject, to entitle them to be our instructors.

A. I will suppose that you agree with me in thinking the mere fact of *numbers* ought not to govern in a question of *opinion*; and that the few *may* be right, although in a minority. Now as to the *probability*, you must remember the French proverb, which being rendered, signifies that truth and probability are *not always* the same. The whole world of sensible and practical men, (except a few,) railed against the project of making steamboats; but the few persevered, till all acknowledged they were right.

C. The absurdity and impropriety of our meddling with a matter over which we cannot have any lawful control, strikes every mind. The southern States will only be exasperated by such impertinent interference with their domestic concerns. The northern people have, manifestly *no right* to dictate to them, and ought not to *touch* the subject.

A. Well, now having got rid of the *authority* of numbers—the infallibility of a majority and the despotism of prejudice—let us use our reason as if the question were entirely open, and every man at liberty to *think* for himself. Whether he has a right to speak what he thinks is *perhaps* a necessary preliminary question.

C. No, I will not allow that there is any such question. We all have a right, both legal and moral, to speak our thoughts, but that is no reason for talking of *our neighbors' domestic concerns*. The question of emancipa-

tion is one *exclusively* belonging to the slaveholding States, and the Constitution prohibits our interference with it. Talking about it, and scolding the slaveholders can do no possible good, and must cause irritation. In fact it *has* caused irritation.

*A.* The right to *speak* our thoughts is, then, granted; and the possibility of an opinion entertained by a large number of sensible men, turning out to be a mere prejudice, is also admitted. We shall come by degrees to the real merits of the question. If you had not tacitly admitted that the many, and the wise, may be blinded by prejudice, or uninformed on a particular subject, I should have reminded you of the history of the temperance reformation, which began with a very few who were called zealots—ultras—fanatics—and so forth. The same objections were urged to their '*quixotic*' efforts, (as they were called) that are now arrayed against the Abolitionists. We were told that a man's diet was a matter we had no *right* to meddle with—that it was impertinent to tell a man what he ought or ought not to drink—and that our zeal, being indiscreet, would do harm. And what is the result? The zealots and ultras persevered against a cry of disapprobation and discouragement not less loud or general, and proceeding from no less respectable individuals, till the force of truth and moral suasion has prevailed. The friends of freedom and of human rights ought to persevere *in like manner*, if their cause is just; and may look forward to eventual success.

*C.* But intemperance was a matter of universal interest; and it would have been fatal to the cause of that reformation if those who preached temperance had not also set an example by *practising* it too. Now *we*, at the North, cannot emancipate slaves—all we can do is to claim from others a sacrifice which will cost *us* nothing—we are utterly powerless as to all practical measures. The analogy in this respect fails.

*A.* You take a very contracted view of the subject; and therein consists your error—and the *common* error; and I deny the authority of all opinions that are thus made up, without looking more deeply into the matter. I do not say that we, of the Anti-Slavery association, are *very* learned, or *fully* informed—but our imperfect knowledge may be so much *better* than the absolute and total *neglect* to think on the subject, so prevalent in the community,

that *we* are perhaps better *prepared* to form a correct judgment, and therefore more likely to be in the right than some of those who oppose us. The opposition of the Colonization Society, may stand on other foundations. I speak *now* of the disapprobation expressed by such as are not members of either association.

*C.* Wherein consists the difference? How do *you* take a more enlarged or more enlightened view of the subject than others?

*A.* In the first place, we contend for independence of thought, speech, and action; and feeling ourselves right we go on, without being deterred by a clamor or temporary irritation among well dressed, well educated, and well disposed people. On the contrary, our opponents too often condemn us merely *because* of the clamor, without exercising their own intellect to ascertain whether the clamor is well founded.

*C.* I grant you the merit of *boldness* and *independence*, worthy a better, that is, a more practical cause.

*A.* Very well. The merit is not very common. A small proportion only of mankind has intrepidity enough to think, speak and act merely with a view to *truth and justice*. Granting us, therefore, independence, sincerity, disinterestedness, and some knowledge drawn from closer attention to the subject, we are, at all events, entitled to a *respectful hearing*.

*C.* I do not admit that you are; because *here* your doctrines are mere *theories*, without any possible results in practice; and in the South you must be considered as merely *intermeddlers*. On what ground then do you claim an attentive hearing?

*A.* As men, by your admission, (and undeniably) disinterested, independent, sincere and well informed by examination and consultation, upon a subject of *deep* interest to the citizens of *Connecticut* as well as Maryland—the *North* as well as the South, and the treatment of which *has practical results*, well deserving the anxious care of every patriot and every Christian.

*C.* Those are bold positions, and I should guess, not easily sustained.

*A.* Not more bold than true; which can you doubt?

*C.* I am entirely at a loss to imagine what *practical* results can be at stake, or how the Northern States *can* act on such a subject, or why we need feel any *further* interest in it

than such as arises from our *sympathy* with our Southern neighbors.

A. You are not singular, but *plainly* in error. That the existence of slavery and the internal slave trade in this country, and the actual condition and treatment of the slaves, are a national reproach and a national crime, no man can doubt. That a concomitant of this national shame is a *feeling of contempt* and *ill-will* very generally cherished towards the colored population, and in itself *scarcely less* unchristian, and unjustifiable; if not so obvious, is nevertheless *true*. Now upon both these matters the people of the North *can* act practically, constitutionally and legally; and moreover they *must* act, in one way or another, and by *legislation* too. Upon the conduct of the free States, (their conduct *within* the Constitution) must defend the question whether these *stains* on our national character, these *reproaches* to us as a Christian people, shall be extended, aggravated, and perpetuated, or limited, mitigated, and at some future day, abolished. It is a very mistaken view of the case to suppose its consideration belongs *exclusively* to the Southern States. It is our *right* and our *duty* to consider and discuss it, freely, fearlessly, and in despite of whatever irritation the slaveholding people may please to indulge or to affect. And this I *can* demonstrate, and *will*, if you please to listen.

C. I shall be glad to hear it. But at present I must leave you.

(To be continued.)

#### SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

We continue our extracts from Stuart's *Three Years* in North America.

The following notices in relation to General Hampton's treatment of his slaves, ought to be generally circulated throughout our country.

'Dr. Tidyman mentions that, with kind masters, the condition of slaves is rendered as happy as a state of slavery can admit of. This is unquestionably true. Indeed I myself have seen instances of quite as strong, if not stronger attachment, on the part of a slave, than I ever saw on the part of a white man to his master; but the master may at pleasure be guilty of abuse of power to his slave; and it is quite notorious in the southern parts of America, that the greatest slave proprietors, whose interest ought to lead them to treat their slaves well, treat them worst. I could easily refer to many instances. One, however, is so well known, that there is no impropriety in mentioning it, viz. that of General H——, one of the greatest, if not the very greatest slave proprietor in the United States,

a South Carolinian, with, however, the chief part of his property situated in Louisiana. He not only maltreats his slaves, but stints them in food, overworks them, and keeps them almost naked. I have seen more than one of his overseers, whose representations gave a dreadful account of the state of slavery on his plantations, and who left his service because they would no longer assist in the cruel punishments inflicted upon his slaves; but I do not mention such a fact as this merely on such authority. General H——'s conduct towards his slaves is a matter of notoriety.'—Vol. ii. pp. 70, 71.

'General Hampton has great plantations on the banks of the river, about seventy miles from New Orleans. I could have wished that he had been present, to hear the remarks made by the passengers in the boat generally on the severe and cruel treatment with which his numerous bands of slaves are treated; and that here, where people are obliged to speak with great caution, not one individual said a word on the subject, who did not express themselves in terms of commiseration for the unfortunate creatures subjected to his tyranny.'—Vol. ii. p. 164.

'Here, [in Illinois,] I met a person who was lately an overseer on one of General H——'s plantations, and who left his situation because the treatment of the slaves was so cruel, that he would no longer be concerned in it.'—Vol. ii. p. 245.

The remaining extracts compose, we believe, everything important in Mr. Stuart's book in relation to slavery, not already given.

'I, however, [in South Carolina,] found an excellent breakfast prepared for me when I did appear, and was not a little surprised, when I sat down to partake of it, to find one female slave fanning me from the opposite side of the table with a fan of peacock feathers, while another brought me what I required at breakfast. The slaves here, as in other countries, speak a broken language peculiar to themselves,—the consequence of their total want of education,—but still many of them go to church, and are admitted to church privileges. Although the church is ten miles distant from the plantation where I stopped, many of the slaves go to it.'

'In the journey from Richmond to the neighborhood of Charleston, a very visible change in the appearance and manners of the people has taken place. Slaves become more numerous in proceeding towards the south, and the whites become comparatively languid and inactive-looking.'—Vol. ii. pp. 59, 60.

'One individual here [in Savannah] gave me an account of the treatment of the slaves, very much resembling what I had witnessed in Charleston. I was prepared to expect this from observing, that the city council of Savannah had lately passed a law, imposing a tax of 100 dollars on free persons of color

coming to that city. Can there be a more atrocious violation of the principles of liberty than is contained in such a regulation as this, which may render it impossible for a free man even to visit his father or mother at the point of death? but the prohibition is positive in Louisiana and South Carolina, which no freed man from another state dare, on any terms, enter.'—Vol. ii. p. 80.

'The laws on the subject of slavery in the State of Georgia are as tyrannical as in any of the States.

'In case any slave or free person of color teach any other slave or free person of color, to read or to write either written or printed characters, the free person of color, or slave, is punished by fine and whipping; and a white person so offending is punished with a fine, not exceeding 500 dollars, and imprisoned in the common jail.

'Any slave, or free person of color, or any other person, circulating papers, or bringing into this state, or aiding in any manner in bringing into the state, papers for the purposes of exciting to insurrection, conspiracy, or resistance among the slaves, or free persons of color, against their owners, or the citizens, is to be punished with death.

'All ships coming into any port of this state, having on board any free negroes, or free persons of color, whether passengers, or in any other capacity, are subject to quarantine for forty days. This regulation is obviously intended as a prohibition of free persons of color from entering the state by sea.

'Cutting off the ears and the pillory are punishments for slaves sanctioned by the Legislature of Georgia; but the universal punishment is whipping. Its infliction, to the extent of twenty lashes, on the bare back, is deemed in a great variety of cases of insufficient moment to claim the intervention even of a single magistrate. Any white person, a drunken patrol, an absconding felon, or a vagabond mendicant are supposed to possess discretion enough to interpret the laws, and to wield the cow-skin or cart-whip for their infraction; and should death ensue by accident, while the slave is thus receiving moderate correction, the constitution of Georgia kindly denominates the offence justifiable homicide.'—Vol. ii. pp. 85, 86.

'My driver was a free man of color. He gave a frightful account of the treatment to which he and all the people of color, whether free or slaves, are subject in this State. He had been accustomed formerly to go every season to the State of New York during the period when, owing to the inhabitants leaving the city, business was almost at a stand; but, by an act passed a few years ago, it is declared that a free person of color leaving the State, though merely crossing the boundary, shall not be allowed to return; and as he has a wife and family, he feels himself really and

truly a prisoner in the State of South Carolina. The same law declares, that it shall not be lawful for free persons of color to come from another State into this. If they should be brought in a vessel, they are immediately confined in jail till the vessel is ready to proceed to sea,—the captain paying the expenses of their detention. It is now contrary to law that even free persons of color should be educated; they are incompetent witnesses in any case where the rights of white persons are concerned; and their trials are conducted by a justice of the peace and freeholders, without the benefit of a jury. So far as respects the slaves, they are even in a worse situation; for, though their evidence is in no case admissible against the whites, the affirmation of free persons of color, or their fellow-slaves, is received against them.'—Vol. ii. p. 72.

'The police, considering the great number of strangers in the city and on the levee, did not seem to me to be faulty. There is a corps of mounted *gens d'armes*. In this respect, in the appearance of an armed police, Charleston and New-Orleans do not resemble the free cities of America; but the great number of blacks, and the way in which they are treated by the whites, render this precaution, I have no doubt, indispensably necessary.'—ib. p. 130.

'One plantation was pointed out to me, the owner of which, named Mitchell, has been lately apprehended on a charge of having murdered three of his slaves some years ago.'—Vol. ii. p. 165.

'I have no doubt from what I heard, that portions of the Missouri State may be as attractive for emigrants in almost all the particulars I have mentioned, but slavery exists in that State, and wherever it does exist in North America, it is obviously a bar to improvement, of which the States of Virginia and Kentucky afford decided proofs. Besides, I have seen enough of the slaveholding States to be very much disposed to agree in opinion with Mr. Birkbeck, "that every class of the white population is in those States more or less corrupted by idleness, extravagance, and debauchery."—Vol. ii. p. 243.

[From the Emancipator.]

LETTER FROM HON. WILLIAM JAY.

Bedford, Westchester Co. May 1, 1833.

SIR:—The duty and policy of immediate emancipation, although clear to us, are not so to multitudes of good people who abhor slavery, and sincerely wish its removal. They take it for granted, no matter why, or wherefore, that if the slaves were now liberated, they would instantly cut the throats, and fire the dwellings of their benefactors. Hence, these good people look upon the advocates of emancipation, as a set of dangerous fanatics, who are jeopardizing the peace of the Southern States, and riveting the fetters of the slaves,

by the very attempt to break them. In their opinion, the slaves are not *yet fit for freedom*, and therefore it is necessary to wait patiently till they are. Now, unless these patient waiters can be brought over to our side, emancipation is hopeless; for, first—they form an immense majority of all among us, who are hostile to slavery; and, secondly—they are as conscientious in their opinions as we are in ours, and unless converted, will oppose and defeat all our efforts. But how are they to be converted? Only by the exhibition of TRUTH. Many a bad cause, but I suspect no good one, has triumphed through the agency of falsehood. The moral, social, and political evils of slavery are but imperfectly known and considered. These should be portrayed in strong but true colors, and it would not be difficult to prove, that however inconvenient and dangerous emancipation may be, the continuance of slavery must be infinitely more inconvenient and dangerous. On this head, statements of the future number of slaves, of their increasing intelligence and strength, and of the probable influence of abolition in the West Indies and Brazil, combined with the change of opinion on this subject throughout the world, would be useful.

An inquiry into the history of emancipation in South America and elsewhere, would tend to show the safety with which it may be accomplished.

Constitutional restrictions, independent of other considerations, forbid all other than moral interference with slavery in the Southern States. But, we have as good and perfect a right to exhort slaveholders to liberate their slaves, as we have to exhort them to practice any virtue, or avoid any vice. Nay, we have not only the right, but, under certain circumstances, it may be our duty to give such advice; and while we confine ourselves within the boundaries of right and duty, we may and ought to disregard the threats and denunciations by which we may be assailed.

The question of slavery in the District of Columbia, is totally distinct, as far as we are concerned, from that of slavery in the Southern States.

As a member of Congress, I should think myself no more authorized to legislate for the slaves of Virginia, than for the serfs of Russia. But Congress have full authority to abolish slavery in the District, and I think it their duty to do so. The public need information respecting the abominations committed at Washington, with the sanction of their representatives—abominations which will cease whenever those representatives please. If this subject is fully and ably pressed upon the attention of our electors, they may perhaps be induced to require pledges from candidates for Congress for their vote for the removal of this foul stain from our National Government.

For success in this great cause, we must

look to the blessing of God; and to obtain his blessing, we must use only such means as He approves. Of course, every exaggeration—every deviation from truth—all gratuitous and uncharitable crimination, should be scrupulously avoided. Without resorting to fiction, we may have *facts* in abundance, which will make the ears of all who hear them to tingle.

The Emancipator will, I trust, be edited with such adherence to accuracy, and in such a spirit of Christian candor, as to give no cause of regret to its friends, nor for reproach to its enemies, and I hope its facts and arguments will be such as to disprove the charge that the advocates of emancipation are weak and ignorant fanatics.

As to the Colonization Society, it is neither a wicked conspiracy on the one hand, nor a panacea for slavery on the other. Many wise and good men belong to it, and believe in its efficacy. The Society may do good in Africa; and it will rescue many free negroes from oppression, by removing them from the Slave States. As to the voluntary manumissions which it prompts or facilitates, I much doubt whether they will sensibly lessen the number of slaves; nor is it clear to me that the extinction of slavery would be hastened by the immediate removal to Africa of one half of all the slaves in the country; as the value of the remaining half would thus be greatly enhanced, and their owners would of course be less disposed to part with them than they are now.

Your obed't servant,

WILLIAM JAY.

#### THE PLEA OF JUSTICE.

The following article is taken from the Christian Register, in which paper it appeared a few years ago. As that paper is probably not seen by a large number of our readers, we venture to copy it. The intrinsic merit of the piece renders any commendation of it on our part unnecessary.

I remember when quite a child, being a good deal disturbed by the expression in some little book—such a thing was 'not only wicked but foolish.' What, said I, is it not a great deal worse to be wicked than foolish! The wickedness being proved, I thought it perfectly superfluous to inquire further respecting its folly. Besides the *but* appeared to me designed to introduce a sort of climax, and thus folly seemed to be placed higher in the rank of evil than wickedness, which was quite contrary to my simple view of the nature of things. No doubt I somewhat misconceived the author's aim, for I certainly do not now perceive the sort of discordancy and absurdity by which I was then not only struck but troubled, in the idea of showing an action to be 'not only wicked but foolish.' Yet something of the same feeling remains with me to the present

day. I dislike to hear questions of right and justice argued upon grounds of expediency, even though the case may be well argued, and on the right side; or to have the justice of the case referred to slightly, while interest and expediency are made the main ground of argument, which has much the same effect. As a matter of taste merely, it produces a sense of disproportion and unsuitableness, like seeing a large and heavy structure supported on a slender foundation, or the adjuncts and ornaments of a building enlarged and extended till the main building is concealed from view. But it is not as a matter of taste chiefly, that this mode of proceeding should be regarded. It is not rendering to justice her rightful homage. It is not placing things on their true foundation. However expedient an act of justice may be, yet it should be performed for the sake of justice, and not of expediency. We should desire it, and plead for it, because it is just, and not because it is expedient. It is true that the champion of the right may espouse it himself simply because it is the right, though he defends it by such arguments as he thinks will make most impression upon others. But it should be recollected, that if he accomplishes his purposes by such means, he has done nothing to extend the influence and authority of the principle of justice. Nay, by not appealing to it, by leaving it out of sight, he seems to disclaim it himself. By descending to argue the expediency of the measure he recommends, he seems to acknowledge either that the requirements of justice are doubtful, or that considerations of justice are not of themselves decisive. Nor can there be a doubt that an impression of this kind, indistinct, but not less pernicious, must often be produced, though not intended, by the kind of reasoning now referred to. If indeed arguments of expediency are used as auxiliaries, merely, to clear away those illusions of interest which cloud the understanding, and prevent it from discerning the full force of the *moral* argument, all is well. But let it plainly appear that they are considered as subordinate to that main argument, on whose strength the advocate of justice relies with perfect confidence. And this may and ought to be done by some strong and decided reference to it, even when the subject is viewed principally in the aspect of expediency, because it is supposed that the question of right has been too often examined and decided to admit of farther discussion.

We should find that there is a sense of right and justice in all men, if we only knew how to reach it. It is wronging human nature to take it for granted that motives of right and justice (which Bishop Butler calls 'the just and natural motive of action,') will have less weight than motives of interest. To induce men to act from the highest motives is doing them a benefit, to lead them to act from the

lowest an injury. The former too are the motives which they like best to have appealed to, and from which they will act with most satisfaction. What is gained in this way to the right cause is gained surely, but the relations of interest are constantly fluctuating.

The kind of argument to which I have been objecting has I think of late been too frequently adopted in speaking on the subject of slavery. In considering it as an evil and a misfortune, its iniquity seems to be overlooked; the interests of the masters, not the rights of the slaves, are urged as the reason for emancipation; interest, and not conscience, is the motive appealed to. We remonstrate with the slaveholder, not that men have no right to compel others to labor for them, but that free labor is the cheapest. Now the masters may naturally suppose that of their own interest they themselves are the best judges, since they have every opportunity for a knowledge of the facts and motives to sharpen their sagacity. But when the cause is argued on the ground of justice, it is impossible, but it must occur to them, that an indifferent spectator is as well qualified to judge of this, as those are whose opinions are necessarily liable to be warped by interest, and by custom. If then the slaves have a right to their freedom, if there is injustice in withholding it, this is the point of view in which the subject should be habitually regarded, which should never be lost sight of as the sufficient, the unanswerable argument why they should receive their freedom. And that they have this right is so obvious to the simplest apprehension, on a plain statement of the case, that to use arguments to prove it, seems almost preposterous. What right has any man to freedom which they have not? On what do we ground our own right to freedom, to the free use of our powers, to the produce of our own labor?—Common sense?—the implied will of our Creator?—the want of right in any other human being to deprive us of them? Whatever is the foundation of our own right to liberty, every negro slave has the same. For how can he have lost his original rights? By the act of violence which tore him from his native land? No one will assert it, for no one will feel that by virtue of such an act his own rights could be extinguished. By the first act of sale which transferred him to another hand,—by the mysterious efficacy of the first money which was paid for him? No one will assert it, for no one will suppose that the kidnapper could have conveyed that right which was not his. No one will assert it, for no one will say that were he in that slave's place, he should now feel his rights at all diminished. By the second or the third transfer? No one will assert it, for no one can conceive that a thousand such transfers could deprive himself of his inherent right to freedom, if he had been wrongfully dispossessed of it. The negro's

right to his liberty is then, so far, unimpaired, it is as perfect and entire as when he wandered unshackled and uncontrolled in his native Africa. But he dies a slave, and the whole generation of those who were violently deprived of the liberty to which they were born, disappears. Those who now occupy their place were born in slavery, they are the children of slaves. Now there is no pretence for saying that if the parents had really lost or given up any of their natural rights, as by a voluntary contract, or in the case of a just punishment for crime, the child would therefore be born with his rights at all less perfect. But this is not the present case. The parent's rights were in their full strength. Does then the circumstance of a child's being born of enslaved parents deprive him of his natural right to liberty, and make him truly and lawfully the *property* of his nominal owner? No one I think will assert it, for this reason among others, that no one will feel that if he were violently seized and carried into captivity, suppose by a party of wild Indians, his innocent children would therefore belong of right to the lawless kidnappers, or purchasers from them.

Each successive generation of slaves then, viewing the subject thus in its simplest elements, has the same absolute right to freedom that their progenitors had who were brought from Africa, or in other words, that any inhabitants of earth has.

But it is said that this view of the subject, though obviously just so far as it goes, leaves entirely out of sight the rights of the masters. What rights? If the slaves have an entire right to their liberty, it follows that their masters have none to detain them in slavery. And yet—let us not be hasty, but pause, and weigh this matter deliberately. A certain slaveholder does in perfectly good faith, we will suppose, believe that his slaves are his property, as much as his land, or houses, or cattle, are his property. He has become possessed of them in precisely the same way, having either inherited them as he has his lands, or purchased them with his money the fruit of his own industry and enterprise. Why then are not his negroes as truly and rightfully his property as any other thing which he possesses? Simply because these negroes, having all along retained a right to freedom, (as perfect as their master's to his freedom,) could never have become the property of him, from whom the present master purchased or inherited.

But many persons have a vague idea that however unjust it was originally to enslave the Africans, yet that the passage of time, or the course of events, or some peculiar combination of circumstances, has at length conferred a right of property upon the masters. To every such person it is recommended to ask himself, what process he can imagine him-

self to go through, at the end of which he would feel himself the property of another. If he can find no such process, it may be that he will arrive at the conclusion that 'man cannot be the property of man.'

Let him suppose himself captured by the Algerines, would he be troubled with any scruples about the rights of the Moor, who chanced to purchase him, or feel himself the Moor's property, or be prevented by such scruples from regaining his liberty if opportunity offered?

The case of a slaveholder has sometimes been compared to that of a purchaser of stolen goods. And as in mathematics, a truth demonstrated in small numbers may be extended with perfect certainty to any other case, how much larger soever the numbers, or how different soever the practical application, provided the numbers bear the same proportion, or relation to each other—so in morals a conclusion, fairly deduced from an acknowledged principle in one case, must be allowed to extend to every other case, in which the parties concerned bear the same relation to each other. No difference of circumstances, however great, weakens the conclusion, unless it is clearly of such a kind as to alter the relative position of the parties, in those respects to which the reasoning refers. The advantage of reasoning from parallel cases, is, that we more readily perceive the truth in a simple, than in a complicated case, and it may also happen, that we view the one with less prejudice than we do the other.

To return to our parallel case of the purchaser of stolen goods. No one doubts that the original owner may claim them again wherever he can find them, nor will the honest purchaser detain them from him when he discovers his claims, though he had previously supposed himself the lawful owner. Nor would any honest man who had inherited from his father a certain valuable lot of goods, which he knew to be stolen, hesitate about restoring them. Every slave is stolen property; and however the nominal owner came into possession, he is bound in equity to restore it to the real owner, that is to the slave himself. But it may be argued that after a piece of property which was originally fraudulently obtained, has continued in a family for many generations, long possession gives a sort of right, and the obligation to make restitution becomes continually less and less strong. This may be allowed, for a very plain reason, that it is no longer possible to restore it to the original owner. But this case is no longer parallel to that of the slaveholder. In the person of the slave, *there* is the original owner, the defrauded man is himself before us. It is not only the fruit of his ancestor's injustice that the slaveholder possesses, but a renewed robbery is committed upon every individual born upon the estate and detained in slavery.

But is it not a hard case that a man should be required to resign the chief part of his property, to annihilate almost the value of his plantation by giving up the laborers who cultivate it, that the poor widow whose chief maintenance is derived from the dozen or half dozen slaves whom she possesses, should be required to reduce herself and children to actual want, unused as she is to labor with her own hands? Who requires it?—Justice. Will you appeal from her authority? Is it not an equally hard case when a man who has supposed himself rich, is required to reduce himself to poverty by restoring to its rightful owner the estate which he discovers was obtained by fraud by the person from whom he inherited it? Yet the honest and honorable man will do this, although the law of the land should not oblige him to: the poor widow, if honest and honorable, would do the same even if she should be obliged to beg her daily bread. It is justice that makes the demand in both cases. The sacrifice may be great, but who might not envy the feelings of him who had made it?

How can the honorable mind which would disdain to make use of property for a moment, after it discovers that it belongs to another, be aware of the rights of the slaves, and yet willingly detain them another hour in bondage, or consent to be profited to the amount of even another dollar by their compelled and uncompensated labor? How is it that the master of slaves is not aware of their rights? Is it that he turns from such thoughts with feelings like those of the young man who 'went away sorrowful for he had great possessions?'

The rights of the persons held in slavery impose the most absolute obligation upon every slaveholder who can discern the obligation, at whatever sacrifice of property, or worldly interest, to liberate them, unless circumstances render this, in the most literal sense of the word, impossible. But it is not to be doubted that there are slaveholders who are good and upright men and yet do not discern their duty in this respect, nor perceive the rights of the enslaved persons, but honestly regard their slaves as property. It is not very strange that it should be so. The strongly marked line of distinction which color makes between master and slave—the actual state of degradation of the blacks,—the universality of the custom of slavery all around them—and perhaps, the total absence of any expression of doubt among their fellow citizens as to its lawfulness—the habit of regarding and speaking of the blacks not as persons, but as property, not as fellow beings, but as an inferior race of animals,—all these circumstances must tend to confirm in the mind of the slaveholders those views and opinions to which they have been accustomed from their infancy. The power of custom to produce this effect cannot be doubted by those who call to mind the many

instances in which it has produced equally extraordinary effects. To refer only to the often quoted example of the belief in witchcraft. No one supposes that those persons were guilty of murder who condemned to death innocent women on the charge of having committed this imaginary crime; and equally unjust would it be to accuse of wilful injustice all who hold their fellow creatures in slavery. It is much less easy to judge of the rectitude of persons, than of the rectitude of actions. Yet let it be remembered that the nature of justice remains the same however we may fail to discern it. Let it be remembered that *wilful* blindness on such a subject, is guilt; that he who in a case of duty stifles the dawnings of conviction, is a criminal; that the slaveholder to whom it has ever occurred, either through his own reflection, or the suggestion of others, that possibly he has no right to hold his fellow creatures in bondage, and who does not pursue the thought fairly, and without regard to consequences, but drives it from him, lest by and by conscience should command him to resign his possessions—let it be remembered that he who thus refuses to know what duty requires cannot be guiltless.

#### WRIGHT'S SIN OF SLAVERY:

We noticed this pamphlet very briefly in our last number. We now add a few extracts. In speaking of the Colonization Society Mr. Wright uses the following severe, though, it seems to us, justifiable language. We regret that our limits will not permit us to transcribe the whole of the chapters on this subject.

'No matter how sincere, the Colonization Society is too *pusillanimous* to deserve the high station which it has assumed. It is afraid to speak the whole truth. And if the mass of American Christians are to have any thing to do in setting free two millions of oppressed men, the American Colonization Society must be given up, or it must retire into the comparative insignificance, I might say cringing sycophancy, of the object proposed in its constitution; it must leave the ground of operation against slavery clear to a society which shall use a more aggressive moral influence. What! Is that to be dignified with the name of a *moral influence*, which abstains from a correct representation of its object, lest the equanimity of those whom it would persuade should be disturbed?—lest passion should be excited, and the ground of hostility should be taken? Here is a most singular phenomenon: a society professing to exert a moral influence against slavery, and yet afraid to state facts, and when compelled to state facts, afraid to use language appropriate to them. A society which, when speaking of the most odious system of oppression, takes special care to avoid the words sin, crime, guilt, and speaks

of it as a burden, a curse, a sore 'evil.' Is such a 'moral' remedy for sin likely to effect a cure? Are the slaveholders in reality not slaveholders, but virtuous men, keeping their slaves merely under that name, *from necessity*, till it shall be practicable to enlarge them? Can this be proved of a single individual?"

'Patrons of the Colonization Society! you form a body sufficiently powerful to wage a successful war with this popular prejudice. You may procure the repeal of every oppressive law, if you please; you may open the door to fair competition in all the arts of life before the colored race, and persuade them to enter, if you please; you may bring them all under the blessed influence of divine truth, if you please. Do that; at least, attempt it, before you claim benevolence as the motive of your colonizing scheme. Till you have made the attempt, whatever may be said of the African skin, it has never been used to conceal hypocrisy, so loathsome and putrifying as yours, if haply, you yourselves are not the victims of a miserable delusion. It grieves me to the heart to bring charges of this kind, which I have reason to believe will be appropriated to themselves—and too justly—by many, whom, in other things, I respect and love. But facts are stubborn, and the principles of God's word, are unbending. Even if an angel from heaven were to embark on the principles which the Colonization Society has avowed, in regard to the free blacks, he would sink.

'Let us not be told that the colored men go *voluntarily* to Liberia. There is not Jesuitism enough in the world to conceal such a *lie* from any, but the willingly blind. The plain fact is this, and every colored man, at least, knows it well, the white community, under the name of 'The Colonization Society,' merely receive the volunteer emigrants—no compulsion—all fair; but mark, the same community, without this name, sanction the oppressive laws, utter the public sentiment, and point the finger of scorn, which, together, amount to a bitter persecution, and *compel* the poor blacks to *volunteer*. What a convenient thing is a name, which can be put on and off at pleasure. Here is my neighbor, a simple, good-natured man, dwelling securely by me. I heartily despise him, and would gladly have him out of the way; but how to do it, is the thing. The problem may be thus solved. In every-day life, I am Mr. Prejudice. Under this name, I tell lies about my neighbor, and make sport of him at the taverns and grog-shops; I abuse and mortify him on all occasions; I throw down his fences, flch away his cattle, and refuse redress, till his life is a burden to him. But, on the Fourth of July, and some other great occasions, I am Mr. Generosity. I go to my neighbor with my new name, and my best Sunday suit, and say to him, 'You know Mr. Prejudice is very

powerful in these parts; he cannot be resisted; you had better emigrate, and if you will do so, I will *generously* bear the expense. If, in the simplicity of his heart, my neighbor mistakes me for a different man from his old enemy, my success is almost certain. If he does not, perseverance in this double dealing will wear out the most mulish pertinacity.

'That similar duplicity is justly chargeable upon the Colonization Society, is evident from the fact, that it not only does not condemn, but it hails with pleasure, those oppressive enactments which are designed to banish the colored race. Is the conclusiveness of this argument doubted? Take an illustration. In the recesses of yonder grated and gloomy pile, there is a spacious room, hung round with nameless furniture, into which curiosity is not permitted to pry. By the light of a single taper, you see the pale, half naked prisoner; the monkish executioner, fiendishly busy; the instruments of torture—the trickling blood—the quivering lip—the very anguish of the soul. But what has that man in black to do with the scene, who sits sedately by, and as he sees limb after limb stretched upon the rack, and screw after screw applied, and turned, and tightened to the bone, says to the executioners, 'Take courage, brethren, we shall get the confession soon,' and to the prisoner, 'Only confess now, and you will for ever bless God for his mercy on your soul!'

'Say you, this flight to the inquisition is a flight of fancy! Then let it go for that; but, after all, in sober sense, how can the Society approve, or how can it even *fail to condemn* that prejudice and oppression which render its interference necessary? Let the organs of the Society, at length, answer this question. Surely, it has been asked by friends, and asked by them in vain, till, in many cases, they have waked up in the ranks of the Society's decided enemies. To put the case in the most favorable light, by the supposition that the sin of the legislators is, by the Society's scheme, overruled for good, has the Society any right to *rejoice* at the sin? Does not the divine justice condemn the sinner, and does not the divine compassion weep over him, even while the divine wisdom brings good out of his evil? On the example of the Society, when we do evil from which good may be extracted, we have a right to calculate on the approbation of all those angels of mercy, at least, whose business it may be to bring glory to God out of the wickedness of men.

'On these grounds, it is concluded that the Society's plan is adjusted to the wicked prejudices of the community against the people of color, and, of course, that its action cherishes these prejudices to the injury of innocent men.'

It is delightful to peruse such manly and generous sentiments as those which follow:—

'But there remains another charge. The Colonization Society basely slanders the whole body of the free people of color. It makes them a degraded, vicious, incurably besotted class, who not only never can rise, but never can be *raised*, and are properly to be got rid of as a nuisance. How would the welkin have rung with peals of indignation if such a charge had been uttered against any class of our *white* fellow citizens? Even if it had been *true*, how would it have been represented as abusive and unchristian? But no candid man needs to be told that against the free men of color the charge is false, and calumnious as it is cruel. There is, as might be expected of necessarily poor and ignorant men, goaded by prejudice and persecution, much vice among them. They do not belong to that class of refined and innocent victims of oppression, which abound in novels, it may be; neither is their depravity sufficiently dignified to suit the lovers of romance; but it is an ill-looking, every-day, matter-of-fact thing. They need the same moral discipline which is needed by any other portion of the community. But amidst all their faults there are redeeming qualities, which must put to shame every white man who has not lost the power to blush. No field in the world is richer in instances of stern moral courage, unbending decision of character, exact integrity, unsailable fidelity, self-sacrificing patriotism, ardent thirst for knowledge, disinterested benevolence, and unfeigned piety, than the history of our free colored brethren. Multitudes of them have risen spontaneously from the lowest depths of slavery, have bought their freedom by years of toil, have risen amidst unmeasurable reproach and obloquy to an eminence that has extorted the admiration of their oppressors. Others have braved death for liberty, have been hunted from mountain to mountain, have been ferreted from city to city, by monsters attracted by the price set upon their heads, till at length they have foiled all the advantages of their pursuers, and have planted themselves as quiet and industrious citizens of our northern republics. Some of them have borne away the palm of genius, by their own unaided endeavors. As a class, they have moved steadily forward, till they have consummated a *UNION*, whose voice, by its dignity and manful energy, has arrested the attention, and called forth the admiration of the wise and good in both hemispheres.'

#### CONVENTION OF COLORED PEOPLE.

We have not yet seen any report of the proceedings of this convention. We have, however, received an address issued by it, addressed to the Free Colored Inhabitants of the United States. It is a paper which will interest those to whom it is addressed, and all their true friends. A report of the Committee

on African Colonization, accompanies the address. Both the address and the report speak of the Colonization Society with strong and just reprobation.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AT AMHERST COLLEGE.

We have lately received the following interesting communication from this institution. It gives us the highest gratification to find good principles gaining ground so rapidly among the young men of our country.

To the Editor of the Abolitionist.

*Amherst College, July 25, 1833.*

Sir:—It affords us pleasure to inform you, that an Auxiliary to the New England Anti-Slavery Society, has recently been formed in this Institution. The number of its members, though at present comparatively small, is increasing. All other circumstances connected with the progress of the Society thus far, have been peculiarly auspicious and animating. If a thorough understanding of the cause we plead—deep-felt sympathies for the suffering slave—a perfect unity of feeling and effort—and 'a mind to work' may constitute strength—then we are strong. We have adopted a constitution fundamentally the same with that of the Parent Society. The noble cause of Immediate Emancipation—advocated by your Society, has been rapidly gaining ground in this College for a few months past. Three of our number listened to the recent public debate in Boston, between Messrs. Wright and Finley. Previously they had been zealous defenders of the *principles* of African Colonization—and by education were strongly prejudiced in their favor; but by that discussion they were led to an examination of the *principles* of the two Societies, which resulted in the firm persuasion that the cause of '*immediate abolition*' was the cause of God and humanity—and that the advocates of *gradual* emancipation were but dallying with the sin of slavery—while the influence of their measures was to render more hopeless the condition of the slave. Among other resolutions submitted at our last meeting were the following:

1. Resolved, That the *principles* of the New England Anti-Slavery Society harmonize with the plainest precepts of Patriotism, Philanthropy and Religion.

2. Resolved, That we cordially approve the plan adopted by the New England Anti-

Slavery Society to establish an Institution for the instruction of colored youth—and as a Society, pledge ourselves to raise for so benevolent an object, such sums as our means, from time to time will admit—and also to exert ourselves to elevate and enlighten the colored population of our own vicinity, as well as abroad.

3. Resolved, That we view with unqualified disapprobation and utter abhorrence the barbarous treatment of Miss Crandall, and that she is justly entitled to the prayers and sympathies of the Christian community while suffering persecution for her laudable and Christian efforts to instruct the ignorant and oppressed.

The above resolutions were accompanied by interesting remarks, and unanimously adopted.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY IN ONEIDA INSTITUTE.

The same mail which brought us the account of the formation of an Anti-Slavery Society in Amherst College, also conveyed to us the cheering news of the formation of a similar association in Oneida Institute. The following is an extract from our correspondent's letter:—

‘An Anti-Slavery Society has been formed in this Institution, of a respectable number. The second Article of our constitution is as follows: “The object of this Society shall be to endeavor by all means sanctioned by Law, Humanity, and Religion, to effect the *immediate* abolition of slavery in the United States without expatriation: to improve the character and condition of the free people of color; to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights; and obtain for them civil and political rights and privileges, equal with those of the whites.’

#### ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

The last arrivals received from Great Britain announce the paassage of the following resolutions in the House of Commons. The total abolition of slavery in the British Colonies is now no longer doubtful. That this measure will have a powerful tendency to overthrow the system in the Southern States, does not admit of a question. The glorious result which the labors of British Abolitionists have thus secured, ought to inspire every

enemy of slavery in America, with renewed zeal and vigor.

1. That immediate and effectual measures be taken for the entire abolition of slavery throughout the colonies, under such provisions for regulating the condition of the negroes as may combine their welfare with the interests of the proprietors.

2. That it is expedient that all children born after the passing of any act, or who shall be under the age of six years at the time of the passing of any act of Parliament for this purpose, be declared free; subject, nevertheless, to such temporary restrictions as may be deemed necessary for their support and maintenance.

3. That all persons now slaves shall be registered as apprenticed laborers, and acquire thereby all rights and privileges of freemen; subject to the restriction of laboring under conditions and for a time to be fixed by Parliament, for their present owners.

4. That, towards the compensation of the proprietors, His Majesty is enabled to grant to them a sum not exceeding £20,000,000 sterling, to be appropriated as Parliament shall direct.

5. That His Majesty be enabled to defray any such expense as he may incur in establishing an efficient stipendiary magistracy in the colonies, and in aiding the local Legislatures in providing upon liberal and comprehensive principles for the religious and moral education of the negro population to be emancipated.

#### THREE MONTHS IN JAMAICA.

We have recently received a little tract published in England, entitled ‘Three Months in Jamaica in 1832, comprising a residence of Seven Weeks on a Sugar Plantation—By Henry Whiteley.’ This tract deserves great attention. The author, from the testimonials appended to the narrative, appears to be ‘a highly respectable young man, of unimpeachable integrity as a man and as a christian.’ He evidently gives an ‘unvarnished tale,’ of what fell under his own observation, in a situation which gave him peculiar opportunities for seeing all the unveiled horrors of the slave system. No man, we venture to say, whose feelings have not been hardened by the practice of oppression, can read Mr. Whiteley's unpretending pages, without coming to the conclusion that slavery ought to be abolished.

He gives several cases of punishments which he saw inflicted—we extract the 12th and 13th.

‘12th. The first of these two cases was that of a married woman, the mother of several

children. She was brought up to the overseer's door one morning; and one of the drivers who came with her accused her of having stolen a fowl. Some feathers, said to have been found in her hut, were exhibited as evidence of her guilt. The overseer asked her if she would pay for the fowl. She said something in reply which I did not clearly understand. The question was repeated, and a similar reply again given. The overseer then said, 'Put her down.' On this the woman set up a shriek, and rent the air with her cries of terror. Her countenance grew quite ghastly, and her lips became pale and livid. I was close to her, and particularly noticed her remarkable aspect and expression of countenance. The overseer swore fearfully, and repeated his order—'Put her down!' The woman then craved permission to tie some covering round her nakedness, which she was allowed to do. She was then extended on the ground, and held down by two negroes. Her gown and shift were literally torn from her back, and, thus brutally exposed, she was subjected to the cart-whip. The punishment inflicted on this poor creature, was inhumanly severe. She was a woman somewhat plump in her person, and the whip being wielded with great vigor, every stroke cut deep into the flesh. She writhed and twisted her body violently under the infliction—moaning loudly, but uttering no exclamation in words, except once when she cried out, entreating that her nakedness (her parts of shame) might not be indecently exposed,—appearing to suffer, from matronly modesty, even more acutely on account of her indecent exposure than the cruel laceration of her body. But the overseer only noticed her appeal by a brutal reply (too gross to be repeated), and the flogging continued. Disgusted as I was, I witnessed the whole to a close. I numbered the lashes stroke by stroke, and counted *fifty*,—thus exceeding by eleven the number allowed by the Colonial law to be inflicted at the arbitrary will of the master or manager. This was the only occasion on which I saw the legal number of 39 lashes exceeded, but I never knew the overseer or head book-keeper give less than 39. This poor victim was shockingly lacerated. When permitted to rise, she again shrieked violently. The overseer swore roughly, and threatened, if she was not quiet, to put her down again. He then ordered her to be taken to the hot-house or hospital, and put in the stocks. She was to be confined in the stocks for several nights, while she worked in the yard during the day at light work. She was too severely mangled to be able to go to the field for some days. This flogging took place on the 27th of September.

13th. The flogging of an old man, about 60 years of age, is the last case I shall mention. He was the third driver upon the estate,—there being five altogether, whose sole em-

ployment was literally *driving*, or coercing by the whip, the negro population to labor. With this old man I had had some conversation, and felt particularly interested in him, for his silvery locks and something in his aspect reminded me powerfully of my aged father, whom I had left in England. He had been upon the estate a great number of years. He told me that not one of the negroes belonging to the gang he wrought in when he first came to New Ground was now alive. He came up to the overseer's door at shell-blow one day, and gave in, as is the practice, on a tally or bit of notched stick, his account of the half day's work of the gang he superintended. The overseer was dissatisfied—said it was insufficient—and ordered him to get a flogging. The old man said, 'Well, Busha, me could have done no better, had you been standing by.' Then, groaning deeply, he laid down his staff and whip, unloosed his clothes, and lay quietly down to be flogged without being held. One of the other drivers, who had been called forward, appeared very reluctant to perform the office; but, on the overseer swearing a rough oath or two, he proceeded to inflict the usual punishment of 39 lashes. The old man, looking up in the overseer's face imploringly, cried out after every stroke for several minutes—'Busha! Busha! Busha!' but seeing no signs of relenting, he ceased to call on him, expressing his feelings only by groans. I was deeply affected by the sight, and felt at the moment that these groans were an awful appeal to the judgment seat of Him who heareth the cry of the oppressed. When the punishment was over, and the poor man arose, the other drivers looked at each other and shook their heads, but uttered not a word. They dared not.

#### SCHOOL FOR COLORED CHILDREN.

We, with several other gentlemen, visited, during the past month, a primary school for colored children in Boston, kept by Miss Paul. We were highly gratified. This school does great credit to the instructress. The children appeared very cheerful, and were remarkably orderly. They seemed to be effectually governed, obeying a word or sign of their teacher with great readiness. It is, however, her kindness which directs them, much more than force, to which we believe she seldom if ever resorts. We heard the children go through some of their exercises, in which it did not seem to us they appeared at all inferior to white children. They also sung two or three times, to the high gratification of their visitors. It struck us, though we are no great judge of singing, that their performance was quite equal, if not rather superior to any that we had ever heard at schools of white children.

# EMANCIPATION CONCERT.

The following information is extracted from the Religious Intelligencer of May 4, published at New-Haven, Conn. It affords one among many proofs of the increasing interest which is felt in our colored population.

‘A monthly concert of prayer has been established in this city, to be holden on the evening of the last Monday of each month, in behalf of the millions of our fellow men who are kept in slavery. At the last meeting which was attended by Christians of different names and different colors, but of one mind and one spirit, the following resolution was adopted.

*Resolved*, That with reference to the emancipation of the enslaved in this and other lands, and also the improvement and salvation of the people of color in the United States and the world; that ‘all our expectation is from God;’ that while we engage in efforts to promote these great and important ends, we would invite the followers of Christ, every where, to unite with us in a concert of prayer to Almighty God on the last Monday evening of each month, to plead for the oppressed and neglected people of color—that His arm would bring about their emancipation, improvement and salvation.

The meeting also voted that a copy of the Resolution be presented to the Editor of the Religious Intelligencer, for publication, accompanied with a request to the publishers of other religious papers to give it an insertion in their columns.

Will not the children of God, every where, unite in this great enterprise? We know of no subject of deeper interest, than the universal abolition of slavery; and we know of no way to accomplish it, but to ask counsel of God. At the throne of grace all parties can meet. The friends of immediate emancipation who can think of no plan to accomplish their wishes, may ask the Lord to interpose, and rejoice that He reigns.’

## INTELLIGENCE FROM LIBERIA.

*Extracts of a Letters from Dr. Mechlin.*

LIBERIA, March 7, 1833.

DEAR SIR:—I am still in this land of probation, laboring in the cause of African Colonization, and am happy to find that my efforts have not been entirely unsuccessful. ‘Tis true the materials to be operated upon have not been of the best kind, and to this cause our slim progress is mainly attributed. Could we have a greater proportion of intelligent and enterprising people of color sent out, every thing would soon assume a different appearance; and our agriculture, which is now in a languishing condition, would advance *pari passu* with our commercial prosperity.

Your friend, the Rev. J. B. Pinney, is still here and in excellent health; how long he

will continue so I cannot say; the fever must and will have him ere many days have elapsed. It was his intention to have left this immediately for the interior, but yielding to the solicitations of Dr. Hall and myself, he has consented to remain some time longer, in order to undergo the severe process of acclimation. He is, I think, well calculated for the work he has undertaken—perhaps a little too confiding in the integrity of our natives; this, however, a little intercourse will soon correct; as those on the coast have just so much of civilization as to become the most accomplished rogues the world can produce.’

\* \* \* \* \*

‘This season has been unusually unhealthy. \* \* \* We had, at one time, upwards of FOUR HUNDRED invalids on our list: of these, by far the greater number (say two-thirds) were at *Cuthwell*, and the remainder scattered over the town of Monrovia, in such shelters as could be procured. Under these circumstances, it was impossible that any one physician could give the requisite attendance. Dr. Hall made the attempt, but was soon attacked with fever, induced by the great fatigue and exposure which he underwent. From this attack he can scarcely be considered convalescent: and the consequent prostration is so great, that I have advised him to return to the United States in the vessel that conveys this; there being but little probability of his recovering sufficient strength and health to be of any service, without a temporary residence in a more healthy climate: and to remain here during the rainy season, would, I am convinced, be to sacrifice his life. He has, therefore, although reluctantly, yielded to my solicitations; and should his life be spared, you may expect to see him at Washington shortly after the receipt of this. His departure will, of course, throw the whole of the medical duties on me, and these I cannot discharge, although I have every disposition to afford all the aid and assistance in my power. I have already, since the departure of Dr. Todsden, been twice confined to my bed with severe indisposition, occasioned by fatigue and exposure to the sun and night air, during my attendance on the sick; and there is every probability, should the necessity for my services continue, that I shall have repeated attacks; but as this is unavoidable, I will continue in the course I am pursuing, and willingly abide the result.’

## COLONIZATION CORRESPONDENCE.

A Correspondence between sundry citizens of New York, viz: *Arthur Tappan, George Bourne, William Goddell, Joshua Leavitt, Lewis Tappan, S. P. Hines, Henry R. Piercy, C. W. Dennison, L. D. Dewey, Theodore D. Weld, C. G. Finney, and G. R. Barker, and R. R. Gurley, Secretary of the American Colonization Society* has lately appeared in an Extra Emancipator.

The reply of the New York gentlemen to Mr. Gurley, contains a powerful, and we may say unanswerable confutation of the principles of the American Colonization Society. We should be glad to publish it, if our limits would permit.

#### NEW ANTI-SLAVERY PUBLICATIONS.

We have received several new anti-slavery publications. We have time and space barely to mention their names.

An Address to the citizens of Philadelphia, on the subject of Slavery. Delivered in the hall of the Franklin Institute, on the 4th of 7th month, (July,) A. D. 1833. By EDWIN P. ATLEE, M. D. of Philadelphia. Published by particular request.

The sound principles advocated in this address are highly favorable to the author, and can scarcely fail to produce good effects.

Four Sermons, preached in the chapel of the Western Reserve College, (Ohio) on Lord's days, November 18th and 25th, and December 2nd and 9th, 1832. By BERAH GREEN, Professor of Sacred Literature, in the College.

We have just received these valuable discourses, we hope to notice them more fully in a future number.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AT ASSONET.

The following is an extract of a letter from Arnold Buffum to the Corresponding Secretary of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, dated July 16 :

'In my last from Taunton I mentioned that it was proposed to form an Anti-Slavery Society at Assonet. I returned there and gave them an address on Friday evening of last week, written expressly for the occasion, containing a historical narration of the rise and progress of the anti-slavery cause, showing its result in an imperishable monument of 350,000 persons of color delivered from personal bondage. I then showed them how the increase of free persons of color alarmed the legislature of Virginia and the slaveholders in general, and led to the formation of the Colonization scheme. I gave them the history, character and principles of that scheme, and exhibited the deception practised by the agents of the slaveholders, and invited them to organise a Society to resist the progress of these deceptions, and to promote the anti-slavery cause. I then read our constitution, and took a vote whether they would proceed to form a Society. The vote was unanimous in the affirmative. Three clergymen all in the place were present, and all spoke in favor of forming a Society, and all put down their names as members. Our constitution, so altered as to adapt it to an auxiliary society, was unanimously adopted. Dea. Burt was chosen Chairman, and Rev. Wm. Coe Secretary ; a number of names were given and a Committee appointed to solicit further subscriptions to the constitution, and the meeting was adjourned one week to meet for the choice of officers. I saw the Committee the next morning ; they said they should have a very respectable Society, and they think they will send a delegate to Philadelphia, to assist at the formation of the National Society.'

#### 'THE HUMMING BIRD.'

The following lines form the motto of an English periodical work, with the above title.

As the small Bird, that fluttering roves  
Among Jamaica's tam'rind groves,  
A feathered busy bee,  
In note scarce rising to a song,  
Incessant, hums the whole day long,  
In slavery's Island, free!

So shall 'A still small voice' be heard,  
Though humble as the Humming Bird,  
In Britain's groves of oak ;  
And to the peasant from the King,  
In every ear shall ceaseless sing,  
'Free Afric from her yoke!'

#### COLLECTIONS MADE BY ARNOLD BUFFUM FOR THE NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

At Malden	-	-	-	2	50
Baptist meeting in New-Bedford	-	-	-	15	50
African do. do.	-	-	-	11	75
Baptist Meeting in Newport	-	-	-	4	68
Bristol	-	-	-	00	91
Taunton	-	-	-	5	00
Providence	-	-	-	5	75
Pawtucket	-	-	-	3	70
Woonsocket	-	-	-	1	50
Slaterville	-	-	-	1	35
Uxbridge	-	-	-	17	16
Grafton	-	-	-	7	80
Leicester	-	-	-	3	00
Worcester	-	-	-	1	37
Ware	-	-	-	00	71
Belchertown	-	-	-	1	52
Springfield	-	-	-	00	75
Sunderland	-	-	-	2	50
Greenfield	-	-	-	00	76
Brattleboro'	-	-	-	2	30
Walpole, N. H.	-	-	-	4	00
Keene	-	-	-	7	00
Newport, R. I.	-	-	-	1	75
Taunton	-	-	-	9	00
Dorchester	-	-	-	9	00
Lowell	-	-	-	15	30
Andover	-	-	-	2	69
Newburyport	-	-	-	5	00
Lowell	-	-	-	4	50
Rev. Mr. Himes' church, Boston	-	-	-	14	00
Lynn	-	-	-	6	57
Woburn	-	-	-	7	00
Fall River	-	-	-	5	75
African Church, New-Bedford	-	-	-	4	27
Christian do. do.	-	-	-	10	25
Emerson's do., Boston	-	-	-	22	45
West Bridgewater	-	-	-	1	80
North do.	-	-	-	1	75
West Randolph	-	-	-	3	80
Brighton	-	-	-	3	90
Congregational Church, New-Bedford	-	-	-	4	40
Danvers, Sewall's church	-	-	-	7	00
Lynn	-	-	-	1	25
Discussion at Salem	-	-	-	20	12
William Ladd	-	-	-	5	00
Beverly	-	-	-	4	70
Tabernacle, Salem	-	-	-	6	50
3d African Church, Philadelphia	-	-	-	22	70
Dea. Dean, New-Haven	-	-	-	2	00
Total,	-	-	-	\$308	90

The Treasurer of the N. E. Anti-Slavery Society acknowledges the receipt of the following in July :

From Charles Stuart, Esq. of Liverpool. Eng.	15	00
Annual assessments from members	9	00
Amount of collections at Masonic Hall and		
Boylston Hall	54	57
Total	\$78	57
JAMES C. ODIORNE, Treasurer.		

# THE ABOLITIONIST.

VOL. I.]

SEPTEMBER, 1833.

[NO. IX.]

## MRS. CHILD'S APPEAL.

*An Appeal in favor of that Class of Americans called Africans. By Mrs. Child. Boston: Allen & Ticknor. 1833. 12 mo. pp. 232.*

We heard a few months since with great satisfaction that Mrs. Child was engaged in preparing a work on slavery. We felt sure that any thing which she should write on the subject, would exert a beneficial and powerful moral influence on the public mind. It is but justice to say, that the high anticipations which we had formed of the merits of Mrs. Child's book, have been more than realized by its perusal. That it will do great good, we feel entire confidence. The great difficulty with which abolitionists in this country, have hitherto had to contend, has been that very few have been willing to give them a fair hearing. The cultivated and refined at the north, having taken for granted the comfortable doctrine that slavery was an evil with which they had nothing to do, have listened to the arguments of its opposers, with the same feelings of impatience and disgust with which they read the soiled and thumbworn petitions and certificates of strolling beggars. But the work of an author of established reputation, one whose writings they have been accustomed to admire, cannot be condemned without examination. She must be heard.

The nature of this volume may be judged of by the following table of the contents of the chapters. That we may not seem so uncritical as to see no fault in the volume, we venture to suggest that such a table ought to have preceded the body of the work.

Chapter I. *Brief history of Slavery.—Its inevitable effect upon all concerned in it.*

Chap. II. *Comparative view of Slavery in different ages and nations.*

Chap. III. *Free Labor and Slave Labor.—Possibility of safe Emancipation.*

Chap. IV. *Influence of Slavery on the Politics of the United States.*

Chap. V. *Colonization Society and Anti-Slavery Society.*

Chap. VI. *Intellect of Negroes.*

Chap. VII. *Moral Character of Negroes.*

Chap. VIII. *Prejudices against People of Color, and our Duties in relation to this subject.*

On every one of these subjects, Mrs. Child has collected useful and interesting information, much of which will be new to most of her readers. It is not, however, only, or chiefly, as a valuable collection of facts that this volume should be recommended. The conclusion to be drawn from these facts are presented with force and directness. The book too is written with great terseness and spirit, and warmed throughout by a glow of benevolent feeling. Yet with all this, upon a subject so exciting as slavery, the author though she expresses her sentiments fearlessly and distinctly, never indulges in mere abuse and railing, and while she makes no sacrifice of principle, or concealment of truth, to conciliate slaveholders and their advocates, she never says any thing merely for the sake of producing irritation. The work throughout is distinguished by kindness and courtesy towards those whose opinions and practices she is compelled to condemn.

It is not very easy to make selections from a volume that contains so much which we should be glad to have placed before all our readers. The following passage, however, shows the ability with which the author reasons, and also exhibits the sound sense and strong moral feeling which pervade the volume. After having related some instances of atrocious cruelties inflicted on slaves, she continues:

'I shall be told that such examples as these are of rare occurrence; and I have no doubt that instances of excessive severity are far from being common. I believe that a large proportion of masters are as kind to their slaves as they can be, consistently with keeping them in bondage; but it must be allowed that this, to make the best of it, is very stinted

kindness. And let it never be forgotten that the negro's fate depends entirely on the character of his master; and it is a mere matter of chance whether he fall into merciful or unmerciful hands; his happiness, nay, his very life, depends on chance.

The slave owners are always telling us, that the accounts of slave misery are abominably exaggerated; and their plea is supported by many individuals, who seem to think that charity was made to *cover* sins, not to *cure* them. But without listening to the zealous opposers of slavery, we shall find in the judicial reports of the Southern States, and in the ordinary details of their newspapers, more than enough to startle us; besides, we must not forget that where one instance of cruelty comes to our knowledge, hundreds are kept secret; and the more public attention is awakened to the subject, the more caution will be used in this respect.

Why should we be deceived by the sophistry of those whose interest it is to gloss over iniquity, and who from long habit have learned to believe that it is no iniquity? It is a very simple process to judge rightly in this matter. Just ask yourself the question, where you could find a set of men, in whose power you would be willing to place yourself, if the laws allowed them to sin against you with impunity?

But it is urged that it is the interest of planters to treat their slaves well. This argument no doubt has some force; and it is the poor negro's only security. But it is likewise the interest of men to treat their cattle kindly; yet we see that passion and short-sighted avarice do overcome the strongest motives of interest. Cattle are beat unmercifully, sometimes unto death; they are ruined by being over-worked; weakened by want of sufficient food; and so forth. Besides, it is sometimes directly *for* the interest of the planter to work his slaves beyond their strength. When there is a sudden rise in the prices of sugar, a certain amount of labor in a given time is of more consequence to the owner of a plantation, than the price of several slaves; he can well *afford* to waste a few lives. This is no idle hypothesis—such calculations are gravely and openly made by planters. Hence, it is the slave's prayer that sugars may be cheap. When the negro is old, or feeble from incurable disease, is it his master's *interest* to feed him well, and clothe him comfortably? Certainly not: it then becomes desirable to get rid of the human brute as soon as convenient. It is a common remark, that it is not quite safe, in most cases, for even parents to be entirely dependent on the generosity of their children; and if human nature be such, what has the slave to expect, when he becomes a mere bill of expense?

It is a common retort to say that New-Englanders, who go to the South, soon learn to

patronise the system they have considered so abominable, and often become proverbial for their severity. I have not the least doubt of the fact; for slavery contaminates all that comes within its influence. It would be very absurd to imagine that the inhabitants of one State are worse than the inhabitants of another, unless some peculiar circumstances, of universal influence, tend to make them so. Human nature is every where the same; but developed differently, by different excitements and temptations. It is the business of wise legislation to discover what influences are most productive of good, and the least conducive to evil. If we were educated at the South, we should no doubt vindicate slavery, and inherit as a birthright all the evils it engrafts upon the character. If they lived on our rocky soil, and under our inclement skies, their shrewdness would sometimes border upon knavery, and their frugality sometimes degenerate into parsimony. We both have our virtues and our faults, induced by the influences under which we live, and, of course, totally different in their character. Our defects are bad enough; but they cannot, like slavery, affect the destiny and rights of millions.

All this mutual recrimination about horse-jockeys, gamblers, tin-pedlars, and venders of wooden nutmegs, is quite unworthy of a great nation. Instead of calmly examining this important subject on the plain grounds of justice and humanity, we allow it to degenerate into a mere question of *sectional* pride and vanity. [Pardon the Americanism, would we had less use for the word!] It is the *system*, not the *men*, on which we ought to bestow the full measure of abhorrence. If we were willing to forget ourselves, and could, like true republicans, prefer the common good to all other considerations, there would not be a slave in the United States, at the end of half a century.

The arguments in support of slavery are all hollow and deceptive, though frequently very specious. No one thinks of finding a foundation for the system in the principles of truth and justice; and the unavoidable result is, that even in *policy* it is unsound. The monstrous fabric rests on the mere *appearance* of present expediency; while, in fact, all its tendencies individual and national, present and remote, are highly injurious to the true interests of the country. The slave owner will not believe this. The stronger the evidence against his favorite theories, the more strenuously he defends them. It has been wisely said, 'Honesty is the best policy; but policy without honesty never finds that out.'

I hope none will be so literal as to suppose I intend to say that no planter can be honest, in the common acceptation of that term. I simply mean that all who ground their arguments in policy, and not in duty and plain truth, are really blind to the highest and best interests of man.'

[For the Abolitionist.]

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN C, A COLONIZATIONIST, AND A, AN  
ABOLITIONIST, ON THE SUBJECT OF THE  
ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

(Concluded.)

C. You undertook to convince me that the Northern people can act practically in the matter of negro slavery. I presume you hardly venture to say that Congress has power to decree emancipation; if you do, I refer you to the letter of Daniel Webster, lately published, on the subject.

A. I agree perfectly with Mr. Webster. There can be no doubt that our Legislatures, can make no law whatever to compel a slaveholder, in another State, to emancipate, or even to abstain from murdering, his slaves, and that Congress is equally powerless in this respect. But yet Congress can do much; and so can the Legislatures, and so can the people. I call it a strictly practical object, to prepare an engine by means of which great effects are to be produced. Now, public sentiment is all powerful; and if it can be so excited as to bear with its immense weight upon this question, the effect must be great and practical. The publications which prepared the minds of the colonists for the revolutionary struggle, were not less practical than the actual military effects that were prompted by them. The force of truth and moral suasion, over an intelligent people, can hardly be overrated, and should never be disdained.

C. But if the suasion is to be addressed only to the Southern people, it ought at least, to be more gentle, if it is to be effectual.

A. It is not addressed only, or chiefly, to the Southern people. We have no objection to their hearing us, and no wish to exasperate them—but we care not for their anger. To say less than the truth, would be unworthy of us as freemen; and if the truth plainly spoken gives offence, the fault must be in the hearers, not in the speakers. I am ashamed of my country and amazed at its degeneracy when I hear it said that truths, undeniable truths, ought to be suppressed or only whispered with closed doors, for fear of giving offence! Such was not the principle on which our fathers acted, or the revolution could never have occurred.

C. But is it wise to irritate and alienate the Southern people by needless repetition of reproaches?

A. It is wise always to assert our rights, by words and practice. The rights of speech and of the press are infinitely more valuable than the fame to be gained or preserved, by yielding them up to arrogance and pride. It would reduce us to the condition of slaves, to be prohibited from speaking the truth, when, where, and how we please. When Napoleon complained to the British government, of the abusiveness of the London newspapers, the answer he received was that the press was *free*, but if he was libelled, the courts were open to him for redress. Are we less free than the British? And are not our courts open to any slaveholder who is injured? We shrink from no responsibility; seek no concealment. The northern people owe it to their own dignity and independence, to treat with *scorn* all anger which is produced by the exercise of our just rights.

C. But does the irritation that you occasion help forward the object at all? Does it not obviously cause the blacks to be more rigorously treated than ever?

A. The irritation neither helps nor hinders, or if it does hinder that is no reason for giving up our consciences. The Temperance Society gave offence to many, but that was unavoidable, and has not hindered the immense benefits of its operations. When, a few years since, some of the Middle States passed resolutions offering to concur in giving up the whole of the public lands for the purpose of purchasing the slaves from their bondage, was not the proposition generous and kind, and entitled to the thanks of the North?

C. It was silly perhaps, but certainly generous; and has been revived, in part, by the land-bill which the President lately *vetoed*.

A. Well, what was the conduct of the Southern States? They treated the project as an impertinence—an offensive intermeddling in their affairs. Now it is plain that irritability so morbid deserves no consideration. There will be scolding; but are we to be frightened because they make faces at us? No reformation of conduct, or sentiment, ever was, or will be effected, without offence being given. The truth will, nevertheless, reach some hearts and produce its legitimate effect. The fact is that, already, some slaveholders have been convinced, and have been induced to emancipate their slaves. Emancipation by last wills, is also more frequent. In the prospect of death conscience has great power. To

bring truth home to the conscience is, therefore, an important and a practical object.

*C.* These are, then, the modes in which the northern people can act practically in these matters.

*A.* This is not all. The whole subject branches out into various considerations. But in discussing any and all of them, it is requisite to get rid of the bug-bear of southern irritation, and also to shake off the delusions of that timidity which dreads to look at the plain truth and to speak it.

*C.* Suppose, then, I grant that the anger of the South ought not to be regarded, and that truth is at all times to be spoken, (notwithstanding the proverb,) then what follows?

*A.* Then as freemen, and Americans, and Christians, it is incumbent on us to look at our actual condition, and see in what degree we are accessaries to the crime of holding our fellow men in chains, and subjecting them to a cruel oppression. It is our duty to inquire what we can do lawfully, and not inconsistently with our political or moral obligations, to right this grievous wrong, or to mitigate its barbarity. It is our duty to see whether we are not doing more to aid an iniquitous oppression, than our political relations require of us. These inquiries involve many questions of expediency in local as well as national legislation, which, if we are not ourselves in bondage, we have the same right to discuss, to suggest, or to present to the minds of others, as we have to discuss the tariff, the bank, or the charter of a rail-road company.

*C.* I must say that these views are strange to me. Is not our condition merely that of a bystander; and does not the Constitution forbid our active interference?

*A.* By no means. When the Constitution was formed, a spirit of compromise prevailed, but whether it was carried too far I need not say. Let it stand, but if the bond gives to the slaveholders unreasonable advantages, (in the slave representation and other matters) let them make the best of their bargain, but not seek to exceed its terms. We have a right to say that Shylock shall have his pound of flesh, 'but not a drop of blood.' The northern people yielded much and enough to the necessity of the crisis; but they could not be induced to admit the word, slave or slavery into the Constitution. They agreed however that 'persons held to labor or service' escaping into another State should be 'delivered up on

claim of the person to whom the service or labor may be due.' Well, this is the Constitution—but the southern people are said to desire much more than the bond, and shocking abuses, never contemplated as consequences of the concession, are told of, as practiced under this provision. Have we not a right to see whether it be really so? In many of the States legislative enactments have been added to facilitate the restoration of slaves to their chains. The claim, as a preliminary, is dispensed with. But these statutes were fair subjects of discussion; and being all liable to repeal or amendment, they are still perfectly legitimate subjects of our consideration. Now if the whole matter is exclusively of southern cognizance, we have no right to discuss the enactment or repeal of one of our own statutes; and our legislature has only, like the old Parliament of France, to register the edicts of a master.

*C.* I admit the propriety of discussing our own statutes. Indeed no one can doubt it.

*A.* But our friends, the slaveholders, are afraid, if we discuss any thing that has the word slave or the word freedom in it. However, this is one only, of several such matters equally within our proper cognizance. The Constitution also permitted Congress to prohibit the slave trade after 1808, or in terms, 'the migration or importation of such persons as the states shall think proper to admit.' Congress did accordingly prohibit the external slave trade, and the bill was surely a fair subject of remark both during its pendency and after its passage, in all parts of the country. But the prohibition of the internal trade or 'migration' is equally before the whole nation as a question of expediency,—and any man or any Society has a perfect right to propose and recommend it. Shall it be said that we of the north have not the same right with those of the south, to discuss a question of national expediency and constitutional law? Why certainly our southern fellow citizens are bewildered when they say it. And our own neighbors are strangely misled when they give their assent to the adoption.

*C.* That would, at all events, be a matter for Congress, and may as well be left there.

*A.* But Congress represents the people of the north as well as the south, and the constituents have a certain right to discuss the conduct of their representatives, both as to what they have done, and what they have

omitted to do. There is, therefore, perfect propriety in our discussing the subject of slavery in all its aspects. But further: the Constitution also guarantees each state 'against domestic violence.' Now let us consider what was the undertaking at the time. Surely it is fair to argue that it was the tacit agreement that the slaveholding states should do all that humanity dictates, consistent with slave property, to ameliorate the condition of the 'persons held to labor:' at least, that they should be treated as persons not as brutes. Well, but if it be true, that the slaves are far worse treated than they were;—that marriage is not allowed,—[the institution that so much distinguishes man from beasts]—that instruction in religion is withheld—no protection to life afforded—no restraint on cruelty provided;—if, in short, the slaveholders do not perform their part of the contract, may we not question whether we are bound to comply with ours? At all events, these circumstances or any others may fairly be urged as reasons for amending the Constitution, by striking out those words which now bind us to support the slaveholder, in a more cruel treatment of his slaves than is permitted to slaveholders under the British, French, Spanish or Portuguese governments.

C. It will be difficult to prove the fact. I do not believe it.

A. The question is, whether we have a right to inquire into the fact; the slaveholders say we have no right to meddle with the subject, but I contend that our Constitution guarantees our right to amend it, of course to propose and discuss amendments, and therefore to examine the facts that supply a motive for an amendment.

C. An amendment of the Constitution is out of the question, against the will of the slaveholding states.

A. Not entirely out of the question; we ought not to suppose it. The presumption should be in their favor, that they would not all be opposed to it. But there is another consideration. Congress have the sole and absolute regulation of the District of Columbia. Our members have repeatedly had occasion to vote on resolutions introduced there, having in view the breaking up of the slave market, now kept open under the very shadow of the Capitol. In all questions upon which representatives vote, we, the constituents, have a right to enlighten and inform them. We have

also a right to make our wishes known. We have therefore a full right to discuss the subject of slavery as it exists at the seat of our national government. It is no question of exclusively southern cognizance. It is of national cognizance; and we are just as responsible for the continuance of slavery at the seat of government, and for the abuses and cruelties that attend it, (which are shocking,) as the southern people are. In what one point of view, therefore, can the subject of slavery and its evils be said to belong exclusively to the south?

C. In respect to immediate emancipation. You grant that we cannot effect it by persuasion. And also in regard to the treatment of the slaves.

A. But in pursuing the object by persuasion, we have a right to say that if they will not shew any intention to emancipate or to improve the condition of the slaves, we will do our best to eradicate slavery from the District of Columbia—and from Florida—which may be done without persuasion; and that we will not facilitate the restoration of fugitives beyond the letter of the Constitution;—and that we will not hold ourselves bound to assist in quelling domestic violence which they have provoked by needless severity. And we may and we ought to continue the cry of 'shame—shame' upon them, until they render their slave-code at least equal in justice and mercy to that of despotic Portugal or Spain. But there is still another matter that is, beyond all doubt, within our own domestic notice. The influence of slavery is such that our own people are infected, and there is danger of our returning to the slave trade again. In Illinois the project has been very seriously entertained of introducing slavery. In Connecticut the legislature has prohibited, under penalties, the giving instruction to colored persons. Whence comes the impetus for this retrograde movement? How is it that Connecticut has been disgraced by a statute making the communication of knowledge a penal offence? How must public sentiment be vitiated when it can bear such an outrage on humanity! It is a crime in Connecticut to cultivate human intellect, and pour moral instruction into an immortal soul! There is no difficulty in saying how this comes. The notion has been broadly asserted in the south and has been imbibed here, that colored men are not 'persons held to labor,' but brute animals, creatures below

humanity. The quietists of our land—those who exclaim against our Society, and cry ‘peace, peace, when there is no peace’—connive at this monstrous doctrine and encourage it by their passiveness. It is time for these Christians, patriots and friends of humanity to wake up and—

C. Ah! you are making an oration now;—I’ll hear no more. [And he went off without giving A. a chance to finish his sentence.]

### THE PLEA OF JUSTICE.

[Concluded from our last.]

From the absolute right of the slaves to their liberty, the absolute obligation of masters individually to liberate them has been inferred, and equally absolute is the obligation upon slave-holding states, to render equal justice to all, to restore those rights which have been invaded, and to protect blacks as well as whites in the free exercise of every right. Nor can any view of the interests or supposed rights of the masters be a just cause for continuing to violate the rights of the slaves. Perhaps those governments which have sanctioned slavery may be thought to owe some compensation, when in rendering justice to one class of persons, it takes from another class what its own laws have regarded as their property; but there can be no pretence of justice in satisfying the masters at the expense of the slaves. The claim of the masters against the government, if they have any claim, is such as one partner in a robbery would have against another who, recovering his sense of honesty, should insist upon restoring their booty. Whatever engagements they may have entered into with each other, the whole transaction being founded in iniquity, it might be a difficult matter for equity to decide in what way these engagements should be fulfilled, or the compensation which the repentant partner would owe to the other; but leaving that question to be settled between themselves, his obligation not to keep the purloined property from the right owner, is in the mean time indisputable, and no way connected with the decision of the other point.

But the grand objection to restoring the slaves at once to the exercise of their rights, and certainly the most plausible, is the supposed danger of such a measure. It would be madness, it is said, to let loose upon society such a multitude of ignorant and irritated beings who would be intoxicated by the liberty to which they are unaccustomed, and would be withheld by no principle from any outrage to which their passions or necessities might incite them. To retain them in their present condition is wickedness and madness both. Is there not danger now? What is it that is the chief source of danger to the whites, but the hostile feeling naturally ex-

cited by oppression? Were they to cease from this oppression, and ‘let the oppressed go free,’ would not the disposition to commit violence and injury be from that moment diminished in a far greater degree than the power to do it would be increased? Could the danger from the freed blacks be greater, than the danger which actually exists, from the oppressed and enslaved blacks? Could any evils resulting from the most unconditional emancipation, made without a single precaution, be far greater than the actual evils of the present most lamentable state of things, most lamentable considered in relation to the whites alone, including as it does, constant suspicion, constant fear of insurrection, injury to their own moral and intellectual character, and the gradual debasement of their moral sense—and in prospect, the growth and increase of all these evils, until interrupted by some tremendous revolution. Must not a slaveholder tremble at the very sound of the words freedom, right, or justice, lest they fall upon the ear, and kindle a flame in the mind of some one of those who are debarred from freedom, whose rights are violated, and whom justice does not protect? What evils are likely to result from emancipation greater than these? Though no longer slaves, would not the blacks still continue in the condition of laborers? What else could they do? They have no lands, no possessions, and must procure subsistence in some mode. Ignorant as they may be, they are not ignorant that there are laws for the protection of property, and against robbery and other crimes, and that there is power to enforce these laws. Nor would the laws have lost their power, nor could there be any hinderance to making new laws, and taking every measure of vigilance and precaution adapted to the emergency when this great act of justice was about to be accomplished.

But suppose that the danger from emancipation is all that it has been represented to be. Yet the enslaved persons have a right to their freedom. What is to be done? Does the fear of possible consequences to ourselves render it lawful for us to inflict certain and enormous injuries on others? Does our fear or our danger destroy *their* rights? or absolve us from guilt if we violate those rights? Because a man has inflicted one outrage upon his neighbor, does he acquire a right to repeat it, that he may deprive him of the power of expressing his resentment? It is only wrong doing that can bring men into such perplexity, that no course of conduct seems open to them which is not fraught with danger. A continuance in crime will only involve them deeper, but will never bring them out of it. No, when they awake to a sense of their situation, let them manfully resolve to act right, whatever may be the consequences. The simple rule of right will guide

them out of the labyrinth, but no calculation of consequences ever will.

A gradual emancipation is thought by some persons to be the just and happy medium, the measure which provides at once for the safety of the community, the rights of the slaves, the interests of the masters, and the final cure of the dreadful evil of slavery. If we might admit for a moment the rectitude of thus delaying justice, the rectitude of thus making reparation for grievous wrong *gradually*, yet at least the duty is absolute and undeniable, if not of emancipating immediately, yet of doing *something* immediately, of taking some measures *now* which shall lead to emancipation. Every moment's needless delay is adding to the amount of crime. But may we admit the rectitude of this principle? To provide for the emancipation of all born after a certain time is making no reparation to the present generation for their wrongs. To restore him to his natural rights at some future time will be no compensation to any individual for the time during which he has been debarr'd their exercise. It would be infinitely better than doing nothing, but it would not be all which justice requires. 'Personal freedom,' it was said by Charles Fox, 'was the first right of every human being. It was a right of which he who deprived a fellow creature, was absolutely criminal in so depriving him, and which he who withheld was no less criminal in withholding.' If there is danger, use precaution, but why is it that the only measure of safety thought of is the continuance of injustice, continuing to withhold this most sacred right from our fellow creatures. Let every one be vigilant for his own safety, but no longer violate the rights of others through the cowardly fear that by ceasing to do so, he should give them power to injure him.

But the present generation of slaves, it is said, doubtless too truly, are ignorant and degraded, utterly unfit for freedom, and many of them incapable of taking care of themselves. It is the danger to themselves as well as to their masters, that would make the emancipation of these poor creatures wrong. With respect to themselves, it is said, that it would be like leaving so many children to their own discretion and guidance. It would be neither just nor humane, it is said, suddenly to withdraw protection and support from those who have been too long dependant on it to be able to do without it. All this is admitted. But whence arises this degradation and imbecility? From the condition of slavery, in which their lives have been passed. It is this very circumstance which imposes an obligation of justice as well as of benevolence to take care of them, since it is the wrongs they have received which have incapacitated them from taking care of themselves. They who have done the wrong, or in any way par-

ticipated in doing it, are bound to do what they can to repair it. Simply to restore their freedom does not repair it. Surely it would be a very strange conclusion from this, that therefore even freedom may be withheld, and these injured people retained in the very condition which has reduced them to such deplorable imbecility. A more reasonable conclusion is, that something *more* not *less* than freedom is their due. What this more is, may briefly be stated to be, whatever will tend to elevate their moral and intellectual character, and render them soonest capable of providing for their own maintenance and comfort, and, in the mean time, maintenance and comfort provided for the old and helpless, such guidance and assistance to the rest as will not by continuing their habits of dependance be injurious rather than beneficial—whatever, in short, will tend soonest and most effectually to counteract the ill effects of their past condition, and repair the injury which has been done them. This includes, of course, and most especially, education for all who are young enough to be capable of it.

The principle, that freedom alone is not all which is owing to the slaves, has been admitted and acted upon by some individuals.—Among the Quakers, who were among the first in regard to slavery, as on other points, to adopt Christian principles, some persons not only liberated their slaves, although penalties were annexed to manumission, but calculated and paid them a sum of money as due for wages during the time of their slavery.

The rights of the slaves form the main ground and argument for emancipating them. And let it never be forgotten *what* rights those are, not mere abstract rights to some trifling privileges, scarcely missed, if lost, though even such would be sacred—but the dearest and most valuable which belong to our common nature, rights to the most precious blessings of which one human being can deprive another. Can we conceive of any infringement of our rights which would excite in us greater indignation than to have some powerful tyrant assume to control us in every action, to say what we shall do, and where we shall go, and compel us to submit in all things to his will and pleasure? Would not the injury be immeasurably greater, and our indignation greater than if fraud or violence deprived us of our property? Such a wrong as this includes all wrongs. What property is more a man's own than the produce of his own labor? But the slave is compelled to labor, and then the profits of his toil enrich another and not himself. There are more precious things than property? His children are not under his control or protection—another may inflict on them the most unreasonable punishment, and the parent must look on in silence—at the will of another, they may be sent from him, where he will neither see nor

hear from them more. If he does not always feel these things with the keenness which more favored parents would suppose they must necessarily produce, is it not because his enslaved condition has precluded or destroyed the affections naturally belonging to the relation of parent and child, and is not this as great a wrong as any? From all moral and intellectual improvement, from all the highest moral and intellectual pleasures he is debarred. We are sometimes told of the happiness of slaves, but what kind of happiness is it? 'Nothing,' says Edmund Burke, 'can make a happy slave, but a degraded man.' It is his degradation which is the greatest wrong of all. What, indeed, is left to the slave, but barely the right to breathe and exist? If more is granted to him, it is granted as a favor, not acknowledged as a right.

The bare assumption of such an unrighteous dominion over human beings, however leniently exercised, should excite our indignation, as it would do were the case our own. Justice would make it the imperative duty of masters to restore freedom to their slaves, though the loss of freedom were a slight evil. But some consideration of the degree and nature of the wrong, of the misery and degradation produced, may be necessary to excite in others any sympathy for the wronged, and any apprehension that *they* have duties in relation to them. One man may injure another to some trifling extent, and his neighbor not feel very loudly called upon to exert himself for his assistance. But when the injury is greater, when the sufferer is in danger of losing his all, when his happiness begins to be deeply affected, then the neighbor is called upon by every principle of humanity to come forward in his behalf, to do all he can to obtain him redress. Nor will the kind and sympathizing neighbor be hasty in deciding that nothing can be done. If he can do nothing by direct interference, if there is no opening for an appeal to the laws, at least he will raise his voice against injustice, at least he will try all that persuasion, or argument, or influence can do to restrain the injurious party. Can any man see a fellow creature oppressed, and innocently withhold the assistance that he has in his power to give? Nor ought the fear of irritating the oppressor to prevent, while at the same time all unnecessary irritation should be most studiously avoided, not from policy, but from a spirit of candor and benevolence, especially if there is reason to believe that he is not aware of the wrong he is doing. Candor requires us to remember that they who hold their fellow creatures in slavery may perhaps honestly believe that they have a right to do so. The deed itself is most iniquitous, the only justification for its perpetrators is their unconsciousness of its criminality. If unavoidable prejudice blinds them, they are guiltless. Not so with those who perceive in

all its horrors the enormity of the injustice, the magnitude of the evil, and yet make no effort to free their fellow creatures from oppression, their country from guilt, and themselves from a passive participation in it; no effort to arouse the slumbering consciences, and remove the film from the blinded understandings of the oppressors.

The consolatory supposition that the great body of the holders of slaves, or at least very many of them, are not aware of the wrong they are doing, is a ground of encouragement for those who believe slaveholding to be essentially criminal to hope for some good by setting forth their own views clearly and forcibly. Good men, who keep slaves because they have never doubted the innocence of so doing, will cease to do so if they can be convinced that it is criminal, and they will not shut their minds against conviction. Of course, argument and remonstrance are of little use when addressed to those who with their eyes open give a preference to what they esteem to be their worldly interest over all considerations of virtue and justice. It has been asserted that no masters are so cruel and oppressive towards their slaves as those persons who remove from places where slavery is not allowed, and become slaveholders. If true, the reason for this is obvious, that no person brought up in the belief that to hold men in slavery is contrary to justice could become a slaveholder himself, unless he were very little under restraint from moral principle of any kind. Such as these are not the persons, on whom the opposers of slavery can hope to make any impression by urging the claims of justice and humanity. But among slaveholders of an opposite character they may hope to find, or soon to make, willing co-operators.

It is a somewhat remarkable fact that among the people of the United States when slavery is spoken of, even by those who consider it as an evil, it is the situation of the masters, not of the slaves, which most frequently calls forth the tone of commiseration. It is indeed true, that sin is a greater evil than suffering, and yet in most cases it is the oppressed and not the oppressor who receives sympathy. Slavery may be a greater evil to the masters than to the slaves, but it is to be feared that they who express this opinion, do not always do it exactly in the spirit in which Cowper said,

'I would much rather be myself the slave,  
And wear the chains, than fasten them on him.'

Perhaps the best account of this matter is, that all the states are influenced by a similar feeling to that which prompts the different members of a family to pity and excuse the faults of one, and to feel as if their own honor were in some measure identified with his. Perhaps also there is the feeling that they are in some degree sharers in the guilt.

In seeking excuses for the slaveholder, let us beware of obscuring the truth to our own minds, let us not dwell upon the arguments by which he justifies slavery, till we suffer them to influence us, and begin to imagine that they are of some real weight. Let us not look at the subject from the position from which he looks at it, so habitually as to forget that this is not the only position, nor the one most favorable for a correct view. And, again, let us beware that we do not so express ourselves in speaking of the extenuations which there certainly are for his conduct, as to convey the impression that we consider the conduct itself to be almost, if not quite, justifiable. There are but two excuses for wrong doing, into which all others must resolve themselves, namely ignorance and the strength of temptation. The charitable excuser may set these forth in such a manner as to become to all intents and purposes the advocate of crime, as if either of these circumstances altered the intrinsic nature of right and wrong. If we cannot do any positive good in this great cause, let us at least take care to do no harm, let us not lend the weight of our influence, be it much, or be it little, to strengthen those erroneous views by which slavery is upheld. Let us not, even by a casual expression, assist in lowering the standard of morality which is applied to this subject. Finally, let us beware lest there mingle with a desire to be candid to the slaveholders a willingness to excuse our own apathy and inaction, our own want of moral courage to adopt the obnoxious part of opposition to a long established abuse which is upheld by the prejudices and the interests of numbers.

C. J. T.

### THREE MONTHS IN JAMAICA.

We add some further extracts from this tract, which we had not room for in our last number.

‘On reaching the estate, [called New Ground,] I was received in the most friendly manner by the overseer, and entertained with West Indian hospitality. This gentleman, after some inquiries as to the state of things in England, began to enlarge on the comfortable condition of the slaves; and, pointing to some negro coopers who were working in the yard, asked if I could perceive any difference between the condition of these slaves and that of English laborers. I owned I could not: they seemed to work with great regularity and apparent good humor.

Immediately afterwards the overseer called out, in a very authoritative tone, ‘Blow shell.’ A large conch shell was then blown by one of the domestic slaves, and in a few minutes four negro drivers made their appearance in front of the house, accompanied by six common negroes. The drivers had each a long staff in his hand, and a large cart-whip coiled

round his shoulders. They appeared to be very stout athletic men. They stood before the hall door, and the overseer put on his hat and went out to them, while I sat at the open window and observed the scene which followed,—having been informed that the other six negroes were to be punished.

When the overseer went out, the four drivers gave him an account, on notched tallies, of their half day’s work, and received fresh orders. The overseer then asked a few questions of the drivers respecting the offences of the six slaves brought up for punishment. No question was asked of the culprits themselves, nor was any explanation waited for. Sentence was instantly pronounced, and instantly carried into execution.

The first was a man of about thirty-five years of age. He was what is called a pen-keeper, or cattle herd; and his offence was having suffered a mule to go astray. At the command of the overseer he proceeded to strip off part of his clothes, and laid himself flat on his belly, his back and buttocks being uncovered. One of the drivers then commenced flogging him with the cart-whip. This whip is about ten feet long, with a short stout handle; and is an instrument of terrible power. It is whirled by the operator round his head, and then brought down with a rapid motion of the arm upon the recumbent victim, causing the blood to spring at every stroke. When I saw this spectacle, now for the first time exhibited before my eyes, with all its revolting accompaniments, and saw the degraded and mangled victim writhing and groaning under the infliction, I felt horror-struck. I trembled, and turned sick: but being determined to see the whole to an end, I kept my station at the window. The sufferer, writhing like a wounded worm, every time the lash cut across his body, cried out, ‘Lord! Lord! Lord!’ When he had received about twenty lashes, the driver stopped to pull up the poor man’s shirt (or rather smock frock,) which had worked down upon his galled posteriors. The sufferer then cried, ‘Think me no man? think me no man?’ By that exclamation I understood him to say ‘Think you I have not the feelings of a man?’ The flogging was instantly recommenced and continued; the negro continuing to cry ‘Lord! Lord! Lord!’ till thirty-nine lashes had been inflicted. When the man rose up from the ground, I perceived the blood oozing out from the lacerated and tumefied parts where he had been flogged; and he appeared greatly exhausted. But he was instantly ordered off to his usual occupation.

The next was a young man apparently about eighteen or nineteen years of age. He was forced to uncover himself and lie down in the same mode as the former, and was held down by the hands and feet by four slaves, one of whom was a young man who was himself to be flogged next. This latter was a mulatto

—the offspring, as I understood, of some European formerly on the estate by a negro woman, and consequently born to slavery. These two youths were flogged exactly in the mode already described, and writhed and groaned under the lash, as if enduring great agony. The mulatto bled most, and appeared to suffer most acutely. They received each thirty-nine lashes. Their offence was some deficiency in the performance of the task prescribed to them. They were both ordered to join their gang as usual in the afternoon at cane-cutting.

Two young women of about the same age were, one after the other, then laid down and held by four men, their back parts most indecently uncovered, and thirty-nine lashes of the blood-stained whip inflicted upon each poor creature's posteriors. Their exclamation likewise was 'Lord! Lord! Lord!' They seemed also to suffer acutely, and were apparently a good deal lacerated. Another woman (the sixth offender) was also laid down and uncovered for the lash; but at the intercession of one of the drivers she was reprieved. The offence of these three women was similar to that of the two young men—some defalcation in the amount of labor.

The overseer stood by and witnessed the whole of this cruel operation, with as much seeming indifference as if he had been paying them their wages. I was meanwhile perfectly unmanned by mingled horror and pity. Yet I have no reason to believe that the *natural* feelings of this young man (whose age did not exceed twenty-four years) were less humane or sensitive than my own. But such is the callousness which constant familiarity with scenes of cruelty engenders. He had been a book-keeper, for four years previously, on another estate belonging to the same proprietors, and had been appointed overseer on this estate only a few months before. His reception of me when I arrived was so kind, frank, and cordial, that I could not have believed him, had I not seen it with my own eyes, to be *capable* of inflicting such cruelty on a fellow-creature.

As soon as this scene was over, the overseer came into the hall, and asked me to drink some rum and water with him. I told him I was sick, and could taste nothing: that I was in fact overwhelmed with horror at the scene I had just witnessed. He said it was not a pleasant duty certainly, but it was an indispensable one; and that I would soon get used, as others did, to such spectacles. I asked if he found it necessary to inflict such punishments frequently. He replied it was uncertain; 'I may not,' he said, 'have to do it again this month, or I may have to do it to-morrow.'

'In week-days the negroes always went to their work before daylight in the morning; on an average about five o'clock or a quarter past five. They left off after dusk, or from a

quarter to half past six in the evening. They had half an hour for breakfast, and sometimes an hour for dinner, but generally not a full hour. During crop, which was proceeding while I was there, they worked in spells the whole of every alternate night; that is to say, the spell that commenced on Monday morning got no sleep till Tuesday night, working all day in the field and all night in the boiling-house.

The sufferings of the slaves from this hard and continuous labor, and from the continual floggings of the drivers to exact it, are severe beyond description. When they are digging cane holes, they generally work all in a row; and it frequently happens that the strong negroes outstrip the weaker ones. Then it is that the drivers (who stand in *front* of the gang in holeing, but *behind* in cane-cutting,) march up to those who have fallen back in their work, and flog them on to further exertion; the drivers being themselves liable to be flogged, if the prescribed work is not duly executed by their gang. I have seen the drivers put down slaves in the field and inflict at their own discretion, from six to twelve lashes with the cart-whip. I have seen them order females to stand at a convenient distance, and flog them as long as they saw fit. I have frequently seen the boatswain (as the driver at the boiling house is called) flog old and young, male and female, in this manner. One night I saw this driver flog a female slave very severely, and one blow which struck her in the face caused her to scream out violently. Upon enquiry I found that this woman had a child in the hot-house (or hospital), and she had ventured to leave her work a little earlier than usual to see her child. For this she received the punishment. On another occasion, I saw this boatswain put down a very handsome brown girl, and give her ten lashes. The overseer was with me at the time, and looked on, without making any remark. Another time I saw the head driver, a very powerful man, give a tremendous cut with the cart-whip to a female about fifty years of age, who was cutting canes with the great gang. The overseer and one of the book-keepers were standing by with me, but neither took the least notice. In fact these floggings were taking place incessantly upon the working negroes; insomuch that I came to this conclusion, after some observation,—that the slaves suffered more in the aggregate from the *driving* in the field than from the severer regular punishments inflicted by order of the overseer and book-keepers. The drivers invariably flog negroes severely who happen to be too late in coming out in the morning; and it frequently happens, that when they oversleep their time, the negroes, for fear of punishment, run away for days or weeks from the estate. When they do return, as they generally do after a short space, it is with the certainty of

encountering a tremendous flogging from the overseer and being condemned to sleep every night in the stocks for weeks running. I have frequently seen six or seven of these runaways turned out of the stocks in a morning, taken to the field to cut canes, and then brought back at night to be again locked in the stocks. The fear of punishment, I was told, was the ordinary cause of their becoming runaways.'

'On conversing with Mr. McLean, (as I frequently did when I first went to New Ground) respecting the extreme severity of the system pursued on that estate, he assured me that he was far from being a harder task-master than other overseers on sugar plantations; and to convince me of this he told me of 'severities' (or rather atrocities) exercised on other estates in the same parish, far beyond any which I witnessed on New Ground. I also heard of extraordinary instances of cruelty from others; and I was told, by a resident in St. Andrew's parish, that the floggings there were more severe than in St. Ann's; switches of the prickly ebony being frequently used after the cart-whip. But I shall not attempt to detail what I learned only by hearsay, although on the evidence of persons implicated in supporting the system. I can only vouch, of course, for what I myself witnessed; and that most assuredly I have rather softened than exaggerated.

The open and avowed licentiousness of the plantation whites disgusted me almost as much as the cruelty of the system. At New Ground, the overseer, book-keepers, and head carpenter, all lived in the habitual practice of gross and unblushing profligacy. The tremendous moral tyranny that may be, and unquestionably often is, exercised in the uncontrolled indulgence of this brutalizing vice, is as obvious as it is appalling. One of the book-keepers voluntarily mentioned to me, that he had had twelve 'negro wives' within six months. I saw another of the whites on this estate give his 'housekeeper' (concubine,) a cruel beating with a supplejack while she was in a state of pregnancy, and for a very trifling fault. For refusing to degrade myself by complying with 'the custom of the country,' as it was lightly termed, in this point, I was looked upon, as I soon perceived, with mingled contempt and suspicion by the plantation whites generally.'

#### SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The abolition of the slave-trade and slavery in this District ought to be constantly kept in mind by all the friends of the colored race. In this object thousands will unite who are opposed to Anti-Slavery Societies. Few men, we believe can be found at the north, who do not regard the toleration of slavery at the seat

of our national government as disgraceful to the country; and, even at the South, many persons who are not prepared to exert themselves to put down this system in their own States, will readily admit that no just cause exists for perpetuating it in the District of Columbia. Nothing, we are confident, is necessary, in order to abolish the national sin and shame, but resolution and activity in the friends of the measure. If all who really have this cause at heart would but put their names to petitions to Congress in favor of the object, they would be astonished at their own numbers, and Congress would not dare refuse to perform a great work of justice and humanity, which was demanded by the great mass of the people.

The following is a petition which is now circulating in this vicinity. It has already received numerous and respectable signatures.

*To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, the petition of the undersigned, citizens of the United States, respectfully represents—*

That your petitioners are deeply impressed with the evils arising from the existence of Slavery in the District of Columbia. The Constitution of the United States provides that Congress shall have power, 'to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district, (not exceeding ten miles square,) as may, by the cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States.' In pursuance of this provision, the States of Maryland and Virginia respectively ceded portions of their territories, which being accepted by Congress, now compose the District of Columbia. By the plain words of the constitution Congress has the power to abolish slavery in this District, and no other body can legislate on the subject.

While our Declaration of Independence boldly proclaims as self-evident truths, 'that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;' at the very seat of government human beings are born almost daily, whom the laws pronounce to be from their birth not equal to other men, and who are for life, deprived of liberty and the free pursuit of happiness.

In addition to the other evils flowing from slavery, both moral and political, which it is needless to specify, circumstances have rendered this District a great market for traders in human flesh. The unhappy victims of this

traffic, are brought into this District in chains, and then lodged in private jails and other places of confinement, from whence they are carried to the markets of the south and west.

The toleration of slavery and the slave trade at the seat of Government, not only produces the most cruel sufferings to those who are legally slaves, but also frequently leads to the enslaving of free people of color, citizens of the United States, some of whom are kidnapped by violence, and others of whom are reduced to hopeless bondage under the forms of law.

From the small number of slaves in the District of Columbia, and the moderate proportion which they bear to the free population there, the difficulties which in most of the slaveholding States, oppose the restoration of this degraded class of men to their natural rights, do not exist in this place. Your petitioners, therefore, pray that Congress will, without delay, enact laws for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and for preventing the bringing of slaves into that District for the purpose of traffic, in such mode as may be thought advisable, and, whatever measures may be adopted, will also make suitable provision for the education of all free black and colored children in the District, thus to preserve them from continuing even as free men, an unenlightened and degraded caste.'

We earnestly entreat all persons who wish slavery in the District to be abolished, to exert themselves in preparing petitions for this object to be presented at the next session of Congress. Even if the measure should then fail, they will have the satisfaction of having done their duty, and having assisted, in some degree, to effect a great moral reform which must sooner or later be accomplished.

#### THE BLACK LAW OF CONNECTICUT.

We neglected in our last to mention that Miss Crandall for a violation of this nefarious statute, in continuing to instruct colored children, had been arrested, and carried before a justice of the peace, by whom she was committed to jail to take her trial at the ensuing court. We are informed that she was confined in the same room which was occupied by the murderer Watkins during the last days of his life. In this 'opprobrious den of shame,' however, she only remained one day, her friends finding bail for her on the day after she was committed.

We are glad to perceive that the persecution of this high minded and devoted philanthropist, has excited a burst of indignation from many of the northern editors. And we

acknowledge with pleasure, that even some thorough colonizationists have exhibited the manly and honorable feeling which the brutal persecution of this benevolent lady was well calculated to rouse.

Deeply as we regret the indignities to which Miss Crandall has been exposed, we doubt not that they will advance the great cause of human rights. If we are not mistaken, the violent measures of her unchristian persecutors will open the eyes of many men to their own prejudices against people of color;—make them ashamed of their past injustice,—and anxious to make amends for it by kindness to the victims of their former dislike.

Since the above was written Miss Crandall has been tried, for the offence of instructing colored children, inhabitants of places out of Connecticut. Miss Crandall was defended by Messrs. Ellsworth and Strong, distinguished members of the Connecticut Bar.

The ground of defence was that the colored children in Miss Crandall's school were citizens of other States, and were, therefore, entitled to the protection of the provision of the Constitution of the United States, which provides that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States;'—that in order to their protection it was necessary that the law should be considered unconstitutional in its application to Miss Crandall, as long as she instructed none but citizens of the United States. These positions were supported in speeches of great ability. On behalf of the government Messrs. Judson (the Canterbury agitator) and Welsh argued that colored persons were not citizens within the meaning of the Constitution.

The counsel for the defendant informed the jury that they were judges of the law as well as of the facts in the case, and were not bound by the instructions of the court in regard to the law. This position was not disputed on the other side, but the danger of juries setting up their own views of law in opposition to those of the judges was strongly urged.

The court instructed the jury that the law was constitutional.

The jury could not agree in a verdict, and, after having been twice sent out, without agreeing, were discharged.

It was understood that five of the jury were for acquitting, and seven for convicting, the defendant.

The trial produced an intense interest in Brooklyn where it was tried and the vicinity. The arguments of the defendant's counsel produced a deep and powerful impression. It cannot be doubted that this trial will do much in promoting a correct state of public sentiment. We have reason to believe that a full and correct report of the trial will speedily be published.

The firmness of the five jurymen who dared to oppose an unconstitutional law, though supported by the weight of the bench, is highly honorable to them. It shows that there is a large proportion of the people in Connecticut who still retain a respect for the rights of the colored people, and have courage to oppose arbitrary power.

#### GUNPOWDER.

In the town of Europolis lived a gentleman of the name Orgilus. He was in many respects a good citizen. But he caused great alarm and anxiety to his fellow townsmen by keeping a dozen barrels of gunpowder very carelessly stowed in his cellar. His neighbors often expostulated with him upon the folly and criminality of endangering his and their lives by leaving so explosive an article, in such an exposed situation. Their remonstrances every day increased in loudness and frequency. At first he had listened to them with patient civility. But at last, he usually grew sulky and indignant, if any remarks were made in his hearing upon the delicate subject of his powder. The following is a conversation that took place between him and the occupant of a house adjoining his, when he was in one of his most sullen fits.

*Eumenes.* Friend Orgilus, why will you persist in keeping such a quantity of gunpowder in your cellar. You cannot imagine how much uneasiness it causes in my family.

*Org.* Your family forsooth. It is no business to you or your family. Have I not a right to do what I please in my own house. Suppose the powder should blow up, my house be destroyed, and I killed, whose business is it? Whosoever it may be, it is none of yours.

*Eum.* But, my friend, if your powder should take fire, I and my wife, and children, and others of your neighbors might be killed or maimed. The peril to which your negligence exposes us, gives us a right to expostulate.

*Org.* I cannot prevent your talking, but you surely ought to consider that I am fully aware of my danger,—and that the powder is a constant source of uneasiness to me. I am living every day over a mine, and yet you choose to increase the horrors of my situation by descanting upon them.

*Eu.* You do not mean surely to say that your real danger is increased by my mentioning it. My object in speaking is not to give you pain, but, by calling your attention to your danger, to induce you to provide a remedy.

*Org.* These are fine words. But I wish you to understand that henceforth I shall consider no man my friend, who vexes me with advice. Were not my father, my grandfather, and my great grandfather all in the habit of keeping powder in their cellars, and they all died in their beds. Have not I a right to expect the same end.

*Eu.* I do not think it necessary to reply to your exquisite logic. But you surely have not forgotten that several terrible explosions have taken place in your house, in which some of your relations have perished.

*Org.* What would you have me do? I want powder to shoot with. I use it in blowing rocks, and at trainings of the militia. You surely cannot reflect how much more it would cost me, if I did not keep my powder on hand.

*Eu.* Is a little saving of expense to be compared with constant danger of human life.

*Org.* Let me tell you, Eumenes, I never wish to hear another word from you on this subject. You shall not interfere with my private affairs. And if ever you darken my door again, I'll blow your brains out.

#### *Exeunt.*

According to the fashion of fables, ours requires a moral. But we prefer to leave it to our readers' ingenuity to discover the application of the tale.

#### A BID FOR A FREEMAN OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The following spirited article is from the *Liberator*, of August 3. It is well worthy the attention of all persons who wish to understand the disposition which slavery creates in its supporters.

The copy of the following resolutions passed by the State of Georgia, was sent to us for one of the series of notes of Mr. Child's speech. But as the act has never appeared entire in the *Liberator*, and as many persons in this

quarter of the country are known to be sceptical as to its having an existence, and as others are known to suppose that it was merely offered and rejected, or at worst was adopted by one branch only of the Legislature of Georgia,—we have thought proper to give the piece a more conspicuous type and place, than it could have had among a mass of notes.

IN SENATE, November 30, 1831.

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, in General Assembly met,* That the sum of FIVETHOUSAND DOLLARS, be, and the same is hereby appropriated, to be paid to any person or persons who shall arrest, bring to trial, and prosecute to conviction under the laws of this State; the editor or publisher of a certain paper called the *Liberator*, published in the town of Boston, and State of Massachusetts; or who shall arrest, bring to trial and prosecute to conviction under the laws of this State, any other person or persons, who shall utter, publish or circulate within the limits of this State, said paper, called the *Liberator*, or any other paper, circular, pamphlet, letter or address of a seditious character.

And that his Excellency the Governor is hereby authorized and requested, to issue his warrant upon the Treasurer, for said sum of five thousand dollars, in favor of any person or persons who shall have arrested and brought to trial and prosecuted to conviction, under the laws of this State, the editor or publisher of the *Liberator*, or who shall have arrested and brought to trial or prosecute to conviction, under the laws of this State; any other person or persons, who shall utter, publish or circulate within the limits of this State, said paper called the *Liberator*, or any other paper, circular, pamphlet, letter, or address of a seditious character.

And that these resolutions be inserted in the appropriation act.

*And resolved further,* That his Excellency the Governor cause the foregoing resolutions, to be published in the public journals of this State, and such other papers as he may think proper, and pay for the publication thereof, out of the contingent fund.

Read and agreed to.

THOMAS STOCKS, President.

Attest, I. L. HARRIS, Secretary.

*In the House of Representatives.*

Concurred in, Dec. 24, 1831.

ASBURY HULL, Speaker.

Attest, W. C. DAWSON, Clerk,

Approved, Dec. 26, 1831.

WILSON LUMPKIN, Governor.

For the murderers of Joseph White, the Governor of Massachusetts offered a reward of \$1000. Upon the head of Mr. Garrison, or of us his substitute, or of any editor or printer of this little paper, the great State of Georgia, has set five times as much! What is the design of this extraordinary offer?

It cannot be to procure *directly* the punishment of the editors and mechanics connected with this press, because either of us being within the jurisdiction of Georgia, the previously existing laws of that State might and doubtless would be applied without any necessity for this subsidiary act. But there is no probability, that any person connected intimately with this paper, would ever go to the State of Georgia, and 'the collective wisdom' of that State did not, in our opinion, take into view such a contingency.

The act then was intended to operate *out* of the State of Georgia; in other words, it was designed to procure the *abduction* of one or more of the persons therein described.

Now it matters not that it would be contrary to well settled and known principles of law, to try and punish a man in Georgia, for publishing his sentiments in Massachusetts; it matters not that those principles are in force in Georgia itself, (as far as any principles which clash with their convenience, and their passions *can* be in force there,) because when a legislature has offered in such a manner, such a sum to accomplish the preliminary object of getting the persons described into their power, there can be no doubt that they have resolved to accomplish the ulterior object! And to that end, it is more than probable, that they would ride over all legal obstructions, which even their own laws and usages might oppose thereto.

The offer then of the sum of \$5000, is to procure the abduction and *judicial murder* of any person or persons employed, now or heretofore, (even before the passage of the law, thus making it clearly *ex post facto*,) in the editing or printing of this paper! The last resolution makes the intent of this act manifest without the help of much reasoning. The Legislature of Georgia were not content with providing for the promulgation of this act in their own newspapers in the usual way; but they also provide for disseminating it through the whole country, and the world. This shows that it was intended as a notice to kidnappers. This shows that the design was ABDUCTION and MURDER, and nothing else.

What think you, citizens of Massachusetts? Have we committed any offence? Have we violated any law which it was our duty to obey? Have we not a right to your protection? Is it not part of the duty of society to protect its members?

If the 'Georgia Guard' were to march into Massachusetts, for the purpose of arresting a citizen of this State, it would be a violation of the laws of nations, and of the federal compact, which in respect to these States, superadds to the obligations of the laws of nations. But such a measure would not be half as dangerous to an individual, nor more insulting to this State, than is the above act of legislation.

The Georgia Guard, or a Georgia army, so far as they survived, would soon be in the custody of constables and executioners. But against lurking kidnappers, against those who may abuse our own laws, and the process of our own courts, to *get possession* of their victim, who can guard?

Lord Chancellor Brougham, or Mr. Buxton, has done and is doing more for the emancipation of the *Georgia* slaves, than forty newspapers can effect. Suppose *Georgia*, graduating her price according to the size of her victim, should offer *two hundred thousand dollars* for the kidnapping and bringing within her jurisdiction, either of those writers and members of the *London Anti-Slavery Society*? What would England do? Would she blink it? She might possibly do so from contempt. Can our government, who owe us protection, allege as honorable a motive for silence and inaction?

Ten years ago, the Greeks were slaves, but not near as much slaves, not half as unhappy or numerous as the people whose rights we advocate. At that time Daniel Webster and Henry Clay denounced Turkish tyranny in terms as severe and indignant as any that we have used in respect to American tyranny, which is much more inexcusable than Turkish. Did any body blame them? Every body applauded them except Mahmoud and his Pachas. Suppose then out of the boundless and brilliant treasures of the seraglio, the Sultan had offered a million of gold ducats to any person or association of persons, who would kidnap and drag before the court of the grand Mufti Daniel Webster or Henry Clay. Would this State have been quiet under it? Would this nation have been quiet? Every one will answer, that if they had been, they would deserve every one of them to be brought acquainted with the famous *bowstring* by sentence of that same Mufti. Suppose again that a price were set by South Carolina upon the head of Gov. Lincoln for his free remarks upon *nullification*, which is merely another name for slavery, the perpetuation of slavery, and the continued and confirmed dominion of slave owners and traders;—would this government, would this people have set down quietly under such a felonious and bloody act, and left open a door for it to be consummated? Certainly not. Where is the difference between such a case and our own?—We will tell you our opinion, and we hope that if it be true, you will not be offended at it. It is that we are poor and powerless, unable by money or force to protect ourselves! if we were courted and surrounded by troops of politicians, whose hopes of loaves and fishes were wrapped up in our personal safety, if we or the printer were so conspicuous that a ruffian hand could not violate us without sending an electric shock through the community; in short, if we had that which is worshipped

here, under the names of *POWER* and *WEALTH*; then we should not remain exposed as we are; then we should not have to complain of a total disregard for our lives and welfare on the part of that government which is supported for the very purpose of protecting individuals; then would adequate protection have been provided for us long ago, and without asking it!

But time will set all these things right. If the offering up of many lives can accelerate the great work which cannot now be stopped, nor the gates of hell prevail against it, these lives will be cheerfully given.

The human mind rises as it resists oppression. The persecution of southerners and the servile acquiescence, thus far, of northerners, do but confirm us the more in our course. We say, in the language of an illustrious Englishman, 'neither friends nor foes, nor life nor death, nor thunder nor lightning shall make us give way the breadth of one hair.'

*'Cry wo, destruction, ruin, loss, dismay;  
The worst is death, and death will have his day.'*

Before closing these remarks, we take the liberty to recommend the above act of *Georgia* to the attention of the legislature of *Connecticut*. Good precedents are a great matter in the law.

#### BOSTON YOUNG MEN'S ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.

A society called the *Boston Young Men's Anti-Slavery Association for the Diffusion of Truth*, has been recently formed. It will, we trust, afford valuable aid to the great cause of justice and humanity. It is delightful to find young men engaging with zeal, in the prosecution of such objects. It is honorable to themselves, and must be useful to their country. The officers of the society are—

Rev. AMOS A. PHELPS, *President*.  
JOHN N. BARBOUR, *Vice President*.  
JOHN STIMPSON, *Cor. Secretary*.  
ALFRED NORTON, *Rec. Secretary*.  
JOHN FORD, *Treasurer*.  
GEORGE LORING, }  
J. H. TENNEY, } *Trustees*.  
JOHN CUTTS SMITH, }  
N. SOUTHARD. }

#### BOSTON MUTUAL LYCEUM.

A society with this name has been recently formed in Boston, by the colored people. They have been assisted in establishing this institution by Mr. Josiah Holbrook and other friends. The following are the names of the officers.

DUDLEY TIDD, *President*.  
JOEL W. LEWIS, *1st Vice President*.  
SARAH H. ANNIBLE, *2nd Vice President*.  
GEORGE GALL, *Recording Secretary*.  
NATH. CUTLER, *Cor. Secretary*.  
THOMAS DALTON, *Treasurer*.  
JOSEPH H. GOVER, }  
JOHN B. CUTLER, } *Managers*.  
HENRY CARROLL, }  
LUCY V. LEW, }  
MARY WILLIAMS, }

## ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AT NEW-HAVEN.

A Society was formed in New-Haven, on the 4th of June last, of great respectability and influence, called the New-Haven Anti-Slavery Society. The Constitution recognises the same principles as those held by the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

ELI IVES, M. D. *President.*

TIMOTHY DWIGHT, *1st Vice President.*

NATH. JOCELYN, *2nd Vice President.*

ROBERT B. HALL, *Secretary.*

AMOS TOWNSEND, JR., *Treasurer.*

S. S. JOCELYN,

E. A. TOWNSEND,

SIDNEY HALL,

HENRY A. HOMES,

} *Executive Committee.*

We mentioned in a former number the formation of this Society, but had not received the names of the officers at that time.

[From the London Times of July 29.]

## DEATH OF WM. WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

It is this day our melancholy duty to announce the death of William Wilberforce, a name with which there is probably associated more of love and veneration than ever fell to the lot of any single individual throughout the civilized globe.

At one period the sad event would have been felt as a grievous national calamity, and even now the tidings of his departure will be heard with the deepest sorrow through every part of the empire. But he worked while it was called day, remembering that the night was coming wherein no man may work. And he was not permitted to leave the scene of his labors till he beheld the great cause to which he had dedicated all the energies of his soul triumphant, and the fetters of the negro about to be struck off for ever.

[From the Weekly Recorder.]

## THE COLORED MOTHER OF NEW-ENGLAND TO HER INFANT.

Smile on, my babe, thy infant mirth

Beguiles my heart awhile;

Thou hast not learned enough of earth

To know thou should not smile.

Thy sparkling eye is full of light,

Thy heart beats high with joy,

And wo or care, from morn till night,

Disturbs not thee, my boy.

Smile now—for, o'er thy coming years,

A cloud of misery bends;

Disgrace and shame, regret and tears,

Till earthly being ends.

Yes, yes—my child—that soul of thine,

Pure from its Maker's hand,

Destined, they tell us, yet to shine

In heaven, its native land;

That soul, by God's all-wise decree,

Is shrined within a form

Of human shape and symmetry,

With life-blood read and warm;

Whose skin reflects a darker hue

Than that the white man wears,

And for *this cause*, thy early dew  
Of joy must change for tears!

For thee from childhood's gleesome hour,  
Through all thy onward track,  
Are hard and bitter things in store,  
*Because thy skin is black!*

Oh! I have borne this shame about,  
In bitterness and grief,  
And till sweet peace a Saviour brought,  
I never found relief.

A little girl, to school I went,  
With heart as light as air,  
And as my steps I thither bent,  
I breathed my morning prayer.

Into a corner, all alone,  
My place was there assigned,  
My lessons, books, were all my own,  
A mate I could not find.

At play, upon my lonely state,  
No ray of kindness came;  
They spurned me as a thing to hate,  
And *negro* was my name.

At night I reached my mother's cot,  
With heart oppressed with wo,  
And from my mother's lips I sought  
The cause of all to know.

She said 't was *cruel prejudice*,  
That dwelt their breasts within,  
Which caused the treatment such as this,  
Of those of colored skin.

My hopes were crushed, my heart appalled,  
With this most foul disgrace;  
And then my teacher, *stupid* called  
*All creatures of my race!*

Whene'er upon the Sabbath morn,  
I've sought the house of prayer,  
My soul has sunk beneath the scorn  
*The white man carries there.*

Must thou, my child—my only one—  
Must thou, too, feel the smart  
Of this unjust and cruel scorn,  
That withers all the heart?

For cause beyond thy weak control,  
Has God for thee designed  
*This degradation of the soul,*  
*This slavery of the mind?*

No: scriptures say, that of *one blood*,  
*Has God created all*  
*The nations He has spread abroad,*  
*Upon this earthly ball.*

'T is *man*, proud *man*, makes this decree  
Of him of colored skin;  
Who says 'he must a *negro* be,'  
And cries, 'unclean, unclean!'

Great Father! who created all,  
The *colored* and the *fair*;  
Oh! listen to a mother's call,  
Hear Thou, the negro's prayer.

Yet once again, thy people teach  
With lessons from above,  
That they may *practice* what they *preach*,  
And all their neighbors love.

Again, the gospel precepts give,  
Teach them this rule to know,  
Such treatment as ye would *receive*,  
Be willing to *bestow*.

That this, my child, my only one—  
May never feel the smart  
Of this unjust and cruel scorn,  
That withers all the heart.

# THE ABOLITIONIST.

VOL. I.]

OCTOBER, 1833.

[NO. X.

## SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.\*

The existence of slavery in any part of the United States, is probably a subject of frequent and bitter reflection to every patriot and philanthropist. The citizens of the northern section of the country, however, though they see and lament the extent of the evil in the southern states, have their feelings perpetually chilled, by the consciousness that all their efforts to remove or alleviate the disease which oppresses that quarter of our land, must be indirect and operate slowly. Many too of our most respectable citizens think that any discussion in the northern states, of the subject of slavery as it exists in the southern states, is an improper interference with their institutions. Though we consider this opinion as false and absurd, yet as a matter of fact we are compelled to admit its existence. Its effects are most pernicious. By denying the liberty of the press, of speech, and almost of thought, in regard to a subject upon which our remonstrances should be loud and unceasing, it prevents to a great extent the moral influence of the north from acting upon the south.

But there is one part of the country where slavery is allowed, in regard to which the citizens of the north have not only a right to indicate and complain of the evil, but a great duty to perform of active exertion for its suppression. We refer to the District of Columbia. This District now is, and probably long will remain, under the exclusive jurisdiction of the general government. We dispute the assertion that slavery in this district, is the business of the southern states more than of the northern. It is the common concern of

the whole nation. Slavery exists in this District by the permission of the government of the United States. The sin and disgrace of tolerating the institution there is national, and shared by the inhabitants of the northern states, equally with those of the southern.

If a citizen of New-York or Pennsylvania felt himself under a moral obligation to exert himself to put an end to slavery in his own State, why should he not feel the same obligation to abolish it in the District of Columbia? Is there any difference in the cases?

A little attention to the history and present condition of this district, will, we believe, convince any candid mind that slavery ought to be abolished there. This conclusion does not rest solely upon arguments which will apply to slavery in the southern states, but upon others also which apply specially to the District.

By the Constitution of the United States, Congress had power 'to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatever over such district, not exceeding ten miles square, as might by cession of particular states and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of government of the United States.'

Under this provision, Maryland and Virginia, shortly after the adoption of the constitution, ceded to the United States those portions of their territory which now form the District of Columbia. After congress had assumed the jurisdiction of the District, a law was passed dated February 27, 1800, which provided that the laws of Virginia and Maryland, as they then existed, should continue in force in the parts of the District by those states respectively ceded to the United States. Those laws therefore are still the laws of the District of Columbia, except in those particulars in which they have been altered by acts of congress.

Under this exclusive jurisdiction, granted by the constitution, congress has power to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District. It would hardly be necessary to state this as a distinct proposition, had it not been

\* This piece contains the substance of an article upon 'An Extract from a Speech delivered by CHARLES MINER, in the House of Representatives of the United States, in 1829, on the subject of Slavery and the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia: with Notes,'—which appeared in the American Quarterly Review, in September last, with some alterations and additions by the writer of the article.

occasionally questioned. The truth of the assertion, however, is too obvious to admit of argument, and, we believe, has never been disputed by persons who are familiar with the constitution.

The situation of the District in regard to slavery, is peculiarly unfortunate. Congress has done scarcely any thing on the subject; so that one part of the District is governed by the old slave code of Virginia, as it was thirty years ago, with no material improvement, and the other by that of Maryland as it was at the same period.

The number of slaves in the District of Columbia, was in 1830 only 6050, being little more than one seventh part of the whole population, which was 39,834. This class, therefore, in the District, is absolutely very small. It is also small when compared with the whole population of the District; and when compared with the whole population of the country, it sinks into insignificance. We advert to the small number of slaves, not as a reason for neglecting them, but as one of the strongest arguments for enfranchisement. Where, in a population of one hundred thousand, ninety thousand are slaves, or of five hundred thousand, two hundred and fifty thousand are slaves, there is plausibility in the plea that immediate abolition would be attended with danger. But it is idle to talk of danger from the enfranchisement of the six thousand slaves in the District, when there are thirty-four thousand freemen to protect themselves, to say nothing of the support of a nation comprising eleven millions of freemen.

In considering the propriety of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, we scarcely need advert to the general arguments against the system. These are familiar to every general reader. We shall merely allude to some of them.

The system has its foundation in injustice. This we shall not attempt to prove, since even the advocates of slavery often admit theoretically that the slave has a perfect and inalienable right to his personal liberty.

The system being thus founded in injustice the laws which regulate the relation of master and slave, are to the latter cruel and oppressive.

The master of a slave has the legal right to sell him, and in so doing may separate him from his wife and children, and send him to a distant region where he may never see these dear objects of his affection till he meets them

again in a better world. This is not merely the law, but it is law not unfrequently put in practice in the district.

The slave is compelled to labor for his master, but is entitled to no wages for his services, and only receives such food, clothing, and lodging as his master pleases to bestow upon him. These it is scarcely necessary to add, are often shamefully insufficient.

The slave can be beaten and otherwise abused at the arbitrary will of his master or his deputy, and the law gives him no redress.

A slave cannot be a party to a suit. However grievously his person or property may be injured, he can bring no action for redress. If he sells any thing, he can bring no action for the price. If he works for wages, as he may by his master's consent, he can maintain no suit, if they are not paid.

In addition to these and other intolerable burdens which the law imposes on the slave, his offences are in many cases more severely punished than the same acts when committed by a white man.

The moral effects of the institution ought also to be borne in mind, in judging of the necessity of abolishing it in the District of Columbia.

Slavery deprives the slave almost entirely of intellectual, moral, and religious instruction; and thus brutalizes and degrades all his faculties.

It encourages prostitution and promiscuous intercourse among the negroes, and discourages lawful marriage.

While it produces these evils among the slaves, by a severe and necessary retribution, slavery corrupts the morals of the whites, rendering them indolent, licentious, intemperate, violent, revengeful, and unfeeling.

Of the political and economical evils of slavery we refrain from speaking, not because they are not great, but because they are obvious and admitted. Every one who knows any thing of the comparative situation of the northern and southern sections of our country, or even of Ohio and Kentucky, must acknowledge them.

There are many considerations in a great measure peculiar to the District of Columbia, which render the abolition of slavery there an imperative duty upon the nation. Mr. Miner, in a preamble to resolutions offered by him to the house of representatives, January 9, 1829,

presents in a condensed form some of the important facts which lead to this conclusion.

'Whereas the laws in respect to slavery within the District have been almost entirely neglected; from which neglect, for nearly 30 years, have grown numerous and gross corruptions.

'Slave dealers, gaining confidence from impunity, have made the seat of federal government their head quarters for carrying on the domestic slave trade.

'The public prisons have been extensively used, (perverted from the purposes for which they were erected,) for carrying on the domestic slave trade.

'Officers of the federal government have been employed, and derive emoluments from carrying on the domestic slave trade.

'Private and secret prisons exist in the district for carrying on the traffic in human beings.

'The trade is not confined to those who are slaves for life; but persons having a limited time to serve, are bought by the slave-dealers, and sent where redress is hopeless.

'Others are kidnapped and hurried away before they can be rescued.

'Instances of death, from the anguish of despair, exhibited in the District, mark the cruelty of this traffic.

'Instances of maiming and suicide, executed or attempted, have been exhibited, growing out of this traffic within the District.

'Free persons of color coming into the District, are liable to arrest, imprisonment, and sold into slavery for life, for jail fees, if unable, from ignorance, misfortune, or fraud, to prove their freedom.

'Advertisements beginning, 'We will give cash for one hundred likely young negroes of both sexes, from eight to twenty-five years old,' contained in the public prints of the city, under the notice of congress, indicate the openness and extent of the traffic.

'Scenes of human beings exposed at public vendue are exhibited here, permitted by the laws of the general government.

'A grand jury of the district has presented the slave trade as a grievance.

'A writer in a public print in the District has set forth 'that to those who have never seen a spectacle of the kind (exhibited by the slave trade) no description can give an adequate idea of its horrors.'

'To such an extent had this trade been carried in 1816, that a member of congress from Virginia introduced a resolution in the House, 'That a committee be appointed to inquire into the existence of an *inhuman* and *illegal* traffic in slaves carried on in and through the District of Columbia, and report whether any, and what measures are necessary for putting a stop to the same.'

'The House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, at their last session, by an almost

unanimous vote, expressed the opinion, 'that slavery within the District of Columbia ought to be abolished.'

'Numerous petitions from various parts of the Union have been presented to congress, praying for the revision of the laws in respect to slavery, and the gradual abolition of slavery within the District.

'A petition was presented at the last session of congress, signed by more than one thousand inhabitants of the District, praying for the gradual abolition of slavery therein.'

The statements made by Mr. Miner in this preamble, we believe, are abundantly proved by facts. Most of them are fully substantiated in his speech.

As, probably, the greater part of the citizens of our country, though favorable to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, are ignorant of the extent and enormity of the traffic in slaves carried on there, the subject deserves a more particular notice.

The States of Virginia and Maryland having for some time found the cultivation of the soil by slaves less profitable than it was formerly, now raise slaves for sale and exportation to the southern markets. Six thousand slaves are computed to be sold every year to go out of Virginia alone. The District of Columbia, probably in consequence of the neglect of congress, has been found a very convenient place for collecting together and shipping cargoes of living bodies to the south.

The manner in which this business is carried on, is inhuman and disgraceful to the country which endures it. Regular slave traders reside at the very seat of government. We copy one of their advertisements from Mr. Miner's speech.

#### 'WE WILL GIVE CASH

For one hundred likely young negroes of both sexes, between the ages of eight and twenty-five years. Persons who wish to sell would do well to give us a call, as the negroes are wanted immediately. We will give more than any other purchasers that are in market, or may hereafter come into market.

Any letters addressed to the subscribers, through the post office at Alexandria, will be promptly attended to. For information, inquire at the subscribers', west end of Duke Street, Alexandria, D. C.

FRANKLIN & ARMFIELD.'

Besides Franklin & Armfield, whose names are signed to this advertisement, several other regular slave-traders reside in the District. Among these may be named Washington Roby, one Simpson, and Gilson Dove of Wash-

ington. One M'Candlass, we are informed, keeps a tavern for negro traders at Georgetown; and many negro dealers from the south, are in the habit of resorting to the District. We have thought it a duty to mention the names of these cannibals, in the same manner that we should those of a gang of thieves or counterfeiters.

The slaves are brought into the district in droves, handcuffed and chained together, and driven like beasts. These wretched victims are then cast into public and private jails, where they are kept till they are sent to the South. Mr. Miner, in his speech, read the following extract of a letter from Alexandria.

'Almost every week droves are brought into town of ten or twelve, all chained together. Some time since a person observed twenty-two or three come out of a cellar of a small house, where they had been stowed for some time. He thought it must surely be contrary to the *law*, that so many should be placed in so small an apartment, and inquired of one of the civil officers, how many slaves it was lawful to place in a damp cellar. The officer replied 'as many as it will hold.' The same thing exists with regard to *shipping* them: they may place as many in a vessel as it will hold.'

Mr. Miner makes the following statement in regard to the jail in Washington.

'By papers furnished me by the keeper, it appears that there were sent to prison for safe keeping, that is, as is well understood, for sale, and imprisoned as runaways.

*Safe keeping. Taken up as runaways.*

In 1824,	81	52
1825,	124	58
1826 & 1827,	156	101
1828,	91	79
	<hr/> 452	<hr/> 290

'Debtors and persons charged with criminal offences, of course, are not included in the statement, so that it would appear, in the last five years, more than four hundred and fifty persons had been confined in the public prison of the city—a prison under the control of congress, and regulated by its laws—for sale in the process of the slave trade. Such, said Mr M., is not the intention for which the prison was erected. Pennsylvania, so far as she is concerned, and her means are appropriated to repair and keep up the prison, I am confident in saying, does not and never has intended that it should be used for this purpose.'

We have information from other sources confirming the representations made by Mr Miner, as to the extent and atrocity of the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

A gentleman well acquainted in Washing-

ton, recently told us, that he should think from fifty to a hundred persons were sold yearly in that place to pay jail fees.

A private jail used solely in the slave business, is kept by Washington Roby, in Washington. Franklin and Armfield have a similar establishment in Alexandria. These places are well provided with cells, dungeons, irons, and other conveniences for the trade. Besides these jails, there are other places of confinement in houses which are often used for the same purposes.

Franklin and Armfield, the principal dealers in this District, have vessels constantly running to New Orleans with cargoes of human beings.

Slave-drivers reside at Washington who make it a business to drive droves of slaves further south by land. The children are carried in wagons, but the rest are forced to walk. The wretches who conduct this branch of the business, are provided with thumb-screws, as instruments of torture to be applied to refractory slaves.

These droves, as we may well imagine, present melancholy spectacles. The blacks move in pairs, the right hand of one handcuffed to the left hand of his neighbor. A chain passing through the whole length of the drove, connects the pairs together. The citizens of Washington were so shocked by the sight of these sad processions, and the hearing of their cries and groans, that it is now the practice for them to leave the city late on Saturday nights.

It is not easy to ascertain the precise extent to which the slave trade is carried on in the District of Columbia, though it may be in some degree judged of from the facts which we have stated. A branch of business in which so large an amount of capital is invested, in ships, jails, and bodies, and in which so many principal and subordinate agents are regularly employed, is obviously extensive.

The enormity of the slave-trade of which the District of Columbia has been made the seat, has not only excited the attention of strangers, but has roused the indignation of the inhabitants of the District themselves. Mr. Miner, in the course of his remarks, read a presentment made by a grand jury at Alexandria, in 1802.

'January Term, 1802.

'We, the grand jury for the body of the county of Alexandria, in the District of Col-

umbia, present as a grievance the practice of persons coming from distant parts of the United States into this District, for the purpose of purchasing slaves, where they exhibit to our view a scene of wretchedness and human degradation, disgraceful to our characters as citizens of a free government.

'True it is, that those dealers in the persons of our fellow men, collect within this District, from various parts, numbers of those victims of slavery, and lodge them in some place of confinement until they have completed their numbers. They are then turned out in our streets, and exposed to view, loaded with chains, as though they had committed some heinous offence against our laws. We consider it a *grievance*, that citizens from distant parts of the United States, should be permitted to come within the District, and pursue a traffic fraught with so much misery to a class of beings entitled to our protection by the laws of justice and humanity; and that the interposition of civil authority cannot be had to prevent parents from being wrested from their offspring, and children from their parents, without respect to the ties of nature. We consider those grievances demanding legislative redress; especially the practice of making sale of black people, who are, by the will of their masters, designed to be free at the expiration of a term of years, who are sold and frequently taken to distant parts, where they have not the power to avail themselves of that portion of liberty which was designed for their enjoyment.'

Judge Morrel, in his charge to the grand jury of Washington, at the session of the Circuit Court of the United States, January, 1816, urged upon their attention the slave trade carried on in the District. He said, that 'the frequency with which the streets of the city had been crowded with manacled captives, sometimes even on the Sabbath, could not fail to shock the feelings of all humane persons; that it was repugnant to the spirit of our political institutions, and the rights of man, and he believed was calculated to impair the public morals, by familiarizing scenes of cruelty to the minds of youth.'

One of the worst features in the slave trade carried on in the District of Columbia, is that it leads to enslaving free people of color. One mode in which this effect is produced is set forth in the presentment of the grand jury. Another, is by selling free colored persons who have been arrested as runaways, and fail to prove their freedom. Mr. Miner mentions some cases of this kind.

'I have another case of hardship to bring to your notice. A man was taken up as a run-

away, and advertised for sale. He protested that he was a freeman. No proof to the contrary appeared. As the time of sale approached, a good deal of interest was excited for him, and two respectable citizens interposed in his behalf. They asked the delay of a short time, that the rights of the man might be ascertained. They went so far as to offer security for the payment of the fees, if the sale could be delayed. But I will read the evidence of what I state.'

Here Mr. M. read the following:

'District of Columbia, }  
'Washington County, } ss.

'Appear before me, a justice of the peace in and for this county, Ezekiel Young and Josiah Bosworth, two respectable witnesses, and make oath, in due form of law, that, in the last summer, they were at the jail of the county of Washington, in the said District, in behalf of a black man called James Green, who stated that he was free, and could prove his freedom, and had written on for that purpose. That they did importune with the deputy marshal of this district, to postpone the sale, and offered security for the fees, yet the said deputy marshal said he could not postpone the sale. He was then sold to a man who acknowledged himself a slave dealer, but said he would continue the slave here a few days, but did not. He was sold without any limitation of time of service, and no security was required of the slave dealer to retain him in the District.

'Given under my hand and seal, this 28th Jan. 1828. JOHN CHALMERS, J. P. [L.S.]

'So the man was sold, and sent off by the slave dealers into hopeless bondage, though probably having as much right to freedom as any one. Will any one doubt but our laws need revision? Can any one who hears me, question but that this whole matter needs to be looked into with a searching eye? If this event had happened in a distant country, how strongly would it have affected us? There is, in the public prints, an advertisement of a woman as a runaway, and that she will be sold for her jail fees. She is a yellow woman of about nineteen. She seems intelligent, and to have been well brought up. Her story is, that she is entitled to her freedom at twenty-five, but that her present master, who is a slave dealer, is trying to make her a slave for life. In this case I do not think the confinement is intended to aid him. But it will be seen in a moment, that when the subject passes by unheeded, a dealer, owning a servant who has two or three years to serve, may cause him to be arrested as a runaway, let him be sold for jail fees, have a trusty friend to buy him in, and thus convert a servant for a term of years, into a slave for life. A more expeditious mode of proceeding, by which persons having a limited time to serve are de-

prived entirely of their rights, is this: They are purchased up at cheap rates by the slave traders. They remove them to a great distance. It will be easily seen how small the chance that such persons would have to preserve the proofs of their freedom, and how little would their protestations be heeded without proof. They are carried where redress is hopeless. Thus the slave trade, as it exists, and is carried on here, is marked by instances of injustice and cruelty, scarcely exceeded on the coast of Africa. It is a mistake to suppose it is a mere purchase and sale of acknowledged slaves. The District is full of complaints upon the subject, and the evil is increasing.'

How atrocious is the system, which is here revealed; how disgraceful to a christian community! A poor man is arrested on suspicion of being a slave. No owner appears to claim him. He is refused time to establish his freedom by evidence; and finally is sold as a slave to pay jail fees. Every part of the proceeding is inhuman and brutal. In a country where liberty is prized, the presumption should be, that every man is free till he is proved to be a slave. In the District of Columbia, every colored person is presumed to be a slave, unless he can prove his freedom.—When an owner does not appear after a reasonable time, to claim the person arrested on suspicion of being a slave, the prisoner ought to be discharged, and a compensation made to him for the injury which he has suffered. But in the District of Columbia, at the seat of government of a nation claiming to be one of the most enlightened on the face of the earth, the free man, thus wronged by a causeless imprisonment, is sold into hopeless bondage, *to pay jail fees!*

Some circumstances which have come to our knowledge justify the suspicion that officers of the United States government are deriving improper benefits from the system of selling for jail fees. We are informed that jailors in the District take considerable pains to prevent colored people confined on suspicion of being runaways, from sending to their friends to get papers to prove their freedom. They also exhibit an obvious reluctance to permit white persons who are desirous of assisting these poor prisoners, to see them.

The circumstances mentioned in the affidavit of Young and Bosworth lead to the same suspicion.

We have also been assured by a person whose veracity we have no reason to doubt,

that a certain justice of the peace and some constables in Washington have been known to take away from free people of color the papers which proved their freedom, and to prevent their using them.

But whether there is any official misconduct or not,—if the law be never transgressed in regard to the sale of runaways,—still, so long as the public jails and public officers of the United States are made instruments in the transfer of slaves, so long is the government of the country a slave trading government, and the people a slave trading people. They not only tolerate the transgression, but become parties in it.

Dr. Torrey, in his *Portraiture of Domestic Slavery*, mentions another mode in which free persons are robbed of their liberty by perjury. He says, 'having selected a suitable free colored person to make a pitch upon, the conjuring kidnapper employs a confederate to ascertain the distinguishing marks of his body, and then claims and obtains him as a slave, before a magistrate, by describing those marks, and proving the truth of his assertions by his well instructed accomplice.'

Not only does the toleration of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, lead to the kidnapping of freemen under color of law, but it is often the cause of their being kidnapped by violence. Dr. Torrey makes mention of several kidnapped persons whom he found confined in a house in Washington, and whose freedom he succeeded in obtaining. The following is his account of one of these cases.

'The others whom I found in the same garret, and at the same time, were a young black widow woman, with an infant at the breast, both of whom were born free. Her husband had died a few days previous to her seizure, and she was in a state of pregnancy at the time. She stated that the man in whose house she resided, together with his brother, and three other persons, (two of whom, she said, then stood indicted for having seized and carried her off at a former time), came into the room (a kitchen) where she was in bed, seized and dragged her out, fastened a noose round her neck to prevent her from screaming, and attempted to blindfold her, which she resisted with such violence that she prevented them from succeeding. She said, while one of them was endeavoring to fix the bandage over her eyes, that she seized his cheek with her teeth, and tore a piece of it entirely off. She said one of them struck her head several times with a stick of wood, from the wounds of which she was almost entirely covered with blood.

She showed me a large scar upon her forehead, occasioned by one of the blows, which a gentleman who saw her the day previous to seizure, has since informed me was not there before. She said, while she was struggling against them, and screaming, the man in whose house she lived bawled out, 'Choak the ———; don't let her halloo; she'll scare my wife!' Having conquered her by superior force, she said, they placed her with the child in a chaise, (her description of which, with the horse and the driver, who was one of the victors, corresponds precisely with that given by the mulatto man, of the carriage, &c. by which he also was conveyed,) and refusing to dress herself, three of them, leaving the two who belonged to the house, carried her off in the condition that she was dragged from the bed, to a certain tavern in Maryland, and sold them both to the man-dealer who brought them to the city of Washington. She stated, that one of her captors drove the carriage, and held the rope which was fixed to her neck, and that one rode each side, on horseback: that while one of them was negotiating a bargain with her purchaser, he asked her who her master was, and replying that she had none, her seller beckoned to him to go into another room, where the business was adjusted without troubling her with any further inquiries. She stated, that her purchaser confessed, while on the way to Annapolis, that he believed she might have had some claim to freedom, and intimated that he would have taken her back, if the man of whom he bought her had not run away; but requested her, notwithstanding, to say nothing to any body about her being free, which she refused to comply with. She affirmed, that he offered her for sale to several persons, *who refused to purchase, on account of her asserting that she was free.* She stated, that her purchaser, had left her in Washington for a few weeks, and gone to the Eastern Shore, in search of more black people, in order to make up a drove for Georgia.

We might easily adduce accounts of many more atrocities, to which the toleration of the slave trade has given occasion. But it is not necessary. Enough, and more than enough, has already been presented to our readers, to show the disgraceful inconsistency of the laws of the United States, which, while they denounce the slave trade as piracy if carried on in Africa or any foreign country, yet permit a thriving branch of the same traffic to be pursued within sight and hearing of the national legislature.

Scarcely an evil attends the African slave trade, which does not find its parallel in that carried on at the seat of government of the United States, by the license of the American

people. The victims of the African slave trade are taken by force, against their will—they are carried to a foreign country—they are torn from their friends, their wives, their children—they are chained—some of them were born free, and have been kidnapped by force or fraud. In which of these particulars is the Columbian slave trade less atrocious? The black taken from the District goes reluctantly—he is forced from the home of his love, to the unhealthy borders of the Mississippi—as much removed from the hope of revisiting it, as if he was going to another continent; he is torn by violence, amid shrieks, and tears, and groans, and muttered imprecations, from the embraces of his wife and children; he goes handcuffed and chained; he was perhaps born free, and was stolen from Delaware or Maryland. Ought not such a traffic to be abolished, 'absolutely, totally, and immediately'?

We have been so long accustomed to the existence of slavery in the District of Columbia, that the enormity of tolerating it does not strike us as it would under other circumstances. Intelligent foreigners are almost uniformly surprised and shocked to find slavery and the slave trade flourishing at the seat of our government. The following extract from the work of a recent traveller in this country, does but express the common sentiment of almost all who have preceded him. We admit that Col. Hamilton is often flippant, ignorant, cynical, and prejudiced. But it is in vain to deny that, in the present case, it is their substantial truth which gives the sharp edge to his observations.

'Washington, the seat of government of a free people, is disgraced by slavery. The waiters in the hotels, the servants in private families, and many of the lower class of artisans, are slaves. While the orators in Congress are rounding periods about liberty in one part of the city, proclaiming, *alto voce*, that all men are equal, and that 'resistance to tyrants is obedience to God,' the auctioneer is exposing human flesh to sale in another! I remember a gifted gentleman in the Representatives, who, in speaking of the Senate, pronounced it to be 'the most enlightened; the most august, and most imposing body in the world!' In regard to the extent of imposition, I shall not speak; but it so happened that the day was one of rain, and the effect of the eulogium was a good deal injured by recollecting that, an hour or two before, the members of this enlightened and august body were driven to the Capitol by slave coachmen,

who were at that very moment waiting to convey them back, when the *rights of man* had been sufficiently disserted on for the day.

I trust I do not write on this painful subject in an insulting spirit. \* \* But, that slavery should exist in the district of Columbia, that even the foot-print of a slave should be suffered to contaminate the soil peculiarly consecrated to Freedom, that the very shrine of the goddess should be polluted by the presence of chains and fetters, is perhaps the most extraordinary and monstrous anomaly to which human inconsistency—a prolific mother—has given birth.

The man who would study the contradictions of individual and national character, and learn by how wide an interval, profession may be divided from performance, should come to Washington. He will there read a new page in the volume of human nature; he will observe how compatible is the extreme of physical liberty, with bondage of the understanding. He will hear the words of freedom, and he will see the practice of slavery. Men who sell their fellow-creatures will discourse to him of indefeasible rights; \* \* \* he will be taught the affinity between the democrat and the tyrant; he will look for charters, and find manacles; expect liberality, and be met by bigotry and prejudice.’—*Men and Manners in America*, pp. 279, 280.

We have seen it stated that a majority of the inhabitants of the District of Columbia is favorable to the abolition of slavery there. Whether this statement be numerically correct we know not, but there can be no doubt that the friends of the measure there, are numerous and respectable. The wishes of the citizens of the District deserve the respectful consideration of Congress, even if no other arguments were to be found for enfranchisement. In another point of view this state of feeling in the District is important. Any statute which Congress may pass to put an end to slavery there, will meet with an active and cordial support in the very sphere of its operations. It can hardly be questioned that its effects will be far more beneficial under such circumstances, than if it were generally and strenuously opposed in the District.

It may perhaps excite surprise that Congress should not long since have proclaimed freedom to every bondman over whom it has jurisdiction, and declared that the seat of a free government should not continue a market for human bodies. The great reason that this result has not taken place, undoubtedly is, that the public generally are not at all aware of the nature and extent of the evil. Al! that is now necessary, in order to put an end to the

system, is to make the body of the people understand it. If this were done, a single session of congress would not perhaps be suffered to pass before a reform was commenced.

It must, however, be admitted, that arguments are not wanting from the friends of slavery, to prevent the interposition of congress. They urge, that for congress to act on this delicate subject, would offend the feelings of the southern members; and that to abolish slavery in the District would seem like a reproach on those states where it is not abolished. The sum of the argument is, that a great nation is to tolerate slavery and the slave trade,—to refuse the performance of a great act of justice and humanity,—because an opposite course would be a reproach upon that portion of the nation which is not troubled with conscientious scruples on the subject. The bare statement of the argument, in plain terms, carries with it its own confutation.

Whether slavery ought to be abolished in the District is not a mere question of political expediency, it involves principles of moral duty. Therefore while we admit that no act should be done for the mere purpose of irritating the whites of the south, we most earnestly contend that the claim which the blacks in the District have upon the nation for their freedom, is a claim of right, to neglect which, from the fear of giving offence to any part of the country, would be a base abandonment of principle.

We acknowledge the whites of the south as our friends and brethren. We are bound to them by a thousand ties of interest and feeling. But we ought not to sacrifice our principles as an offering to their prejudices.

But it is still further urged, that the slaves in the southern states will become uneasy if their brethren in the District be emancipated. We think there is little danger to be apprehended from this source. We have never heard that the abolition of slavery in New-Jersey and Pennsylvania, produced any bad consequences in Maryland and Virginia. We admit, however, that the southern states contain a large population among them, which is a constant and increasing source of danger, and which must continue to be so, as long as their present system remains. Conspiracies, murders, and insurrections are the natural fruits of slavery. It will no doubt produce them in future as it has in time past. The explosions which take place ought to be as-

cribed to the system itself, rather than to any extraneous circumstances.

We are, however, far from denying that the measure which we advocate, if it should be carried, is to be without influence in the southern states. On the contrary, we believe that it will have visible and important effects, not, in stimulating the blacks to violence, but in directing the attention of their masters to the subject of abolition. The mode in which Congress puts an end to the system in the District will be naturally regarded as a precedent in the southern states. If the measure should prove as beneficial, as we trust it will, it will add another argument to the many which now exist in favor of emancipation. The southern states may at first feel offended at the course adopted by Congress, but when they themselves are beginning a course of legislative enfranchisement, as some of them probably will before many years are past, all eyes will at once turn to the abolition law of Congress to guide them in their great experiment.

Many questions naturally occur to the mind, in considering the particular measures which Congress ought to adopt, in effecting any plan of abolition. Some of these questions are important. In examining them, however, we do not purpose to enter much into detail, but rather to present the general principles which we think ought to guide all legislation upon this subject.

An inquiry more frequently made than any other, is, whether abolition ought to be immediate or gradual. In our opinion the law to be passed ought to abolish slavery and the slave trade forthwith. Every colored person resident in the District, and every one hereafter coming into it, except the personal attendants upon members of Congress and the officers of government who belong to slave states, and runaway slaves, ought to be declared free immediately on the passage of the act. This course is recommended by obvious reasons.

It should never be forgotten in any discussion of this topic, that to give freedom to the slaves, is an act demanded by strict justice. They have a right to be made free. It is an act of injustice to them to detain them in bondage one moment longer than *the safety of society requires*.

The number of slaves in the District of Columbia, as we have already remarked, is small,

both absolutely, and comparatively with the total number of inhabitants in the District. Under these circumstances freedom may be safely given them at once and without any qualification. Where slaves are as numerous as they are in Virginia and South Carolina, in case they should be freed, new and peculiar laws would no doubt be required for their government.

While we contend that justice requires that the enfranchised slaves should be permitted to enjoy at once all civil rights, we are far from urging that they should be instantly admitted to all political privileges. They should be allowed to maintain suits, to be witnesses in courts of justice, and to acquire and transmit property, on the same terms as white men. Their crimes too ought to be visited with no higher penalties than those of whites. But the right of suffrage and eligibility to offices might, with propriety, for some years, be restricted to such of the blacks as can read and write.

Another consideration which renders immediate emancipation peculiarly necessary in the District of Columbia, is the slave trade carried on there. As long as slavery is suffered to linger in the District, so long will this branch of commerce be prosecuted, in spite of all the laws which may be made to regulate it. But, when no person in the District can be a slave, the traffic must necessarily cease.

To these reasons might be added, that if abolition is not prompt and expeditious, unprincipled persons will take advantage of the delay, to sell their slaves and transport them out of the District into the southern States, before the law goes into effect, and thus evade its operation.

Ought the owners of slaves who may be deprived of them by an abolition law, to receive any compensation? We reply, yes. For though the property of man in man is not rightful, yet as the whole nation in its corporate capacity has made this property legal, the whole nation ought to bear the loss, whatever it may be, arising from an adoption of correct principles. This, however, is a question between slaveholders and the nation, and the adjustment of it ought not to interfere for one moment with the right of the slaves to their freedom, which is clear and absolute. As the funds of the nation are abundant, the compensation ought to be liberal. Whether it ought to be the full market value of the slaves in

all cases, we shall not pretend to decide. It is probable that the liberation of plantation slaves will increase the value of plantations. Such an effect as this ought certainly to be taken into consideration in estimating the amount of compensation to be given. In regard to some other classes of slaves, the loss of their owners will probably be without any direct corresponding benefit. In such cases we do not see why the owners should not receive the full value of their slaves from the national treasury. The adjustment of the compensation must depend upon a greater statistical knowledge of the District of Columbia than we pretend to enjoy. But, as we have already remarked, the settlement of this point ought not to delay the passage of an abolition law for a moment.

Ought the liberated slaves to be colonized, that is, should any compulsory process be adopted to drive them from the country? We answer unhesitatingly, no. They are attached to the United States as their native land; and as long as they are guilty of no offence against society, have the same right to remain here as the whites.

We should regard any abolition law as imperfect, which did not make provision for the education of all the colored children in the District. Without education, though free, they must continue a degraded caste. Let them be educated, and they would become useful citizens, and an enduring monument to the awakened justice of our country, more delightful to the contemplation of the philanthropist than any structure of brass or marble.

It may perhaps be not amiss to say a few words as to the means by which the power of the national government may be called into action to suppress slavery in the District of Columbia. It should be recollected that Congress is never in advance of, but usually behind public opinion. It follows slowly but surely in the path taken by the people. The legislation of this body is but the echo of the people's voice. If the people really desire slavery to be driven from the seat of government, Congress will pass the statutes necessary to carry the object into effect. But it is in vain to expect the national legislature to adopt an important measure of this kind, which is sure to offend the prejudices of a large body in the community, unless the members feel confident that they are acting in conformity with the wishes of their constituents. A loud and decided expression of public sentiment is

necessary to stimulate the sluggish force of Congress, and to overcome the *vis inertiae* with which an established evil resists every attempt to remove it.

The modes of acting upon Congress are so obvious and familiar, that it is needless to enlarge upon them. Those who are desirous of abolishing slavery in the District must unite themselves together, and use the common means for diffusing information upon the subject throughout the country. Newspapers and other periodical journals and tracts can be made to exert a widely extended influence. Public meetings should be held, and as many petitions as possible sent to Congress, praying for the desired object. An expression of opinion on the subject might probably, by active exertions, be obtained from some of the state legislatures.

It is not very difficult to rouse the nation, or rather the non-slaveholding part of it, to powerful exertion, in order to remove the pollution of slavery from the capital of our country. The principles of the people on this subject are sound, and their feelings warm. To induce them to act, nothing more is necessary, as we have already intimated, than to make them familiar with the facts of the case. Let this be done, and the abolition of slavery in the District will be so easily effected, that men will hereafter wonder that it should have been endured there so long.

Since the foregoing remarks were prepared for the press, the news of the abolition of slavery in the British Colonies has been received in this country. This glorious act of the British nation, presents a mortifying contrast to the conduct of our own. They have given freedom to eight hundred thousand slaves, separated from them by a vast extent of ocean; we refuse it to six thousand at the seat of our government, in the very heart of our country. Burdened as they are with an enormous debt, they cheerfully pay twenty millions of pounds sterling for the sake of liberty and justice; while we, free from debt, with flourishing finances, are not willing to pay a hundredth part of the sum in the same cause. All classes of the British people have for many years been exerting powerful efforts to effect the great object which they have at last accomplished; while the Americans during the same period, have remained deaf to the cries of their oppressed fellow men, and insensible to the dishonor of their country.

LETTER OF PATRICK HENRY.

The following copy of a letter from Patrick Henry, is published from the *Unionist*. It was addressed to Robert Pleasants, a Friend in Virginia. We are informed that it afterwards fell into the hands of Anthony Benezet, who gave it to the venerable Moses Brown, by whose means it has been preserved to the present time.

The letter is strongly marked by the frankness and fearlessness of Henry's character. But it exhibits a melancholy inconsistency between his principles and his practice.

We hope we shall not be charged with an improper interference with the South in publishing in Massachusetts a letter written sixty years since in Virginia.

It seems to us that we have either seen this letter before, or some production of Henry's pen in which similar sentiments were avowed. It deserves, however, frequent republication.

'DEAR SIR,—I take this opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of Anthony Benezet's book against the Slave Trade. I thank you for it. It is not a little surprising that christianity, whose chief excellency consists in softening the human heart, in cherishing and improving its finer feelings, should encourage a practice so totally repugnant to the first impressions of right and wrong; what adds to the wonder is, that this abominable practice has been introduced in the most enlightened ages, times that seem to have pretensions to boast of high improvements in arts, sciences and refined morality, have brought into general use and guarded by many laws, a species of violence and tyranny, which our more rude and barbarous, but more honest ancestors, detested. Is it not amazing, that at a time when the rights of humanity are defined and understood with precision, in a country above all others fond of liberty, that in such an age and such a country we find men professing a religion the most humane, mild, meek, gentle and generous, adopting a principle as repugnant to humanity, as it is inconsistent with the Bible and destructive to liberty?

Every thinking honest man rejects it in speculation, how few in practice, from conscientious motives. The world in general has denied your people a share of its honors, but the wise will ascribe to you a just tribute of virtuous praise for the practice of a train of virtues among which your disagreement to Slavery will be principally ranked. I cannot but wish well to a people whose system imitates the example of Him whose life was perfect, and believe me I shall honor the Quakers for their noble effort to abolish Slavery. It is equally calculated to promote moral and political good.

Would any one believe that I am master of *slaves* of my own purchase? I am drawn along by the general inconvenience of living without them. I will not, I cannot justify it. However culpable my conduct, I will so far pay my devoir to virtue as to own the excellence and rectitude of her precepts, and to lament my want of conformity to them.

I believe a time will come, when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil; every thing we can do is to improve it if it happens in our day, if not, let us transmit to our descendants together with our slave a pity for their unhappy lot and an abhorrence for slavery. If we cannot reduce this wished for reformation to practice let us treat the unhappy victims with lenity; it is the farthest advance we can make towards justice; it is a debt we owe to the purity of our religion to show that it is at variance with that law which warrants slavery. Here is an instance of silent Meetings, (the scoff of Reverend Doctors,) have done that which learned and elaborate preaching could not effect, so much preferable are the genuine dictates of conscience and a steady attention to its feelings, above the teachings of those men who pretend to have found a better guide.

I exhort you to persevere in so worthy a resolution. Some of your people disagree or at least and luke-warm in the abolition of Slavery. Many treat the resolution of your meeting with ridicule, and among those who throw contempt on it are Clergymen, whose surest guard against both ridicule and contempt is a certain Act of Assembly.

I know not where to stop. I could say many things on this subject, a serious review of which gives a gloomy perspective to future times.

Excuse this scrawl, and believe me with esteem,  
Your Ob't Serv't.

PATRICK HENRY, Jr.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

The act putting an end to Slavery in the British Colonies was passed in August last. We have not yet seen the statute; and with the details of the measure as far as we understand them, we are far from being satisfied. But still the great object is accomplished. Eight hundred thousand men are freed from bondage. A nation of slaves is made a nation of freemen.

This event is an era in the history of the British nation, to which its past records afford no parallel. When the memory of the bloody victories of Cressy and Agincourt, Blenheim and Waterloo, shall become dim in the lapse of ages, future generations of Britons will look back to the abolition of slavery as the bright-

est and most godlike act in the annals of their country. It is a triumph of the higher principles of our nature,—of justice and humanity,—over selfishness, prejudice, and avarice.

The apparent apathy with which the news of an event so striking and momentous has been received in this country, would be surprising, if it were not that we had been prepared for the measure by slow and successive stages of information, so that long before the passage of the act was known, the result was considered as certain.

The abolition of slavery in the British colonies, however, cannot be looked upon with unconcern in the United States. Though the restoration of their natural rights to eight hundred thousand men, however distant from us, is an event interesting on its own account, yet the effects which it is to produce in this and other slaveholding countries, are even more important. When the British king put his name to the statute for abolishing slavery in the colonies, he signed the death warrant of slavery throughout the civilized world.

In vain will slaveholders and their adherents attempt to resist the moral influence of Great Britain. The moral courage of the benevolent will be strengthened, the moral sensibility of the lukewarm will be roused, and the moral force of the great body of the people will be called into action, to exterminate at once and forever the system which has so long disgraced manhood and Christianity.

#### FACTS.

The reasons which induce abolitionists to collect and publish cases of cruelty perpetrated by slaveholders, are frequently misrepresented. It is often said, that we charge the whole body of whites at the South, with habitually committing those barbarous outrages on the negroes, which, though they occasionally occur, are, in fact, exceptions to the general mode of treatment.

Our argument is very much perverted. When we give an account of any atrocity committed by a white, at the South, upon a negro, we do not wish it to be inferred that all the whites practise, or even approve of such atrocities. Many slaveholders, we readily admit, treat their slaves with kindness and consideration. If it were not so, the frame of society at the south could not endure for a moment.

Our argument, though of course we cannot

preface every incident we relate by a formal statement of it, is substantially this. The slaves are subjected to greater cruelty and oppression than the whites in our country, therefore, for this, in addition to many other reasons, slavery should be abolished.

How do we establish this argument? We show that the slaves are less protected by law from oppression than the whites; that public opinion has little respect for their rights; and that if they are injured they usually seek in vain for sympathy or assistance in the reigning caste. These general facts, indeed, cannot be disputed. But to represent the horrors of the system, and to awake public sensibility on the subject, it is necessary to exhibit in their true colors, the aggravated outrages which are daily occurring.

We do not contend then that all slaveholders are brutal and barbarous, but we do say, that the laws and institutions of the southern States encourage brutal cruelty, and that public sentiment there tolerates, if it does not sanction it.

We shall now proceed without further introduction to mention two horrible transactions which have lately been related to us. We regret that we did not ascertain the names of the parties.

The following circumstance occurred near Elkton in Maryland. A man, for some trifling cause or other had taken offence at a negro. In order to wreak his vengeance upon the poor slave without molestation, he purchased him of his owner, and had him whipped to death.

The wife of a clergyman, who resided in the State of Virginia, not far from Alexandria in the District of Columbia, became jealous of a female slave who resided in the family and was owned by her husband. During a short absence of the husband, the wife had the feet of this unfortunate woman chopped off, and in this mutilated condition had her carried to some distance from the house and there exposed in the open air. The weather was cold, and it was supposed she would perish. It happened, however, that some humane person passing by, had her taken to his house, where her wounds were cured.

When the husband returned home, his wife reported that his slave had died during his absence.

A considerable time afterwards the husband happened to visit the house of the person who

had relieved the wretched slave, and was made acquainted with the whole transaction. In order to place the woman as far as possible beyond the reach of his wife, he made a bill of sale of her to the person who found her.

When the husband went home he told his wife what he had seen and heard. She, instead of being overwhelmed by learning that her barbarity had become known, expressed a wish to have the woman again. The precaution of the husband, in making a conveyance of the slave, fortunately preserved her from becoming again the victim of her mistress' diabolical passions.

If we are not mistaken, the person who narrated these cases to us, stated that neither of the guilty parties in these two atrocious transactions were ever punished or even indicted. Little or no attention, indeed, is paid to such occurrences at the South. Crimes which at the North would send their perpetrators to the gallows or the state prison, at the South are not visited with the slightest punishment. What must be the state of morals and feeling in a community in which such criminals are tolerated!

#### QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

This meeting was held in Boylston Hall, September 30. A numerous audience was collected. After a prayer by the Rev. Mr. Phelps, and singing by a choir of colored children from Miss Paul's school, an address was delivered by the Rev. Mr. May.

We shall not pretend to give even an outline of Mr. May's discourse. It was, as it seemed to us, admirably adapted for the occasion, and was well calculated to interest and persuade his audience. Mr. May spoke with great earnestness, feeling, and eloquence, tempered throughout, however, with great kindness and Christian benevolence.

A vote of thanks was returned to Mr. May, and a copy of his discourse requested for the press.

A vote of thanks was also given to Miss Paul for the services of her pupils in singing.

The following resolutions were then proposed, and adopted without opposition.

*Resolved*, That the act of the British nation by which slavery is abolished in their colonies, merits the gratitude and admiration of the civilized world.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to those British philanthropists who have for so many years devoted themselves to the accomplishment of this glorious result.

#### BRITISH PROTEST AGAINST THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

We publish below a protest against the American Colonization Society, which has lately appeared in England. The names appended to it are among the most distinguished in the Anti-Slavery cause. The bitterness of the prejudices in this country against the colored people, has prevented too many really benevolent persons from viewing the persecuting and oppressive spirit of this association in its true light. In Great Britain, where the prejudice against the colored races of men is much milder, the true friends of the blacks have, almost to a man, shrunk back with abhorrence from schemes of banishment, disguised under the specious name of Colonization.

#### PROTEST.

We the undersigned, having observed with regret that the '*American Colonization Society*' appears to be gaining some adherents in this country, are desirous to express our opinions respecting it.

Our motive and excuse for thus coming forward are the claims which the Society has put forth to *Anti-Slavery* support. These opinions are, in our opinion, wholly groundless; and we feel bound to affirm that our deliberate judgment and conviction are, that the professions made by the Colonization Society of promoting the abolition of Slavery, are altogether delusive.

As far as the mere Colony of Liberia is concerned, it has no doubt the advantages of other trading establishments. In this sense, it is beneficial both to America and to Africa, and we cordially wish it well. We cannot, however, refrain from expressing our strong opinion that it is a settlement of which the United States ought to bear the whole cost. We never required of that country to assist us in Sierra Leone; we are enormously burdened by our own connection with Slavery; and we do maintain that we ought not to be called on to contribute to the expenses of a Colony, which, though no doubt comprising some advantages, was formed chiefly to indulge the prejudices of American Slaveholders, and which is regarded with aversion by the colored population of the United States.

With regard to the extinction of the Slave Trade, we apprehend that Liberia, however good the intentions of its supporters, will be able to do little or nothing towards it, except on the limited extent of its own territories. The only effectual death blow to that accursed traffic will be the destruction of slavery throughout the world. To the destruction of slavery throughout the world, we are compelled to say that we believe the Colonization Society to be an obstruction.

Our objections to it are, therefore, briefly

these :—While we believe its pretexts to be delusive, we are convinced that it *real* effects are of the most dangerous nature. It takes its root from a cruel prejudice and alienation in the whites of America against the colored people, slave or free. This being its source, the effects are what might be expected; that it fosters and increase, the spirit of caste, already so unhappily predominant; that it widens the breach between the two races—exposes the colored people to great practical persecution, in order to *force* them to emigrate; and finally, is calculated to swallow up and divert that feeling which America, as a Christian and a free country, cannot but entertain, that slavery is alike incompatible with the law of God, and with the well being of man, whether the enslaver or the enslaved.

On these grounds, therefore, and while we acknowledge the Colony of Liberia, or any other colony on the coast of Africa, to be *in itself* a good thing, we must be understood utterly to repudiate the principles of the American Colonization Society. That Society is, in our estimation, not deserving of the countenance of the British public.

WM. WILBERFORCE,  
WM. SMITH,  
ZACHARY MACAULAY,  
WILLIAM EVANS, M. P.  
SAMUEL GURNEY,  
GEORGE STEPHEN,  
SUFFIELD,  
S. LUSHINGTON, M. P.  
THOS. FOWELL BUXTON, M. P.  
JAMES CROPPER,  
WILLIAM ALLEN,  
DANIEL O'CONNELL, M. P.  
London, July, 1833.

#### A SLAVEHOLDING NATION.

We often hear it asserted that the United States, as a nation, have no concern with slavery; that, though it is tolerated in the southern States, the nation is not responsible for it, since Congress has no power to legislate on the subject. It is thus that men talk who have never reflected. But, on the other hand, we declare and are prepared to establish by proof, that the American nation, both directly and indirectly, both by legislating and neglecting to legislate, approves and encourages slavery, and its twin-born sin, the hatred against the colored race.

1. The constitution of the United States binds, as far as it can, the people of the northern States, to restore runaway slaves to their owners.

2. Congress has admitted slave States into the Union without any restriction on the subject of slavery.

3. Congress has not abolished slavery in the District of Columbia.

4. Congress has not abolished slavery in the territories of Florida and Arkansas.

The slaves in these territories are now few in numbers, but they are every day increasing. Slavery might now be abolished in them, with little inconvenience or expense. Every hour's delay renders the task of abolition more difficult.

5. Congress has not abolished the domestic slave-trade, carried on between the States.

It is well known that many thousand slaves are every year torn from their homes in the more northerly of the southern States, and sold into those farther south. A large part of them are raised for the very purpose of being thus sold. The sale of slaves is one of the largest traffics carried on in the United States. This slave-trade as abominable in principle and nearly as atrocious in practice, as the African slave-trade, it is within the power of Congress to abolish, as far as it is carried on between the States. The Constitution expressly gives that body the power to 'regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States.' \*

6. The laws of the federal government prohibit colored foreigners from being naturalized.

7. The same laws allow only free white persons to be enrolled in the militia.

It may not at first view appear any hardship upon colored persons to be exempted from serving in the militia. But when we recollect that this exemption is a mark of the contempt and scorn with which the whites too often regard their race, it must be complained of as unjust.

8. The same laws prohibit colored persons from carrying the mail.

9. Congress in the act incorporating the city of Washington gives the municipal authorities power, 'to prescribe the terms and conditions upon which free negroes and mulattoes may reside in the city.' This power has been most oppressively and abusively exercised by the city.

We have not searched the statute book of the United States to show all the cases in which the laws of the federal government have been unjust to the people of color, but have merely referred to such statutes as occur to our recollection. A careful examination of the published laws would, no doubt, bring to light many more. But the particulars which

\* This subject has been treated of by an able writer in the *Liberator*, of Oct. 5, 1833.

we have specified abundantly support our assertion that the Americans, as a nation, approve and encourage slavery, and foster the prejudices against the colored race. As a nation, then, until we do something to amend our constitution and laws, we are responsible for the shame and guilt of slavery, and are the aiders and abettors of a criminal proscription and persecution of our colored brethren.

#### NEW ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.

We have received accounts of the formation of several new Anti-Slavery Societies. All of them seem likely to be carried on with spirit, and to be useful auxiliaries in the good cause.

#### WESTERN RESERVE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

On the day succeeding the late commencement of the Western Reserve College, at Hudson, Ohio, a meeting was held, at which an Anti-Slavery Society was formed on the principle of total and immediate emancipation. The friends of colonization having been apprised of the movement beforehand, attended the meeting, and proposed the formation of an association to be called 'The Western Reserve Anti-Slavery and Colonization Society.' After an animated discussion of three hours continuance, the colonizationists, failing to accomplish their object, withdrew. The real friends of abolition then adopted a constitution, and elected the following officers:

ELIZUR WRIGHT, Esq. *President*.  
 Dr. O. K. HAWLEY, *Vice President*.  
 Rev. HENRY COWLES, *Cor. Sec.*  
 R. M. WALKER, *Rec. Sec.*  
 OWEN BROWN, Esq. *Treasurer*.  
 Rev. JACOB BAILY,  
 WOOLSEY WELLS, Esq.  
 Rev. DANIEL MILLER,  
 Rev. NATH. COBB,  
 Dr. WM. N. HUDSON,  
 JOHN M. STERLING, Esq. } *Counsellors*.  
 LUCRETIOUS BISSELL,  
 Rev. JOHN MONTIETH,  
 R. BIDWELL, Esq. }

The following resolutions, among others, were then adopted:

*Resolved*, That notwithstanding the difference of opinion with respect to the Colonization Society, we cordially invite the friends of that Society to unite with us, in the prosecution of all matters which meet their approbation; and we pledge ourselves to co-operate with them in all their plans which we conceive, all things considered, will tend to benefit the colored people.

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this society, the cause of the oppressed and the rights of man, require every citizen to petition to Congress immediately to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and in all the terri-

tories under their control, and that it is also the duty of the citizens of this State to petition the General Assembly at the next session to repeal all laws now existing in this state, which make a distinction between white and colored men in the enjoyment of rights and privileges.

#### NEW-YORK CITY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

At a meeting of the friends of immediate emancipation of Slaves in the United States, held at Chatham-street Chapel, Wednesday evening, October 2, after the adoption of a Constitution, the Society went into the choice of officers, when the following persons were chosen,—

ARTHUR TAPPAN, *President*.  
 WM. GREEN, Jr., *Vice President*.  
 JOHN RANKIN, *Treasurer*.  
 ELIZUR WRIGHT, Jr., *Cor. Secretary*.  
 C. W. DENISON, *Rec. Secretary*.  
 JOSHUA LEAVITT,  
 ISAAC T. HOOPER,  
 ABRA. L. COX, M. D. } *Managers*.  
 LEWIS TAPPAN,  
 WM. GOODELL. }

#### ABOLITION SOCIETY OF PAINT VALLEY.

Agreeably to adjournment, the Abolition Society of Paint Valley, Ohio, held its annual meeting, on Wednesday, the 28th of August, 1833, and the following officers were chosen.

GEORGE BROWN, Esq. *President*.  
 WILLIAM WILSON, Esq. *V. President*.  
 ADAM B. WILSON, Esq. *Rec. Sec'y*.  
 Rev. JAMES H. DICKEY, *Cor. Sec'y*.  
 Mr. JOSEPH LAWHEAD, *Treasurer*.

*Members of the Executive Committee for Highland County.*

Rev. SAMUEL CROTHERS,  
 Hon. HUGH SMART.

*For Fayette County.*

Mr. HUGH GHORMLY,  
 Mr. JAMES MCCONNEL.

*For Ross County.*

WILLIAM SMITH, Esq.  
 Mr. JAMES C. STEELE.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF PLAINFIELD AND ITS VICINITY.

The Unionist of August 29, gives an account of a meeting in Plainfield, Ct. at which the 'Anti-Slavery Society of Plainfield, and its vicinity,' was organized. An address was delivered by Mr. Andrew Rockwell, and a constitution adopted. Forty three persons then became members of the Society. The following persons were then chosen officers.

Dea. RINALDO BURLEIGH, *President*.  
 SAMUEL L. HOUGH, } *Vice Presidents*.  
 GEORGE SHARPE, }  
 EDWIN TUCKER, *Rec. Secretary*.  
 Rev. S. J. MAY, *Cor. Secretary*.

## TRUTH.

True it is, that an ill-timed zeal is always indiscreet, and calculated to irritate, rather than to convert. But to avow with frankness and modesty what we regard as an important truth,—to do it, even when we have reason to conclude it will not be palatable, and to meet willingly any ridicule or sarcasm which may be launched against it; this I maintain to be an actual duty. A noble avowal of this kind, moreover, may always be made, without pretending to assume, uncalled for, anything of the missionary character.

It is, I repeat, a duty, not to keep back an important truth at any period; for though there may be little hope of its being immediately acknowledged; it may tend to prepare the mind of others, and in due time, doubtless, produce a better and more impartial judgment, and a consequent triumph of truth. *Silvio Pellico.*

[From an English Tract.]

## THE NEGRO MOTHER'S APPEAL.

White Lady, happy, proud and free!  
Lend, awhile, thine ear to me;  
Let the Negro Mother's wail  
Turn thy pale cheek yet more pale.

Yes, thy varying cheek can show  
Feelings none save mothers know;  
My sable bosom does but hide  
Strong affection's rushing tide.

Joy, fair Lady, with the name  
Of Mother, for thy first born came,  
Joy unmingled with the fear  
Which dwells, alas! for ever here.

Can the Negro Mother joy  
Over this, her captive boy,  
Which, in bondage, and in tears,  
For a life of woe she rears?

Though she bears a mother's name,  
A mother's rights she may not claim,  
For the white man's will can part  
Her darling from her bursting heart.

Safe within thy circling arms,  
Thou mayst watch the opening charms  
Of the babe who sinks to rest  
Cradled on thy snowy breast;

Confiding in thy right divine,  
Press his rosy lips to thine;  
By no force, nor fraud can he  
Snatched from thy embraces be.

Gently nurtured shall he grow;  
Bitter toil shall never know;  
Never feel the gnawing pain  
Of the captive's hopeless chain.

And thou wilt bid him fix his eye  
On a bright home in the sky;  
And teach him how to lift his prayer  
To a gracious Father there.

I hear, too, of that God above,  
Some tell me that his name is Love;  
That all his children, dark or fair,  
Alike his pitying favor share.

They tell me that our Father bade  
All love the creatures he has made;  
That none should ever dare oppress,  
But seek each other's hapiness.

Yet I see the white man gain  
His riches by the Negro's pain;  
See him close his eyes and ears  
To his brother's cries and tears.

But, Lady, when thy look, so mild,  
Rests upon thine own fair child,  
Think, then, of one less fair, indeed,  
But one for whom thy heart should bleed.

Born to his parents' wretched fate,  
Him no smiling hours await;  
Toil, and scourge, and chain, his doom,  
From the cradle to the tomb.

When bow'd beneath his earthly woes,  
His fainting heart would seek repose,  
And listen to the holy call,  
Which bids him trust the Lord of all;

When he in lowly prayer would bend  
Before an everlasting Friend;  
Learn how to reach those mansions blest,  
Where even *he* at length may rest;

By a stern master's jealous pride,  
This blessing, too, may be denied;  
He may forbid his care-worn slave  
To look for hope beyond the grave.

Oh! if that blessed law be true,  
They tell me Jesus preached to you,  
'Tis well, perhaps, to veil thy light,  
From the poor bondsman's aching sight.

Lest too clearly he might trace  
The records of a Father's grace;  
Read his own wrongs in words of flame,  
And his lost birthright proudly claim.

Yet, white men, fear not; even we,  
Despised, degraded, though we be,  
Have hearts to feel, to understand,  
And keep your Master's great command.

That faith, your kinder brethren bring,  
Like Angels on their healing wing,  
To cheer us in the hour of gloom,  
With glimpses of a brighter home;

That faith, beneath whose hallow'd name,  
Ye work the deeds of sin and shame;  
Which bids the sinner turn and live,  
Can teach the Negro to forgive.

For all the gems of Afric's coast,  
And fruits her palmy forests boast,  
I would not harm that boy of thine,  
Nor bid him groan and toil for mine.

I would but, on my bended knee,  
Beseech that mine might be as free;  
Child of the same indulgent Heaven,  
Might share the common blessings given.

I would but, when the lisping tone  
Of thy sweet infant mocks thine own,  
That thou shouldst teach his earliest thought  
To spurn the wealth by slavery bought.

I would but, when thy babe is prest  
With transports to a father's breast,  
Thy gentle voice should plead the cause  
Of nature and her outraged laws;

Should bid that father break the chain  
In which he holds our wretched train,  
And by the love to thee he bears,  
Dispel the Negro Mother's fears.

By thy pure, maternal joy,  
Bid him spare my helpless boy;  
And thus a blessing on his own  
Seek from his Maker's righteous throne.

# THE ABOLITIONIST.

VOL. I.]

NOVEMBER, 1833.

[NO. XI.]

## MISS CRANDALL'S SECOND TRIAL.

The Unionist of Oct. 10, gives an account of this interesting trial.

'Last Thursday Miss Crandall was brought before the Superior Court sitting in this place, (Judge Daggett on the bench,) upon an information similar to that on which she was tried at the last session of the County Court. She had been bound over to answer to two complaints, one for teaching, and the other for boarding colored persons from other states, but was tried on the former only. A. T. Judson, Esq. and C. F. Cleaveland the State's Attorney conducted the prosecution; Henry Strong Esq. and Hon. Calvin Goddard, the defence. The plea as on the former trial was NOT GUILTY. Several witnesses were examined, the facts necessary to conviction were proved, and nothing remained but to establish the constitutionality of the law.

Mr. Judson opened the case for the prosecution, and pursued much the same train of argument as on the former trial, except that in addition to the points then made, he contended that the clause in the constitution which was made the ground of the defence, was intended as a rule of action to the general government only, and not to the state Legislatures. He was followed by Mr. Strong, who, in a powerful, logical and conclusive argument, clearly exhibited the unconstitutionality of the law, showing that the Constitution *was* made to control the action of the state Legislatures; that it was intended to secure to all citizens of the United States, the enjoyment of such privileges and immunities as are fundamental; that the privilege of obtaining an education is fundamental; and that free blacks are citizens, and of course entitled, though citizens of other states, to the same privileges as our own colored population, and among others to that of acquiring knowledge here. Mr. Goddard closed for the defence, briefly but eloquently, and the State's Attorney having concluded on the part of the prosecution, the judge rose and saying a few words respecting the importance of the question, and his inability to do it justice, declined giving his charge till the next morning.

On Friday morning, as soon as the court was opened, every seat was occupied, and many persons stood, unable to obtain seats, all listening with profound attention to the charge.

It occupied, as nearly as we could estimate, about an hour, and, as will be seen by the outline given below, was decidedly in favor of the constitutionality of the law.'

The Unionist then gives a sketch of Judge Daggett's charge. But as the Windham County Advertiser presents a more full account of it, apparently revised by the Judge, we copy the report of it from that paper, or rather from another paper in which it is credited to the Advertiser.

'This is an information filed by the Attorney for the State, for the alleged violation of a statute law, passed by the General Assembly, at their last session, relating to inhabitants; the preamble to the act, embracing the reasons for the law. It reads thus:

'Whereas attempts have been made to establish literary institutions in this State, for the instruction of colored persons belonging to other States and countries, which would tend to the great increase of the colored population of the State, and thereby to the injury of the people; Therefore it is enacted that no person shall set up or establish, in this State, any school, academy, or literary institution, for the instruction or education of colored persons who are not inhabitants of this State, nor instruct or teach in any school, academy, or literary institution, or harbor or board, for the purpose of attending or being taught or instructed in any such school, any colored person not an inhabitant of any town in this State, without the consent, in writing, first obtained of a majority of the civil authority and select men of the town where such school is situated, on penalty, &c.

It is alleged in this information, that since the 22d day of August last, to wit, on the 24th day of September, 1833, the defendant has wilfully and knowingly, harbored and boarded colored persons not inhabitants of the State for the purpose mentioned in said act, without having obtained in writing, the consent of the civil authority and select men of the town of Canterbury, where the school has been set up. As to the facts in this case, there seems to be but little controversy. It has scarcely been denied, that colored persons have been harbored and boarded by the defendant for the objects alleged, within the time set forth in this information. You, Gentlemen of the Jury,

have heard the evidence, and as it is your exclusive business to pass upon these facts, you will say whether or not they are true.

If these facts are not proved to your satisfaction, then you may dismiss the case, for in that event you have no further duty to perform. If, however, you find the *facts* true, then another duty, equally important, devolves upon the jury. It is an undeniable proposition, that the jury are judges of both law and fact, in all cases of this nature. It is, however, equally true, that the court is to state its opinion to the jury, upon all questions of law, arising in the trial of a criminal cause, and to submit to their consideration, both law and fact, without any direction how to find their verdict.

The counsel for the defendant have rested her defence upon a provision of the constitution of the United States, claiming that the statute law of this State, upon which this information is founded, is inconsistent with that provision, and therefore void. This is the great question involved in this case, and it is about to be submitted to your consideration.

It is admitted that there are no provisions in the constitution of this State which conflict with this act. It may be remarked here that the constitution of the United States is above all other law,—it is emphatically the supreme law of the land, and the Judges are so to declare it. From the highest court to the lowest, even that of a justice of the peace, all laws, whether made by Congress or State Legislatures, are subject to examination, and when brought to the test of the constitution, may be declared utterly void. But in order to do this, the court should first find the law contrary, and plainly contrary to the constitution. Although this may be done, and done too by the humblest court, yet it never should be done but upon a full conviction that the law in question is unconstitutional.

Many things said upon this trial, may be laid out of the case. The consideration of Slavery, with all its evils and degrading consequences, may be dismissed, with the consideration that it is a degrading evil. The benefits, blessings and advantages of instruction and education, may also cease to claim your attention, except you may well consider that education is a 'fundamental privilege,' for this is the basis of all free governments.

Having read this law, the question comes to us with peculiar force, does it clearly violate the Constitution of the United States?—The section claimed to have been violated, reads as follows, to wit: 'Art. 4—Sec. 2.—The citizens of each State, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.' It has been urged that this section was made to direct, exclusively, the action of the General Government, and therefore can never be applied to State laws. This is not the opinion of the court. The plain and obvious meaning of this provision, is, to secure

to the *citizens* of all the States, the same privileges as are secured to our own, by our own State laws. Should a citizen of Connecticut purchase a farm in Massachusetts, and the Legislature of Massachusetts tax the owner of that farm, four times as much as they would tax a citizen of Massachusetts, because the one resided in Connecticut and the other in Massachusetts; or should a law be passed by either of those States, that no citizen of the other, should reside or trade in that other, this would undoubtedly be an unconstitutional law, and should be so declared.

The 2d section was provided as a substitute for the 4th article of the *Confederation*. That article has also been read, and by comparing them, you can perceive the object intended by the substitute.

The act in question, provides that colored persons who are not inhabitants of this State, shall not be harbored and boarded, for the purposes therein mentioned, within this State, without the consent of the civil authority and selectmen of the town. We are then brought to the great question, are they *citizens* within the provisions of this section of the Constitution? The law extends to all persons of color not inhabitants of this State, whether they live in the State of New-York, or in the West Indies, or any other foreign country.

In deciding this question, I am very happy that my opinion can be revised by the Supreme Court of this State, and of the United States, should you return a verdict against the defendant.

The persons contemplated in this act are *not citizens* within the obvious meaning of that section of the Constitution of the United States, which I have just read. Let me begin by putting this plain question: Are *slaves* citizens? At the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, every State was a slave state. Massachusetts had begun the work of emancipation within her own borders. And Connecticut, as early as 1784, had also enacted laws making all those free at the age of 25, who might be born within the state, after that time. We all know that slavery is recognized in the Constitution, and it is the duty of this court to take that Constitution as it is, for we have sworn to support it. Although the term 'slavery' cannot be found written out in the Constitution, yet no one can mistake the object of the 3d sec. of the 4th article:—'No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.'

The 2d section of the 1st article, reads as follows:—'Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included in this Union, accord-

ing to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of *all other persons*.' The 'other persons' are slaves, and they became the basis of representation, by adding them to the white population in that proportion. Then slaves were not considered citizens by the framers of the Constitution.

A citizen means a *freeman*. By referring to Dr. Webster, one of the most learned men of this or any other country, we have the following definition of the term—'Citizen: 1st, a native of a city, or an inhabitant who enjoys the freedom and privileges of the city in which he resides. 2. A townsman, a man of trade, not a gentleman. 3. An inhabitant; a dweller in any city, town or country. 4. In the United States, it means a person native or naturalized, who has the privilege of exercising the elective franchise, and of purchasing and holding real estate.'

Are Indians citizens? It is admitted in the argument that they are not, but it is said they belong to distinct tribes. This cannot be true, because all Indians do not belong to a tribe. It may be now added, that by the declared law of New-York, Indians are not citizens, and the learned Chancellor Kent says, 'they never can be made citizens.' Indians were literally natives of our soil,—they were born here, and yet they are not citizens.

The Mohegans were once a mighty tribe, powerful and valiant; and who among us ever saw one of them performing military duty, or exercising, with the white men, the privilege of the elective franchise, or holding an office? And what is the reason? I answer, they are not citizens, according to the acceptation of the term in the United States.

Are *free blacks*, citizens? It has been ingeniously said, that vessels may be owned and navigated by free blacks, and the American flag will protect them; but you will remember that the statute which makes that provision, is an act of Congress, and not the Constitution. Admit, if you please, that Mr. Coffee, a respectable merchant, has owned vessels, and sailed them under the American flag, yet this does not prove him to be such a citizen as the Constitution contemplates. But that question stands undecided by any legal tribunal within my knowledge. For the purposes of this case, it may not be necessary to determine that question.

It has been also urged, that as colored persons may commit treason, they must be considered citizens. Every person born in the United States, as well as every person who may reside here, owes allegiance of some sort to the government, because the government affords him protection. Treason against this government, consists in levying war against the government of the United States, or aid-

ing its enemy in time of war. Treason may be committed by persons who are not entitled to the elective franchise. For if they reside under the protection of the government, it would be treason to levy war against that government, as much as if they were citizens.

I think Chancellor Kent, whose authority it gives me pleasure to quote, determines this question by fair implication. Had this author considered free blacks citizens, he had an ample opportunity to say so. But what he has said, excludes that idea.

Kent's Commentaries, vol. 2d, p. 258—'In most of the United States, there is a distinction in respect to political privileges, between free white persons and free colored persons of African blood; and in no part of the country do the latter, in point of fact, participate equally with the whites, in the exercise of civil and political rights. The African race are essentially a degraded caste, of inferior rank and condition in society. Marriages are forbidden between them and whites in some of the States, and when not absolutely contrary to law, they are revolting, and regarded as an offence against public decorum. By the revised Statutes of Illinois, published in 1829, marriages between whites and negroes or mulattoes, are declared void, and the persons so married are liable to be whipped, fined and imprisoned. By an old Statute of Massachusetts, of 1705, such marriages were declared void, and are so still. A similar statute provision exists in Virginia and North Carolina. Such connexions in France and Germany constitute the degraded state of concubinage, which is known in the civil law. But they are not legal marriages, because the parties want that equality of state or condition, which is essential to the contract.'

I go further back still. When the Constitution of the United States was adopted, every State (Massachusetts excepted) tolerated slavery. And in some of the States, down to a late period, severe laws have been kept in force regarding slaves. With respect to N. York, at that time her laws and penalties were severe indeed, and it was not until July 4th, 1827, that this great state was ranked among the free states.

To my mind, it would be a perversion of terms, and the well known rule of construction, to say that slaves, free blacks, or Indians, were citizens, within the meaning of that term, as used in the Constitution. God forbid that I should add to the degradation of this race of men, but I am bound by my duty to say, they are not citizens.

I have thus shown you that this law is not contrary to the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the U. States, for that embraces only citizens.

But there is still another consideration: if they were citizens, I am not sure this law would then be unconstitutional. The Legis-

lature may regulate schools. I am free to say, that education is a fundamental privilege; but this law does not prohibit schools. It places them under the care of the civil authority and selectmen, and why is not this a very suitable regulation? I am not sure but the Legislature might make a law like this, extending to the white inhabitants of other states, who are unquestionably citizens, placing all schools for them under suitable boards of examination, for the public good, and I can see no objection to the board created by this act.

What can the Legislature of this State do? It can make any law, which any legislature can make, unless it shall violate the Constitution of the United States or the Constitution of its own State, and in my opinion *this* law is not inconsistent with either.

The jury have nothing to do with the popularity or unpopularity of this or any other law, which may come before them for adjudication. They have nothing to do with its policy or impolicy. Your only inquiry is, whether it is constitutional.

I may say with truth, that there is no disposition in the judicial tribunals of this State, nor among the people, to nullify the laws of the State; but if constitutional, to submit to them, and carry them into full effect, as good citizens. If individuals do not like the laws enacted by one legislature, their remedy is at the ballot boxes. It often occurs, on subjects of taxation, that laws are supposed by some to be unjust and oppressive. Nearly every session of the Assembly, attempts have been made to alter and change such laws, but as long as they exist, they must have effect.

You will now take this case into your consideration, and notwithstanding my opinion of the law, you will return your verdict according to law and evidence. I have done my duty, and you will do yours.'

The Jury, after an absence of twenty or thirty minutes returned a verdict of guilty. A bill of exceptions, as the Unionist informs us, was filed by the defendant's counsel, and the case will be brought before the Supreme Court of Errors, which sits in Brooklyn next July.

We have presented the charge of Judge Daggett at length, on account of the great importance of the questions which it discusses. If he be right, more than three hundred thousand native Americans are by this decision disfranchised, deprived of rights which have hitherto never been disputed in courts of justice, and made strangers and aliens in the land of their birth.

We have read this extraordinary opinion with astonishment and horror. It is not

strange, perhaps, that prejudice should blind ignorant and thoughtless men to the rights of their fellow-citizens, or should obtain access to the halls of legislation. But it is strange and alarming when prejudice enters our courts, boldly usurps the judicial seat, and throws the sword into the scales of justice.

We would not be understood as making the slightest imputation upon the purity of the motives of the learned judge. But it is melancholy to find a person of his distinguished legal science and ability, so misled by popular feeling as to lose sight of the great landmarks of law and justice.

In commenting upon his opinion, we shall not attempt to follow the course of his argument, but consider the questions which it presents in what seems to us the most convenient order, answering, as occasion offers, such of his reasonings as seem to require remark.

We shall consider 1. What persons are native citizens of the United States and of a State: 2. Whether free colored persons born in any one of the States are citizens, within the meaning of the clause of the constitution which gives to the citizens of each State, the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States: and 3. Whether the law of Connecticut violates the constitution of the United States.\*

#### 1. *What persons are native citizens of the United States, and of a State?*

The meaning of the word citizen in this connexion is a pure question of law, to be decided by an appeal to legal authority, not to the loose definitions of lexicographers. It seems, therefore, strange that Judge Daggett should have cited Dr. Webster, since his first three definitions, exhibiting three senses in which the word is used, have obviously no bearing on the question, and his last is manifestly incorrect. Dr. Webster makes holding the elective franchise, and purchasing and holding real estate, the criterion of citizenship in this country. But far more than half of the persons who are unquestionably citizens, including all women and minors, have not the elective franchise. These two classes are excluded in all the States; and in some of them citizens who do not pay taxes, to mention no

\* We shall in our observations make free use of some able remarks upon the charge which appeared in two articles in the Unionist of October 10; and of a communication from the Hon. Wm. Jay to Rev. S. J. May, in the same paper.

other circumstances which exclude, do not enjoy the right of suffrage.

The other criterion of citizenship introduced by Dr. Webster, viz. the privilege, &c. is equally unsound, since in several of the States, for instance Louisiana and Ohio, aliens can purchase, hold, and inherit real estate as well as citizens.

A citizen is a member of a political community, to which he owes fidelity or allegiance, and from which he is entitled to protection. Every political body which is formed has of course the right of saying what persons shall be members of the body. The criterion of citizenship of course varies in different ages and countries. Thus, at first none but inhabitants of Rome and a small territory around it, were Roman citizens. Afterwards the privileges of citizenship were gradually extended to various cities and nations, till at last they were granted to the inhabitants of the whole Roman world.

In order to decide who are now citizens of the United States, we must go back to our revolution. When that convulsion separated these States from the mother country, the question, who were citizens, depended upon the common law of England, which was the law of all the States: and now the question, who are citizens, must be decided by the principles of the same law, except where it has been altered by our constitutions or laws.

'The first and most obvious division of the people,' we borrow the words of Blackstone, 'is into aliens and natural born subjects. Natural born subjects are such as are born within the dominions of the crown of England; that is, within the ligeance, or, as it is generally called, the allegiance of the king: and aliens, such as are born out of it. Allegiance is the tie or *ligamen*, which binds the subject to the king, in return for that protection which the king affords the subject.' 1 Bl. Comm. 366.

The common law divides all persons into two classes, aliens and subjects. It recognizes no third class. Every man who is not a subject is an alien. 'Every man is either *alienigenæ*, an alien born, or a *subditus*, a subject born.' Calvin's case, 7 Co. 17 a. We might readily multiply authorities upon this subject, but the principles of the common law are so well settled, that it seems to us unnecessary.

At the time of the revolution, all the inhabitants of the United States who were subjects of the king of England, who adhered to the

United States, and continued to reside in this country, became citizens of the new States. This result of the separation of the two countries is so obvious, that it needs no authority to support it.

If there could be any doubt upon this point it was settled, in some cases at least, by express legislation. One of the earliest statutes passed by Massachusetts declares 'That all persons abiding within this State, and deriving protection from the laws of the same, owe allegiance to this State, and are members thereof,' that is, citizens, for the very next clause goes on to speak of the allegiance due from persons visiting and making a temporary stay in the State. St. 1777, s. 1. 2 Mass. Law Ed. 1801, p. 1046.

A resolution of a committee of the State of New-York, passed July 16, 1776, contains a similar declaration in almost precisely the same words.

A similar statute was passed in New-Jersey, Oct. 4, 1776.

According to the law of Massachusetts, it does not seem to be necessary that a person, in order to become a member of the State, should have been a subject of the British crown.

From the close of the revolutionary war to the time of the adoption of the constitution of the U. S. all persons born in this country became citizens of the respective States within whose jurisdiction they were born, by the rule of the common law, unless where they were prevented from becoming citizens by the constitution or statutes of the place of their birth. We are not aware of any law having ever been enacted, to deprive any native citizens of their birthright.

When the constitution of the United States was formed, all persons then citizens of the several States became citizens of the United States. Since that period, all persons born within the territorial limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States, became citizens of the United States, unless some law or constitution prevented them from becoming so. Persons born in the States became also, from their birth, citizens of their respective native States, with a similar exception. This is the clear result of the common law principle. The double citizenship which the citizens of each State thus acquire, arises from our peculiar institutions, which place the inhabitants of the country under two governments.

This is the view taken of the subject by Mr. Rawle, a distinguished commentator on the constitution. He says, 'The citizens of each State constituted the citizens of the United States, when the constitution was adopted. The rights which appertained to them as citizens of those respective commonwealths, accompanied them in the formation of the great compound commonwealth which ensued. They became citizens of the latter, without ceasing to be citizens of the former, and he who was subsequently born a citizen of a State, became at the moment of his birth a citizen of the United States. Therefore every person born within the United States, its territories, or districts, whether the parents are citizens or aliens, is a natural born citizen in the sense of the constitution, and entitled to all the rights and privileges appertaining to that capacity.'—Rawle on the Constitution, 86.

It is observable that Mr. Rawle makes no exception to his statement, that every person born within the United States is a citizen.

Many questions indeed have been discussed on the subject of allegiance, citizenship, and naturalization, both in this country and in England, such as whether a person born in Scotland, after the descent of the English crown to the King of Scotland, was an alien, and thus incapable of inheriting land in England; and whether a subject can expatriate himself, that is, throw off his allegiance to his native country. But in all these questions it is assumed as a settled, indisputable principle, that a man is a subject or citizen in the country of his birth. This is uniformly taken for granted, and never discussed, because never disputed.

One of our most distinguished judges says, "Nothing is better settled at the common law than the doctrine that the children even of aliens born in a country, while the parents are resident there under the protection of the government, and owing a temporary allegiance thereto, are subjects by birth." *Inglis v. Trustees of Sailors Snug Harbor*, 3 Pet. 164, by Story.

It possibly may be contended that the common law principles in regard to subjects, do not apply to citizens. But this position is untenable, as will be obvious from the following considerations.

The word *citizen* expresses precisely the same relation to the State which *subject* does to the king. Indeed for a considerable period

after the revolution, the word *subject* was used as synonymous with *citizen*. Thus in the declaration of rights in the constitution of Massachusetts, the word *subject* is several times introduced, where we should now use *citizen*. So in Mass. St. 1784, c. 72, s. 10, a punishment is enacted for kidnapping 'any subject of this Commonwealth, or other person lawfully residing and inhabiting therein.' In this passage the word *subject* can have no other meaning than that of *citizen*.

Neither the constitution nor statutes of the United States, nor, as far as we are aware, do the constitution or laws of any State define what persons born within the country are native citizens. If therefore we cannot resort to the common law, we are left without any guide on the subject. The right of the great mass of white persons born in this country to be considered citizens, rests on the common law principles in regard to subjects.

The common law principles are evidently considered the foundation of our law of citizenship, in our constitutions and statutes, in the discussions of counsel, the decisions of our courts, and the treatises of jurists.

Our conclusion is, that all persons born within the jurisdiction of the United States are native citizens, excepting those persons, if there be any such, as the constitution or laws deprive of that privilege; and that all persons born within the jurisdiction of any one of the States, are citizens thereof, with a similar exception.

We have perhaps taken up too much time in proving this plain and familiar position. But where elementary principles are doubted, where violent attempts are made to uproot the foundations and land marks of law,—a little effort to establish them is pardonable.

2. We next come to the question, *whether free persons of color born in one of the States are citizens of that State, within the meaning of the constitution.*

Having already shown that, according to the principles of the common law, all persons born within the jurisdiction of any State are citizens of it, and further, that distinguished jurists and judges lay down the rule without making an exception of colored persons, we have already established the position, that free colored persons born in any of the States, are citizens in the States of their birth. Those who deny it then, are bound to show that the free colored persons, born in this country,

come within some known exception to the general rule. We shall, therefore, consider some of the arguments of those who deny that colored persons are citizens, before adducing any further evidence in support of the affirmative of the proposition.

We understand Judge Daggett's argument to be as follows, namely, that when the Constitution provided that the citizens of each State should be entitled to the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States, it did not contemplate as citizens those degraded castes of men, who were not regarded in the States, on an equal footing with other native inhabitants. Thus slaves and Indians are not citizens within the meaning of the constitution, neither are free people of color.

The construction which Judge Daggett attempts to give to the clause of the constitution, is harsh and strained. The word citizens has a precise, definite, and technical meaning in the place in which it stands, instead of which Judge Daggett would give it a loose, indefinite, and uncertain one. The clause evidently was intended to prevent those persons who enjoyed the rights of citizenship in one State, from being considered aliens in another. Judge Daggett, instead of giving the benefit of this liberal provision to all who come within its meaning, would contend that a certain class, whom he seems to admit are really citizens, ought to be deprived of its benefit, because they are sometimes not called citizens. Nothing, however, can be more obvious, than that the inaccurate use of a word in common conversation or popular declamation, is no test of its legal signification. This can only be determined by the strict rules of law.

Judge Daggett appears to view degraded castes as not citizens. But whence does he derive this opinion? Not from the common law. For in England, all classes of persons, from the nobility down to the villeins or slaves, were subjects. Co. Lit, 127 a. Our constitutions and statutes contain no enactments on the subject.

Judge Daggett says, that the Indians are not citizens. This may be admitted. This, however, is not because they are a degraded caste, but because they have not become a part of our political communities, having continued, though within our territorial limits, as distinct tribes, governed by their own laws. 3 Kent's Comm. 185. If any Indians should voluntarily become a part of our political com-

munities, should settle among the whites, and submit to our laws, we know of no principle on which the right of citizenship could be denied to their children.

But Judge Daggett says, that slaves are not citizens. Unfortunate as their condition certainly is, we feel some doubt whether this proposition be correct. According to the principles of the common law, a villein or slave was a subject. By the same principle, a negro slave here would be a citizen. In Great Britain, the slaves in the West Indies are frequently spoken of as British subjects. Their right to the title, we have never seen questioned. Do not slaves owe allegiance or fidelity to the government under which they are born? Are they not in return entitled to its protection? Suppose a native slave from South Carolina should go to a foreign country, and there join an invading army, could he not be punished for treason, if taken in arms against the United States? A stranger who had merely had a temporary residence here, would be guilty of no crime under such circumstances. The correlative of *slave* is not *citizen*, but *freeman*. The correlative of *citizen* is not *slave*, but *alien*. It is not necessary for us to pronounce whether a slave be a citizen or not. It is certainly a point which admits of debate.

It seems from the constitutions of some of the Southern States, that they consider it questionable whether slaves are not citizens. Thus, several of these constitutions give the right of suffrage to the 'free white male citizens,' of the age of twenty-one years. This distinctly implies, that there may be citizens who are not free. If the word citizen implied freedom, to say 'free citizens' would be a mere tautology.

But perhaps we have given the point more attention than it merits, for the condition of the slaves would be little improved by decorating them with the name of citizens. To the free people of color, however, citizenship is of real value.

Let it be admitted then, that slaves are not citizens. Why are they not? Because they are not free, because they are slaves. Their disability arises from their servile condition. According to Judge Daggett's own statement, a citizen means a freeman. Then why are not the blacks and their descendants, who have ceased to be slaves and become freemen, citizens? The servitude which created their dis-

ability having ended, why should they not enjoy the privileges of freemen?

As we have already said, no class of men is excluded by the common law from citizenship. The mere circumstance then, of the free people of color being regarded as a degraded caste, does not, according to that law, deprive them of this privilege.

How then are they to be deprived of their birthright,—of that citizenship which the common law confers on them, with the first breath they draw? Not by implication surely—not by strained construction,—but by express enactment. Statutes may provide that they shall not carry the mail, that they shall not exercise the privilege of voting, that they shall not serve in the militia, that they shall not intermarry with the whites. These laws are direct and express, and must be submitted to. But these laws do not deprive them of citizenship. Cruel as their country has been to them, she has not yet spurned them from her bosom, she has not yet declared them aliens on their native soil.

If the free native colored man cannot be deprived of any one of the smallest privileges of citizenship, except by express enactment, surely he cannot be robbed of the whole of these privileges without some direct provision of law.

But Judge Daggett cites one authority, Chancellor Kent, to show that free colored people cannot be citizens. The passage cited, however, is very far from proving such to be Chancellor Kent's opinion. It merely states indisputable facts, in regard to the severity of our laws and opinions against the free blacks. If, however, any one might be led to conjecture, from the passage in question, that Chancellor Kent did not consider the free blacks as citizens, the impression would be corrected by referring to another passage in his commentaries, where his opinion is declared in a manner too clear to admit of doubt. 'The article in the Constitution of the U. States, declaring that citizens of each State were entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States, applies only to natural born or duly naturalized citizens, and if they remove from one State to another, they are entitled to the privileges that persons of the same description are entitled to in the State to which the removal is made, and to none other. If, therefore, for instance, free persons of color are not entitled to vote in

Carolina; free persons of color emigrating there from a northern State, would not be entitled to vote.' 2 Kent's Comm. 71.

If the decision of the question whether free people of color are citizens, is to be made on the authority of Chancellor Kent, it is distinctly settled in this passage in the affirmative. The passage is much stronger, than if he had announced their citizenship as a separate proposition. But he takes it for granted, in illustrating the proposition laid down in the last clause of his first sentence. He assumes it as a principle which did not admit of any dispute. If he had regarded their citizenship as in any degree a matter of doubt or controversy, he would of course have selected a different illustration.

But direct and conclusive authorities are not wanting to show the citizenship of free colored persons. We have them in such abundance that our only difficulty is how to select from them.

Although Dr. Webster's position is false, that no persons are citizens but those who exercise the elective franchise, still this privilege is one which is usually considered as appertaining to citizens only. Now, in point of fact, it is not disputed that free blacks in some of the States have the right to vote, and exercise it without question. This is the case in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Maine. In some of the other States also the people of color seem to be included in the general terms of their constitutions. In New-York the constitution expressly speaks of the people of color as citizens, and requires them to possess a freehold estate of the value of two hundred and fifty dollars, in order to entitle them to vote.

The provision of the constitution of New-York is important. It is not simply the expression of an opinion by the convention which prepared the constitution, highly respectable as it was, but it is an enactment of the people of the State of New-York in the most solemn manner, upon a point where they were competent to decide, that free people of color are citizens. It of course puts the question at rest in regard to native colored persons inhabiting New-York. They are citizens of that State, and of course entitled to the privileges of citizens in all the States.

The debates in the New-York convention show that the right of suffrage was not conceded to the people of color without debate.

The subject was discussed. The speeches of Peter A. Jay, Chancellor Kent, Rufus King, and Abraham Van Vechten in the convention, declare distinctly and explicitly that they considered free colored people citizens.

In many of the States, and we presume in all, free colored persons purchase and inherit real property without question. This is the case in some of the States, Massachusetts for instance, where the old rule of the common law disability of aliens in regard to real property still continues. It is evident, therefore, that, in those parts of the country at least, free people of color are not regarded as aliens; for there can be no question, considering the prejudices which exist against this class of persons, that efforts would have been made to deprive them of their lands, if it had been supposed there was any pretence for it. If native free colored persons are not aliens, we contend that they are citizens, for the law recognizes no third class of persons.

Suppose we should admit Dr. Webster's last definition of citizen to be correct; it clearly appears that many colored persons in the United States are citizens, for many of them exercise the elective franchise, and purchase, hold, and inherit real property.

Judge Daggett seems to admit that a vessel owned and commanded by a native colored person is entitled to the privileges of an American ship, under the statute of the United States which requires it in order to be so considered to be wholly owned and commanded 'by a citizen or citizens' of the United States. Yet he says that though free blacks might be citizens within the meaning of the act of Congress, they are not citizens within the meaning of the Constitution. It strikes us, however, that by this concession he leaves himself no ground to stand upon. It is obvious upon reading the statute and the Constitution, that the word citizens is used in both cases in a precise, legal, technical sense, for the very purpose of defining a certain class of persons who were to be entitled to certain privileges in this country. If Judge Daggett concedes that the word is used in this sense in the statute, can he give any reason for supposing it used in a different sense in the Constitution?

But the question, whether free people of color are citizens within the meaning of the Constitution, has received a direct decision on an occasion of great interest. A statute of

the United States, passed March 6, 1820, authorized the inhabitants of the territory now embraced within the State of Missouri, to form a constitution and State government, and provided that the State when formed should be admitted into the Union, upon an equal footing with the original States. The statute also provided that an attested copy of the constitution formed by Missouri should be transmitted to Congress, as soon as might be after its formation. A State constitution was accordingly adopted by a convention in Missouri, in July, 1820. The fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article of this constitution, makes it the duty of the General Assembly, among other things, 'to pass such laws as may be necessary to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to and settling in this State, under any pretext whatever.' This constitution was brought before Congress at its next session. The clause in question gave rise to considerable debate, which resulted in the passage of a resolution on March 2, 1821, that Missouri should be admitted into the Union, 'upon the fundamental condition, that the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article of the constitution submitted on the part of said State to Congress, shall never be construed to authorize the passage of any law, and that no law shall be passed in conformity thereto, by which any citizen, of either of the States in this Union, shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such citizen is entitled under the constitution of the United States: Provided that the legislature of the said State, by a solemn public act, shall declare the assent of the said State to the said fundamental condition, and shall transmit to the President of the United States, on or before the fourth Monday in November next, an authentic copy of the said act; upon the receipt whereof, the President, by proclamation, shall announce the fact; whereupon, and without any further proceeding on the part of Congress, the admission of the said State into this Union shall be considered as complete.'

This resolution of Congress is a deliberate and solemn declaration of that body, which then embraced distinguished lawyers and statesmen from all parts of our country, that there were free negroes and mulattoes in the United States who were citizens, and as such entitled to the protection of the Constitution.

Our conclusion is, that all free people of color born in any State, are citizens of that State.

3. We come now to the third question, *whether the statute of Connecticut be a violation of the clause of the Constitution, which gives the citizens of each State the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States.*

We contend that it was a violation of the Constitution in its application to the colored citizens of other States.

The object of the clause in question is obvious. 'It was,' in the words of Judge Story, 'to confer on them, [the citizens of each State] if one may so say, a general citizenship; and to communicate all the privileges and immunities, which the citizens of the same State were entitled to under the like circumstances.' 3 Story's Comm. 675.

A colored citizen of New-York or Massachusetts, therefore, going into Connecticut, becomes entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of Connecticut. Undoubtedly the State of Connecticut might, in its wisdom, make it a penal offence, to set up any school or academy in the State. But a law making it a penal offence to set up a school for the instruction of citizens of other States, while it is no offence to set up a similar establishment for citizens of the State, is manifestly unconstitutional. It is depriving citizens of other States of privileges enjoyed by the citizens of Connecticut.

We might have added many authorities, arguments and illustrations to those we have adduced. But we have not thought it necessary, as what we have said, seems to us entirely sufficient to establish our conclusions.

Some of our readers, on the other hand, may think we have devoted too much space to discussing a question of law. But we again beg them to recollect that the rights of three hundred thousand of their countrymen are directly involved in the decision of this question; and indirectly those of more than two millions. The law is the only power to which the weak and helpless can appeal from the decrees of prejudice and oppression.

All good men of every party should cry out against the statute of Connecticut, not merely as a violation of the Constitution of our country, but as a violation of the spirit of our free institutions, and the common rights of humanity. The people of a free and enlightened State have solemnly enacted, that a few chil-

dren, whose complexion is different from their own, shall not come within their territory to be educated, and that persons who shall harbor these young offenders, thus guilty of the enormous crime of endeavoring to be instructed, shall themselves be punished as criminals. This is the statute. We can offer no comment upon it, that could excite deeper indignation in every freeman,—in every Christian—in every man who owns the soul or spirit of a man—than the bare statement of its abominable provisions.

#### RIOT IN NEW-YORK.

We noticed in our last, the formation of a City Anti-Slavery Society in New-York, but had not room to mention the riotous proceedings to which the call of the meeting for forming the Society gave occasion. The New-York Evangelist of Oct. 5, gives the following account of these proceedings.

'The public are aware of a notice in the papers, inviting 'those friendly to the immediate abolition of slavery in the United States, to meet at Clinton Hall, on Wednesday Oct. 2, at half past 7 P. M. to form a New-York City Anti-Slavery Society.' The Hall had been previously engaged with the written consent of the committee of the trustees. It was the reasonable expectation of the calling committee that those who were embraced in the terms of the call would assemble and deliberate upon the several points requisite to the formation of the proposed Society: and that if any others should attend, they would appear as spectators, and conduct themselves accordingly. But from the time the notice was given, some of the daily papers were publishing violent denunciations of those engaged. On the morning of the day appointed for the meeting, the trustees of Clinton Hall, against the earnest remonstrance of the committee to what they deemed an arbitrary proceeding, peremptorily prohibited the meeting from being held at the Hall. The Courier and Enquirer, and the Gazette, of the morning, called earnestly upon the citizens who were opposed to the object of the meeting, to give a general attendance and put it down, once for all. The Commercial Advertiser of the afternoon, although editorially disapproving of all interference with those who called the meeting, yet published a communication, calling loudly upon the citizens not to remain quiet. The streets also were in the afternoon adorned with the following placard, printed in large and flaring capitals:

NOTICE.—To all persons from the South.—All persons interested in the subject of a meeting called by J. Leavitt, W. Green, Jr. W. Goodell, J. Rankin, and Lewis Tappan, at

Clinton Hall, this evening, at 7 o'clock, are requested to attend at the same hour and place.

#### MANY SOUTHERNERS.

New-York, Oct. 2d, 1833.

N. B. All citizens who may feel disposed to manifest the *true* feeling of the State on this subject, are requested to attend.

Under these circumstances, the calling committee met in the afternoon, and agreed that it was best to proceed in the formation of the Society at this time, as it was manifest they never could call another public meeting without encountering the same opposition. They therefore resolved to hold the meeting in Chatham-street Chapel, and invite as many friends of the cause as they could notify in so short a time.

The meeting called by the *Courier & Enquirer* was notified for *seven* o'clock. Long before the time appointed, the streets around Clinton Hall were crowded with people, and finding they could not have entrance into the Hall, they proceeded to Tammany Hall, where they listened to a couple of addresses, one by a gentleman of this city, Mr. F. A. Tallmadge, and another by a Mr. Neal of Portland, Me. and then adopted a series of resolutions.'

The resolutions are given in the *Journal of Commerce*, of Oct. 3.

*Resolved*, That our duty to the country, and our Southern brethren in particular, renders it improper and inexpedient to agitate a question pregnant with peril and difficulty to the common weal.

*Resolved*, That it is our duty as citizens and Christians to mitigate, not to increase, the evils of slavery by an unjustifiable interference in a matter which requires the will and cordial concurrence of all to modify or remove.

*Resolved*, That we take this opportunity to express to our Southern brethren our fixed and unalterable determination to resist every attempt that may be made to interfere with the relation in which master and slave now stand, as guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Messrs Howard & Lovejoy, for the gratuitous use of their room on this occasion.

*Resolved*, That these proceedings be signed by the Chairman and Secretaries, and published in all the daily papers.

The Evangelist proceeds.

'In the mean time, punctually at the hour appointed, a very respectable meeting, both for numbers and character, was opened at Chatham Chapel, and the whole business transacted deliberately and without molestation, and the meeting quietly adjourned; and the members had just begun to disperse, when a wild shout rent the air, and it was found that a furious mob had broken in and filled the avenue, and were rushing into the chapel,

crying, '*Garrison, Garrison, Tappan, Tappan, where are they, find them, find them,*' &c. Mr. Garrison however, had not been at the meeting, nor was it ever contemplated that any but citizens would take a part in the proceedings; and of those who had been, some had already left the house, others quietly passed through the crowd, and the rest found refuge with a meeting of Sunday school teachers, of both sexes, who were holding their usual weekly meeting in the upper room adjoining the chapel. These were kept in not a very agreeable state of siege for the best part of an hour, until a strong party from the police arrived and dispersed the besiegers, and left the besieged at liberty to go home.

We learn from the report of the Tammany Hall meeting, in the *Journal of Commerce*, that in the opening of the meeting, a gentleman was about to address the meeting, when a person approached the chair and stated that the meeting which was to have been held at Clinton Hall, was at that moment being held at Chatham-street chapel. Several voices cried out, 'Let us go there and rout them.'

'*The Chairman*. Gentlemen, that is not the way for us to act. We have met here to give expression of public opinion, and the only proper way to do so is by passing resolutions. Were we to go from this to the meeting at Chatham-street chapel, we should be stigmatized as disorganizers. Let us first pass the resolutions, and then every gentleman may act as he thinks proper.'

They did pass the resolutions, and 'THEN every gentleman' did act, we presume, as he thought 'proper.' The result we have seen above. The *Courier & Enquirer* says expressly, that the crowd at the chapel were those who had just gone to the hall.

Who could have thought that the disgraceful scenes of Columbia, S. C. would so soon be attempted in New-York? In New-York, where not a slave is to be found, and where, if a man brings his slave, he becomes instantly free! SPIRIT OF SLAVERY! hast thou indeed so poisoned the heart's blood of the whole American nation, that even in New-York, a few, confessedly a handful of free citizens, cannot quietly meet to deliberate on means for exhibiting thy features to the world, but at the peril of their lives? Look at it, my countrymen! What a chapter have I written in the history of republican America! What a tribute to the memory of our fathers, who poured out their blood like water to establish the principle, that 'All men are created equal.'

In all the circumstances, the overruling hand of a kind Providence is remarkably visible, ordering so that all the objects of the proposed meeting were fully gained, while not a hair has been struck from the head of one of those engaged. May the same INFALLIBLE GUIDE now take the direction of the Society, that

all its proceedings may be marked with the meekness of wisdom, giving no just offence in any thing.'

The resolutions adopted at the pro-slavery meeting deserve a passing remark.

These resolutions express a most slavish and unmanly doctrine, worthy only of believers in the divine right of kings, namely, that a question ought not to be discussed, because a large part of the community will be agitated and excited by the discussion. In whatever point of view we regard the questions, 'Ought slavery to be abolished, and in what manner,' whether as subjects of morals, religion, policy, or economy, they have a deep and pressing importance to every citizen of this republic. Why then should they not be discussed? Because it will offend southern slaveholders. Where then is the liberty of the press, which is guarantied to us by the Constitution? How is light ever to be shed upon any dark subject, if to discuss it be wrong?

But it may be said, to discuss these questions tends to promote insurrection among the slaves. The abolitionists deny the fact, and say that slavery itself is the cause of the uneasiness of the slaves, and that their plans are the only ones which can ever bring quiet to the South. These are our honest opinions. May we not speak and publish them without molestation by an illegal mob? What says the Constitution of New-York. 'Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right.' If any abolitionist abuses this right, let him be punished by the law which he has transgressed. But not only the letter of our Constitutions, but the spirit of the government, and the character of our people, demand that every man should have a right to utter his opinions without fear.

The third resolution is not a little remarkable. It expresses a 'determination to resist every attempt to interfere with the relation in which master and slave now stand, as guarantied to them by the Constitution of the United States.'

It is evident from the preceding resolutions, that the *attempts* which those who passed this strange vote, mean to resist, are all discussions of the subject of slavery which express opinions different from theirs. It is also evident, that this is a threat of force, to suppress the publication of opinions, and that it is illegal force, the force of a mob.

In one point of view we are gratified by these resolutions. The party which threatens a resort to force, usually has the worst of the argument. We, therefore, cannot but think that the New-York mob which met at Tammany Hall, were satisfied that they had not reason on their side, and therefore chose to threaten force.

But we will not condescend to make any further remarks upon these resolutions. Every man who values his own right to express his opinions, ought to respect the right in others. It is a right which in a free country ought to be regarded as most sacred, for it lies at the foundation of every other. When this is gone, no other is safe.

#### EMANCIPATION OF HOTTENTOTS.

We extract from the Anti-Slavery Record of December last, the following account of the emancipation of *thirty thousand Hottentot bondsmen* at the Cape of Good Hope.

'In the year 1828, there existed within the colony of the Cape of Good Hope a degraded population of 30,000 souls,\* distinct from the free colonists on the one hand, and from the Negro slaves on the other. They were not *slaves*, in the ordinary or colonial acceptation of the term; but they were actually held in a state of abject *bondage*, analogous to that of the Israelites in Egypt, or the Helots in Greece,—being in fact cruelly oppressed, and deprived of almost every civil and social privilege which distinguishes the state of freedom from that of slavery. These 30,000 bondmen were the Hottentots, the original inhabitants of the country.

In 1652, when the Dutch took possession of the Cape, and began to colonize it, the Hottentots are described by creditable writers as a numerous people, divided into small communities, and possessed of large herds of cattle, which supplied their principal means of subsistence. In the progress of the European colonization, however, a great change gradually took place in their condition. The Europeans (who, as is usual in such cases, had entered the country as friends, and had purchased with a few beads and trinkets the ground where the fort at Cape Town now stands, as

\* In the population tables published in Mr. George Thompson's work on South Africa, and derived from authentic sources, the Hottentot population of 1823 is rated at 30,546 persons, and that of the free blacks and apprenticed Negroes at 3750. In the official census for 1830, published in the 'South African Almanack,' these two classes are stated to amount together 31,958. This latter estimate, however, is considered to be somewhat below the truth; and the Hottentot population of 1828 may therefore be fairly stated at 30,000 in round numbers.

a trading station, and a place of refreshment for their Indian fleets,) had gradually acquired possession of the extensive region now embraced by the Cape colony, including the entire country inhabited by the Hottentot race, with the exception of the arid deserts which afford a refuge to the wandering Namacqua and Bushman hordes, and which are too sterile and desolate to excite the cupidity of any class of civilized men.

But it was not the soil of their country merely of which the Hottentots were deprived in the course of these encroachments. In losing the property of the soil, they also gradually lost the privilege of occupying even the least valuable tracts of it for pasturing their flocks and herds. Their flocks and herds also passed, by degrees, entirely into the possession of the colonists. Nothing then remained of which to plunder them, save the property of their own persons; and of that, the most sacred and unalienable of all property, they were also at length virtually deprived. The laws enacted by the Dutch legislature for their protection, it is true, did not permit of their being *publicly sold*, from owner to owner, as Negro slaves are still sold (like other live stock) in the same colony; but they were collectively, as a class of men, reduced to a state of degrading, grinding, and hopeless thralldom, scarcely less intolerable than colonial slavery of the ordinary description.

Their actual condition, so late as the beginning of the year 1828, may be in some measure estimated from the following passage of the Rev. Dr. Philip's able and eloquent appeal in behalf of this long-oppressed race:—

'The Hottentots, despairing of help from every other quarter, now look to the justice and humanity of England for deliverance. And they now justly and humbly ask why they may not, like the colonists, be allowed to bring their labor to the best market?—why they should be compelled to labor for two or for four rix-dollars (equivalent to three and six shillings sterling money) per month, when they might be receiving (at least many of them) twenty and twenty-five rix-dollars per month, if permitted to dispose of themselves as a free people?—why they may not be exempted from the cruelties exercised upon them without any form of law?—why they should be arbitrarily flogged in the public prison, upon the mere *ipse dixit* of their masters?—why, on complaining of bad usage to a magistrate, they should be put in prison till their master appear to answer the accusation brought against him?—and why they should be flogged if their complaints are held to be frivolous?—why they should be liable to punishment at the mere caprice of a magistrate, and without any trial?—why they should be made responsible for the loss of their masters' property, and thereby kept in perpetual bondage, without ever receiving any wages?—why they should be

treated as vagabonds, and their persons be liable to be disposed of at the pleasure of any local functionary in whose district they may reside, if they do not hire themselves to a master?—why they should be given to any master, by such an authority, without ever having been consulted on the subject?—why they should be liable to have their homes violated, their children torn from them, and from the arms of their distracted mothers, without having the smallest chance of redress?—why they should be denied, by the justice and humanity of Britain, the boon prepared for them by the Batavian government, when the Cape of Good Hope fell into the hands of the English?—and why these intolerable oppressions should continue to be imposed upon them, in direct violation of the proclamation of the colonial government, declaring that the original natives of the country, the Hottentots, must be considered and treated as a free people, who have a lawful abode in the colony; and whose persons, property, and possessions, ought for that reason to be protected, the same as other free people?'

In April, 1828, Dr. Philip published his work entitled 'Researches in South Africa,' of which the sole object was to disclose to the British government and nation the iniquitous oppression of the Hottentot people, and the persecutions suffered by the missionaries for endeavoring to instruct and elevate them in the scale of humanity. This appeal, we rejoice to say, was as successful as it was able. In July of the same year, an Ordinance was issued by Lieutenant-General Bourke, who then administered the government of the Cape colony, by the provisions of which the whole Hottentot race within the boundaries of the colony were placed, by law, in respect to every civil and political privilege, on a footing of *perfect equality* with the white colonists. And, to render this Ordinance more secure, an Order in Council was issued by Sir George Murray, in January, 1829, confirming in every point the said colonial Ordinance, and prohibiting any governor or colonial authority whatever to alter or abrogate any of its provisions.

This important measure, accordingly, was carried into effect without any opposition in Parliament; for the masters of the Cape Hottentots fortunately had no representatives there. And it was moreover carried into execution, immediately and at once, without any precautionary or preparatory regulations as regards the emancipated Hottentots.

We now come to the important practical point of the case, namely, to consider the result of this sudden and total change in the

\* See *Philip's Researches in South Africa*, vol. i. p. 400, *et seq.* See also Report of Commissioners of Inquiry on the Hottentot Population, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, July 1, 1830. (No. 284.)

civil and political condition of these thirty thousand bondmen. Let us see, then, what has been the effect of this bold and important measure, 1st, as regards the colony generally; 2dly, as regards the Hottentots particularly.

On the promulgation of the emancipating Ordinance, a prodigious clamor was instantly raised throughout the Cape colony, in which all ranks and classes of the white population joined, English and Dutch, including judges and other persons high in office, the great majority of the local magistracy and public functionaries, and the possessors of landed property almost to a man. The absolute and utter ruin of the colony from this measure was loudly and confidently predicted. It was asserted that the fields would be untilled, and the flocks go untended, for want of laborers and herdsmen; and that the white inhabitants generally would be reduced to ruin from this cause, and by being plundered by marauding hordes of Hottentot banditti. For it was assumed, as a result not to be questioned, that no Hottentot would work unless compelled by coercion, and that the whole race would betake themselves to a life of idleness, vagrancy and robbery, when no longer held in servitude by compulsory laws. The *retrogression* of the race into *barbarism* (from which by the bye they had never been elevated, with the exception of those instructed at the missionary institutions) was deplored in terms of eloquent declamation; and the whole of these calamitous consequences were ascribed, in terms of no measured vituperation, by the '*patriotic*' pamphleteers and journalists of the colony,\* to Dr. Philip and the missionaries at the Cape, to Mr. Buxton and the saints at home, and to that 'silly man,' Sir George Murray, who had been 'led to act upon their false and hypocritical representations'!

Such were the predictions and assertions of the South African '*patriots*.' And how have these assertions been borne out by the conduct of the emancipated Hottentot Helots? Four years and a half have now elapsed, so that there has been sufficient time to observe the effects of the measure. The poor Hottentots do not deal in pamphlets, or declaim much in newspapers; but the *facts* will speak for them; and facts in matters of this sort are rather more worthy of attention than figures of speech.

The great body of the Hottentot people still remain, just as they were formerly, servants to the white colonists; but with some essential differences in their condition. They can no longer be flogged at the mere caprice of the master, if they happen to offend him. They must now be tried and condemned on competent evidence by a magistrate, and for a legal offence, before they can be punished.

Their children can no longer be forcibly taken from them; and they can no longer be compelled to serve for inadequate wages, or for none. They form now, in short, a body of *free peasantry*, instead of being a degraded caste of miserable and oppressed *serfs*.

It is indeed true that, on the first promulgation of the Ordinance, a considerable number of families, finding themselves, for the first time, free men in reality, repaired to the several missionary institutions throughout the colony, generally from the natural and praiseworthy desire to obtain religious instruction for themselves or for their offspring,—or, it may be, in some cases, from the idle hope of living there in indolence for a season. But as no encouragement was given to the vicious at these Christian asylums, and as no means of subsistence exist there for the idle, the supernumerary refugees speedily discovered that their only resource from starvation was to hire themselves again (though now as *free laborers*) to the farmers.

As for the apprehensions, real or pretended, of the colonists, that the Hottentots would betake themselves generally to a life of theft and vagrancy, on being left free to follow their own course, they have proved perfectly groundless. For a few months at first, perhaps, individual cases of sheep-stealing and petty larceny may have been somewhat more frequent in some of the remote districts; though that is an allegation far from being satisfactorily made out by their eager detractors. But, if there actually was any tendency to an increase of these crimes, it is at least certain that it was speedily and effectually repressed by the ordinary courts of law, with no other aid than the ordinary police of the country.

In short, the execution of this great measure of national justice and redress, while it has *opened the door* for the progression of the Hottentot race, and has been of great immediate advantage to them in the important points above specified, has in no other respect interfered with the existing arrangements of society; nor have the colonists suffered any loss, or even inconvenience, from its operation. They have merely become, as regards the Hottentots, *responsible masters*, instead of being *irresponsible despots*—a change not less beneficial to themselves than to their dependants. And, in fact, the case of the Hottentots clearly demonstrates how greatly it would be for the benefit of the white inhabitants of the Cape, if the emancipation from unrequited and coercive labor, which has been conferred on the 30,000 Hottentots, were forthwith extended to the 35,000 slaves of that colony. No one who knows the circumstances of the settlement can entertain the slightest doubt of the *entire safety* of such a measure. A residence of many years there enables the writer of this article to speak on this point with some confidence.

\* In their journals, '*De Zuid Afrikaan*,' '*De Verzaamer*,' '*The Colonist*,' &c. &c., now before us.

We leave this case of *speedy emancipation* for the consideration of those who apprehend that the Negro slaves of the West Indies, if *speedily* emancipated, will be necessarily thrown into a state of entire social disorganization. The Hottentots of the Cape, with the exception of the few who had been instructed at the missionary institutions, were assuredly not *more* civilized in 1828, than the Negroes of Jamaica. In the remote districts, the former were in fact immersed in the thick darkness of heathen barbarism and servile degradation. Yet the change in their civil condition neither released them from the necessity of labor nor roused them to deeds of plunder and violence. Why should we anticipate a different result in the case of the West India Negroes? Those who know them best, the persecuted missionaries, fear no such result. Let us do justice, and show mercy; and with a few simple and judicious regulations, such as the circumstances of the case will suggest to the Legislature, this great problem may soon be (with the blessing of God's good providence) solved with a celerity and a facility that will probably astonish those not a little who have permitted their apprehensions to be excited by the absurd clamors and fallacious representations of the planters and their advocates.

Another great step has been recently taken in the case of the Hottentots. A considerable number have been raised to the rank of landholders, by having lands allotted to them by Government; and the success of this experiment has been such that a short statement of the facts will, we feel assured, not a little gratify the friends of the African race.

#### THE REIGN OF PREJUDICE.

We copy from the Unionist a communication for the foregoing title, dated Middletown, Conn., Oct. 5, 1833. It requires no commentary of ours.

Is this my country!  
The wonder and the envy of the world?  
Oh for a mantle! to conceal her shame!  
But why conceal it—if *Patriotism* cannot hide  
The ruin which her guilt will surely bring  
—If unrepented? WILCOX.

The following facts may serve to illustrate the degree of importance to be attached to the boastful declaration, that the 'academies, high-schools, and colleges,' are accessible to the colored man.

Less than a year since a colored student, of the name of Ray, was driven, (with his own consent,) from the halls of the Wesleyan University, by the management of the sons of southern menstealers, and a few northern 'dough-faces,' to use an appropriate simile. This was done, let it be remembered, in punishment of no blacker crime than a dark skin. His moral character is believed to be irre-

proachable. He was, and is, a regularly approved preacher of the Methodist order.

At a later period, a son of J. C. Beman, pastor of the African Church in this city, every other avenue of instruction being closed against him, and he being, withal, deeply desirous of intellectual cultivation, availed himself of the assistance of a student at the University, for which purpose he unobtrusively visited his room, once or twice a day. The 'chivalrous' and high-minded southerners, being offended, (as we suppose,) by the presence of even one drop of black blood, though, in this instance, coupled with a skin white as their own; and finding that personal insults and indignities were insufficient to arrest the 'even tenor of his way,' resorted to the high-handed measure, not obscurely hinted at, in the following letter. The letter was taken from the office by the father of the young man. It was written in a feigned hand, and addressed to 'Beman junior (The Post Master will please forward this as soon as possible.)'

'Young Beman,

A no. of the students of this University deeming it derogatory to themselves as well as the University, to have you and other colored people recite here, do hereby warn you to desist from such a course, and if you fail to comply with this peaceable request, we swear by the ETERNAL GODS! that we will resort to *forcible* means to put a stop to it.

TWELVE OF US.'

'Wesleyan University.'

The President being absent, the letter was laid before two of the Professors. One with a significant toss of the head, 'passed by on the other side.' The other stated, that bating the profanity, it expressed the sense of a by-law enacted by the board of trustees, at their last meeting. By subsequent inquiry, we have learned it to be even so! The resolution was moved and supported by Colonizationists. That ardent Colonizationists should act thus, excites no wonder: it is in exact accordance with the policy of the society. But that men in their sober senses should act thus, is surprising. They must sadly underrate the moral sense of New-England to suppose that such records of their narrow-mindedness can exist with impunity to the college. It must eventually if not immediately recoil upon its own head.

We trust the project for the colored man's College will soon be matured, although it would not in the least astonish the writer, should it meet the determined opposition of those colleges which exclude them from their own walls. It is now 'amalgamation,' 'twill then be 'separation.'

VERITAS.

The Providence Anti-Slavery Society held its first annual meeting on the 8th inst., in a spirited and an effective manner:

## WHAT IS MEANT BY IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION ?

The answer to this question given below, is one published by the Anti-Slavery party in England.

'The right of property in man must be entirely and for ever extinguished. No third party must be allowed to interfere between man and his Maker. Freedom of conscience, and personal liberty, without which freedom of conscience cannot exist, must be secured upon solid foundations. That accountability to himself which the Creator has imposed upon every created being must not be controlled by any human power. This, in our view, implies the removal of every restraint upon liberty, *not essential to the well-being of society*; but it is not inconsistent with the rigorous enforcement of every obligation which members of society owe to each other. We therefore insist upon the necessity of substituting for the present authority of the master, a system of legal constraint, of equal, if not superior vigor; and of maintaining that system by regulations of police as severe as the case may require. In a word, we would abolish slavery, but we would establish law. We would supersede the private cart-whip, and replace it by the magisterial tread-mill. The magistrate, and not the irresponsible owner, must be the judge of what shall constitute offence; and a jury, not an overseer, must pronounce whether such offence has been committed. The protection, as well as the punishment of law, must also be administered by authority equally removed from suspicion. Any man who can object to immediate abolition, thus explained, is unconscious and grossly ignorant of the privileges which he himself, as an Englishman, enjoys.'

## NEW ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Liberator of Nov. 2, mentions the formation of a new Anti-Slavery Society, at Pittsburgh, in Pennsylvania. We have not yet been informed of the names of its officers.

## SPIRIT OF LIBERTY.

Hail to thee, Albion! who meet'st the commotion  
Of Europe, as calm as thy cliffs meet the foam;  
With no bond but the law, and no slave but the ocean,  
Hail, temple of liberty—thou art my home!

MOORE.

Spirit of Liberty! where dost thou dwell?

'Here, where the children of liberty smile,  
High on the mountain, and low in the dell,  
Wide on the billows that circle your isle.  
Ages on ages, the nations have known,  
Wave-girdled Britain is Liberty's throne.'

Spirit of Liberty! deep in my soul  
Kindles a rapture, inspired by thy breath;  
Luminous birthright that none may control,  
Glowing in life, it will glimmer in death;  
Poverty, sickness, and sorrow, in vain  
Smite on my bosom, so thou but remain.

Spirit of Liberty! dost thou not ride  
Joyous and light, on the breezes at morn—  
Over my footpath invisibly glide—  
Laugh, from my cot, the oppressor to scorn?  
Borne on my charger, so buoyant and free,  
Liberty! swells not my bosom with thee?

Spirit of Liberty! fain would I pay  
Homage befitting the lip of the brave,  
Gem of Creation!—Bold freeman, away!  
Render off the rivets that fetter thy slave!  
Gallant and grateful, go, build me a shrine,  
Westward afar, in the isles that are thine.'

Spirit of Liberty!—Boaster, refrain!  
Give me the homage that speaks by a deed—  
Hands so enguaged with cruelty's stain,  
Lips for the captive declining to plead,—  
These are my scorn, my abhorrence, and shame—  
A blast and a blight on fair Liberty's name!

CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH.

## BRITAIN.

'THE LIBERTY SHE LOVES SHE WILL BESTOW.'

Shall Britain, where the soul of Freedom reigns,  
Forge chains for others, which herself disdains?  
Forbid it, Heaven!—O let the nations know,  
The liberty she loves, she will bestow;  
Not to herself the glorious gift confined,  
She spreads the blessing wide as human kind,  
And, scorning narrow views of time and place,  
Bids all be free in earth's extended space.  
What page of human annals can record  
A deed so bright as human rights restored!  
O may that God-like deed, that shining page,  
Redeem our fame, and consecrate our age!

HANNAH MORE.

The Treasurer of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society acknowledges the receipt of the following donations, viz.

Wm. Oakes, Ipswich	15 00
Friend from England	15 00
Legacy in part by the late John Kenrick	150 00
Ladies in Boston to constitute Miss Prudence	
Crandall a life member	15 37
Young men in Boston to constitute Miss Susan	
Paul a life member	15 00
Mr Campbell of Charlestown	2 00
Daniel Gregg, Esq. of Boston	15 00
Collection in Rev. Mr Lee's Society, Shelburne	14 00
do. in Boylston Hall	9 12
do. in Vermont, by Osborn S. Murray,	
agent, viz.	
Amzi Jones	5 00
Caleb Hill	5 00
Matthew W. Birchard	5 00
A Friend	5 00
Ichabod Higgins	5 00
Moses Munger	50
Augusta Munger	1 00
Joseph Simonds	2 00
Selah Murray	1 00
Charles E. Tiffany	1 00
Wm. H. French	2 00
Otis Whitney	50
Sally Whitney	50
Hannah Green	50
Diana Ray	25
Emery Hills	1 00
David A. Murray	50
Myron Jewell, 25	Friends, 75
Isaac Sweat, 75	Rosetta Ray, 25
Collection in Hinesbury	4 25
do. in Montpelier	4 95
do. in Bridport	2 00

Total \$299 44

JAMES C. ODIORNE, Treasurer.

# THE ABOLITIONIST.

VOL. I.]

DECEMBER, 1833.

[NO. XII.]

## AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A convention for the formation of a National Anti-Slavery Society was held at Philadelphia on the 4th of December.

BERIAH GREEN, of New-York, was chosen President, and LEWIS TAPPAN, of New-York, and JOHN G. WHITTIER, of Massachusetts, Secretaries.

More than sixty persons, from ten States, were present at the Convention.

The Convention continued for three days.

The following persons were chosen officers of the Society.

### PRESIDENT.

\* ARTHUR TAPPAN, *New-York city.*

### TREASURER.

WILLIAM GREEN, JR. *New-York city.*

SECRETARY OF DOMESTIC CORRESPONDENCE.

ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR. *New-York city.*

SECRETARY OF FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *Boston, Mass.*

### RECORDING SECRETARY.

ABRAHAM L. COX, *New-York city.*

### VICE-PRESIDENTS.

*Rhode-Island.* Samuel J. May,  
Moses Brown. Gustavus F. Davis.

*Maine.* *New York.*

Samuel Fessenden, Beriah Green,

Joseph Southwick, D. C. Lansing,

Ebenezer Dole, John Rankin.

Samuel F. Hussey. *Ohio.*

*New-Hampshire.* Elizur Wright,

Nathan Lord, Samuel Crothers.

Calvin Cutler. *Pennsylvania.*

*Vermont.* Robert Bruce,

Matthew W. Birchard, Jonas Preston,

*Massachusetts.* Edwin A. Atlee,

Asa Rand, Evan Lewis,

E. M. P. Wells, William Jackson. *(N)*

E. L. Capron. *Delaware.*

*Connecticut.* Benjamin Ferris.

Eleazer T. Fitch, *Detroit, Mich. Ter.*

Eli Ives, Erastus P. Hastings.

### MANAGERS.

Isaac Whitman, *Portland, Maine.*

Calvin Newton, *Waterville College, "*

George Shepard, *Hallowell, Maine.*  
Daniel Thurston, *Winthrop, "*  
Richard H. Vose, *Augusta, "*  
Patrick H. Greenleaf, *Portland, "*  
Bowdoin College, *"*  
*Boston, Massachusetts.*

Amos A. Phelps, *" "*

Ellis Gray Loring, *" "*

David L. Child, *" "*

Samuel E. Sewall, *" "*

James G. Barbadoes, *" "*

Isaac Knapp, *" "*

Moses Thacher, *North Wrentham, "*

John G. Whittier, *Haverhill, "*

Jacob Ide, *Medway, Mass.*

Daniel S. Southmayd, *Lowell, "*

John M. S. Perry, *Mendon, "*

Le Roy Sunderland, *Andover, "*

Philemon R. Russell, *West Boylston, "*

David T. Kimball, *Ipswich, "*

George W. Ward, *Amherst, "*

James Wilson, *Plymouth, N. H.*

Amos Cambell, *Keene, "*

Nathan Lord, *Akworth, "*

William Arthur, *Hanover, "*

Elisha Bascom, *Hinesburgh, Vermont.*

Augustine Clark, *Shoreham, "*

J. Butler, *Danville, "*

Ray Potter, *Waterbury, "*

Josiah Cady, *Pawtucket, R. Island.*

Henry Cushing, *Providence, "*

George W. Benson, *" "*

John Prentice, *" "*

Thomas Williams, *" "*

George Benson, *Brooklyn, Connecticut.*

Simeon S. Jocelyn, *New-Haven, "*

Alpheus Kingsley, *Norwich, "*

James T. Dickinson, *" "*

S. P. Dole, *Middletown, "*

William Allen, *Buffalo, New York.*

Stephen P. Hines, *Sandy Hill, "*

Samuel N. Sweet, *Adams, "*

Jonathan Parkhurst, *—, New Jersey.*

James White, *" "*

Joshua Leavitt, *New York City.*

William Goodell, *" "*

Lewis Tappan, *" "*

George Bourne, *" "*

Charles W. Denison, *" "*

Isaac M. Diamond, *" "*

Peter Williams, *" "*

Arnold Buffum, *Philadelphia, Pa.*

Edwin P. Atlee, *" "*

Robert Purvis, *" "*

\* It is proper to remark, in this place, that a vote was passed during the session of the Convention, to omit all titles of honor from the names of officers.

Thomas Shipley,	Philadelphia,	Pa.
Benjamin Lundy,	"	"
James McCrumbell,	"	"
Samuel Williams,	Pittsburgh,	"
John B. Vashon,	"	"
Bartholomew Fussell,	Rennett,	"
Job F. Halsey,	Alleghany Town	"
Enoch Mack,	Wilkesbarre,	"
Thomas Whitson,	Chester County,	"
Abraham D. Shaddy,	"	"
Lindley Coates,	Lancaster Co.	"
Theodore D. Weld,	Cincinnati,	Ohio.
James Warren,	"	"
O. K. Hawley,	Austinburgh,	"
Henry Cowles,	"	"
John M. Sterling,	Cleveland,	"
H. C. Howells,	Zanesville,	"
Woolsey Wells,	Akron,	"
John M. Monteith,	Elyria,	"

A Declaration was adopted by the Convention, and signed by the members of the Convention. We publish this important paper at length. It manifests great power and deep feeling, and that manly resolution and confidence which ought to animate men devoting themselves to a holy, but unpopular cause.

## DECLARATION

OF THE

### NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The Convention, assembled in the City of Philadelphia to organize a National Anti-Slavery Society, promptly seize the opportunity to promulgate the following DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS, as cherished by them in relation to the enslavement of one-sixth portion of the American people.

More than fifty-seven years have elapsed since a band of patriots convened in this place, to devise measures for the deliverance of this country from a foreign yoke. The cornerstone upon which they founded the TEMPLE OF FREEDOM was broadly this—'that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness.' At the sound of their trumpet-call, three millions of people rose up as from the sleep of death, and rushed to the strife of blood; deeming it more glorious to die instantly as freemen, than desirable to live one hour as slaves. They were few in number—poor in resources; but the honest conviction that TRUTH, JUSTICE and RIGHT were on their side, made them invincible.

We have met together for the achievement of an enterprise, without which, that of our fathers is incomplete, and which, for its magnitude, solemnity, and probable results upon the destiny of the world, as far transcends theirs, as moral truth does physical force.

In purity of motive, in earnestness of zeal, in decision of purpose, in intrepidity of action, in steadfastness of faith, in sincerity of spirit, we would not be inferior to them.

Their principles led them to wage war against their oppressors, and to spill human blood like water, in order to be free. Ours forbid the doing of evil that good may come, and lead us to reject, and to entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons for deliverance from bondage—relying solely upon those which are spiritual, and mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds.

Their measures were physical resistance—the marshalling in arms—the hostile array—the mortal encounter. Ours shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption—the destruction of error by the potency of truth—the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love—and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance.

Their grievances, great as they were, were trifling in comparison with the wrongs and sufferings of those for whom we plead. Our fathers were never slaves—never bought and sold like cattle—never shut out from the light of knowledge and religion—never subjected to the lash of brutal taskmasters.

But those, for whose emancipation we are striving,—constituting at the present time at least one-sixth part of our countrymen,—are recognized by the laws, and treated by their fellow beings, as marketable commodities—as good and chattels—as brute beasts;—are plundered daily of the fruits of their toil without redress;—really enjoy no constitutional nor legal protection from licentious and murderous outrages upon their persons;—are ruthlessly torn asunder—the tender babe from the arms of its frantic mother—the heart-broken wife from her weeping husband—at the caprice or pleasure of irresponsible tyrants;—and, for the crime of having a dark complexion, suffer the pangs of hunger, the infliction of stripes, and the ignominy of brutal servitude. They are kept in heathenish darkness by laws expressly enacted to make their instruction a criminal offence.

These are the prominent circumstances in the condition of more than TWO MILLIONS of our people, the proof of which may be found in thousands of indisputable facts, and in the laws of the slaveholding States.

Hence we maintain—

That in view of the civil and religious privileges of this nation, the guilt of its oppression is unequalled by any other on the face of the earth;—and, therefore,

That it is bound to repent instantly, to undo the heavy burden, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free.

We further maintain—

That no man has a right to enslave or brute his brother—to hold or acknowledge

him, for one moment, as a piece of merchandise—to keep back his hire by fraud—or to brutalize his mind by denying him the means of intellectual, social and moral improvement.

The right to enjoy liberty is inalienable. To invade it, is to usurp the prerogative of Jehovah. Every man has a right to his own body—to the products of his own labor—to the protection of law—and to the common advantages of society. It is piracy to buy or steal a native African, and subject him to servitude. Surely the sin is as great to enslave an AMERICAN as an AFRICAN.

Therefore we believe and affirm—

That there is no difference, *in principle*, between the African slave trade and American slavery ;

That every American citizen, who retains a human being in involuntary bondage, as his property, is [according to Scripture] a MAN-STEALER.

That the slaves ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of law ;

That if they had lived from the time of Pharaoh down to the present period, and had been entailed through successive generations, their right to be free could never have been alienated, but their claims would have constantly risen in solemnity ;

That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are therefore before God utterly null and void ; being an audacious usurpation of the Divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of nature, a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social compact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endearments and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments—and that therefore they ought to be instantly abrogated.

We further believe and affirm—

That all persons of color who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others ; and that the paths of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion.

We maintain that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating their slaves—

Because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle, that man cannot hold property in man ;

Because SLAVERY IS A CRIME, AND THEREFORE IT IS NOT AN ARTICLE TO BE SOLD ;

Because the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim ;—freeing the slaves is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to the right owner ;—it is not wronging the master, but righting the slave—restoring him to himself ;

Because immediate and general emancipation would only destroy nominal, not real

property : it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves, but by infusing motives into their breasts, would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free laborers ; and

Because if compensation is to be given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused them.

We regard, as delusive, cruel and dangerous, any scheme of expatriation which pretends to aid, either directly or indirectly, in the emancipation of the slaves, or to be a substitute for the immediate and total abolition of slavery.

We fully and unanimously recognise the sovereignty of each State, to legislate exclusively on the subject of the slavery which is tolerated within its limits. We concede that Congress, *under the present national compact*, has no right to interfere with any of the slave States, in relation to this momentous subject.

But we maintain that Congress has a right, and is solemnly bound, to suppress the domestic slave trade between the several States, and to abolish slavery in those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction.

We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States. They are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the southern States ;—they are liable to be called at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves ;—they authorise the slave owner to vote for three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression ;—they support a standing army at the south for its protection ;—and they seize the slave who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or a brutal driver.

This relation to slavery is criminal and full of danger : IT MUST BE BROKEN UP.

These are our views and principles—these, our designs and measures. With entire confidence in the overruling justice of God, we plant ourselves upon the Declaration of our Independence, and upon the truths of Divine Revelation, as upon the EVERLASTING ROCK.

We shall organize Anti-Slavery Societies, if possible, in every city, town and village in our land.

We shall send forth Agents to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty and rebuke.

We shall circulate, unsparingly and extensively, anti-slavery tracts and periodicals.

We shall enlist the PULPIT and the PRESS in the cause of the suffering and the dumb,

We shall aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery.

We shall encourage the labor of freemen over that of the slaves, by giving a preference to their productions;—and

We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance.

Our trust for victory is solely in GOD. *We* may be personally defeated, but our principles never. TRUTH, JUSTICE, REASON, HUMANITY, must and will gloriously triumph. Already a host is coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and the prospect before us is full of encouragement.

Submitting this DECLARATION to the candid examination of the people of this country, and of the friends of liberty all over the world, we hereby affix our signatures to it;—pledging ourselves that, under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will do all that in us lies, consistently with this Declaration of our principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of slavery that has ever been witnessed upon earth—to deliver our land from its deadliest curse—to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon—and to secure to the colored population of the United States, all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men and as Americans—come what may to our persons, our interests, or our reputations—whether we live to witness the triumph of JUSTICE, LIBERTY and HUMANITY, or perish untimely as martyrs in this great, benevolent and holy cause.

#### Maine.

David Thurston,  
Nathan Winslow,  
Joseph Southwick,  
James F. Otis,  
Isaac Winslow.

#### Pennsylvania.

Evan Lewis,  
Edwin A. Atlee,  
Robert Purvis,  
James McCrummell,  
Thomas Shipley,  
Bartholomew Fussell,  
Enoch Mack,  
John McCullough,  
James M. McKim,  
Aaron Vickers,  
James Loughhead,  
John R. Sleeper,  
Thomas Whitson,  
Edwin P. Atlee,  
John Sharp, Jun.  
David Jones,  
Lucas Gillingham,  
James Mott,  
Sumner Stebbins.

#### New-York.

Beriah Green,  
Lewis Tappan,  
John Rankin,

William Green, Jun.  
Abraham L. Cox,  
William Goodell,  
Elizur Wright, Jun.  
Charles W. Denison,  
John Frost.

#### New-Hampshire.

David Cambell.

#### Massachusetts.

Daniel S. Southmayd,  
Effingham L. Capron,  
Joshua Coffin,  
Amos A. Phelps,  
John G. Whittier,  
Horace P. Wakefield,  
James G. Barbaodes,  
David T. Kimball, Jr.  
Daniel E. Jewett,  
John Reid Cambell,  
Nathaniel Southard,  
Arnold Buffum,  
Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

#### Rhode-Island.

John Prentice,  
George W. Benson,  
Ray Potter.

#### Connecticut.

Samuel Joseph May,  
Alpheus Kingsley,  
Edwin A. Stillman,

Simeon S. Jocelyn,  
Robert Bernard Hall.

#### Ohio.

John M. Sterling,  
Milton Sutliff,  
Levi Sutliff.

#### Vermont.

Orson S. Murray.

#### New-Jersey.

Jonathan Parkhurst,  
Chalkley Gillingham,  
James White.

Among other resolutions, the following were adopted :

On motion of Charles W. Denison, seconded by John G. Whittier, it was

Resolved, That measures be taken to ascertain how many preachers in the United States are slaveholders.

On motion of John Rankin, seconded by Abraham L. Cox, it was

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, those Editors who have embarked in the cause of immediate emancipation, and plead for the rights of the colored race, are deserving of our hearty thanks; and that we will use our individual and collective influence to sustain and aid them in this good work, by extending the circulation and increasing the subscriptions of their respective papers, and by such other means as may be proper.

On this resolution, the Convention resolved itself into a committee of the whole—James McCrummell, of Philadelphia, in the chair. Several members advocated its passage.

President GREEN said, that the press is one of the most powerful engines we can bring to bear on public sentiment. Yet the press, and the pulpit too, have to a great extent lost sight of the great design for which they were established. They have been overawed and corrupted by an erroneous and dangerous public sentiment. And now, forsooth, the pulpit and the press are both *waiting* for public sentiment to reform. They seem to suppose that they must fall into the current, and float along with the mass, or be overwhelmed. They do not bring their immense moral force to bear on a given point, and that point in diametrical opposition to the vices and follies of the times. The custom of succumbing to the powers that be, because there are such powers, is as prevalent as it is dangerous.

What is public sentiment? What is its origin? It is the combined views and feelings of the mass of community. There are currents of feeling running through communities, like our rivers as they run to the ocean. Suppose they flow in a wrong direction. How are they to be corrected? Can we look to the bottom, and see the springs which move there? Are the obscure channels to influence the mighty river? Are we to depend on those who do not reach the public eye, to correct public sentiment? No, Mr President. We are to depend on the men who tower above the surface, and who have looked abroad over the whole scope of the waters of life. And are such men to wait until the whole deep is in motion? No, Sir. They are they who must mark out the channels, and lead the tide.

The influence of the press and pulpit on this wise has been strangely forgotten. But a few individuals there are who dare step forward to direct the current, when there is so much and imminent danger of being borne away by the wild surges of wicked passion

But a few indeed who dare face public odium, in any or all its forms—have dared to stand erect, like rocks amid the seething waters, and beat back the billows which would overwhelm them.

How few there are who dare expose their naked hearts to the eye of this nation! How few who are ready to receive in their bare bosoms the shafts which calumny may throw! Yet the men, contemplated in the resolution before us, have thus stood erect, and have been thus exposed. They have pleaded the cause of equal rights, in its best and broadest signification. They have stood out, amid falling missiles, and jarring notes of opposition; and like trumpets, lifted up their voices for the poor and needy, the 'suffering and the dumb.' Look at their situation. Those who have been wont to sympathise with them in other great causes of moral reform, forsake them now. *They are men.* They feel the neglect of those whom they love, and whose opinions they have been accustomed to prize. They feel as if they had stood alone, abiding 'the peltings of the pitiless storm,' and are drenched through their exposure. They need the reviving and refreshing influences of our sympathy. They have a claim on our gratitude, which cannot and must not be set aside.

When we look around even among the professed followers of the immaculate Pattern of Reformers, how few do we find who are ready to pledge themselves to sustain the public advocates of justice and equal rights! What then is our duty? Each one of us is *bound*, even at the expense of other objects, to make *special* efforts on this wise, because there are so few who will stand firm in the work. A mere tacit avowal of the extent and value of the labors of those alluded to in this resolution, will not suffice. Pledges must be entered into, and sacrifices must be made.—I cannot but lament the existence of the feelings which I often see exhibited toward the conductors of the abolition press, by those who profess to be friendly to the cause. 'We are heartily hostile to slavery,' say they, 'but, after all, William Lloyd Garrison, and his coadjutors, have taken too high ground! He is so *imprudent*;' and says so many things calculated to weaken his attacks on the system of bondage.'

For my part, I am heartily disgusted with this halting and temporizing. The devoted men who are thus repressed in their career, should receive our warmest, our most cordial God speed. For one, I am ready to present my bare bosom to the foe, and receive the shafts intended for them who have perilled so much for the object which has called us together in Convention this day. I take this occasion to present the warm gratitude of my whole heart to those men who have pledged themselves and their presses to advance this blessed cause.

Dr. A. L. Cox, of New-York, made a few remarks in favor of the resolution.

Lewis Tappan rose, and asked permission to introduce the name of William Lloyd Garrison, and proceeded to say:

Some men, Mr. President, are frightened at a name. There is good evidence to believe that many professed friends of abolition would have been here, had they not been *afraid* that the name of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON would be inserted prominently in our pro-

ceedings. Sir, I am ashamed of such friends. We ought to place that honored name in the forefront of our ranks. The cause is under obligations to him, which such an evidence of respect will but poorly repay.

The first time I ever heard of him was when he was in jail in Baltimore, where he was incarcerated like a felon, for pleading the cause of the oppressed, and rebuking iniquity. When I saw him, appearing so mild and meek as he does, shortly after he was liberated by a gentleman in New-York, I was astonished. Is this the renegade Garrison? thought I, as I grasped his open hand. Is this the enemy of our country? I shall never forget the impression which his noble countenance made on me at that time, as long as I live.

An anecdote is related of a gentleman—a Colonizationist—which is worth repeating in this Convention. That gentleman had purchased, without knowing who it represented, a portrait of Mr. Garrison, and after having it encased in a splendid gilt frame, suspended it in his parlor. A friend calling in observed it, and asked the purchaser if he knew who <sup>he</sup> had honored so much? He was answered 'No—but it is one of the most godlike looking countenances I ever beheld.' 'That, sir,' resumed the visitor, 'is a portrait of the fanatic, the incendiary William Lloyd Garrison!' 'Indeed!' concluded the gentleman, evidently much disconcerted. 'But, sir, it shall remain in its place. I will never take it down.'

Who that is familiar with the history of Mr. Garrison does not remember the determination expressed in the first number of his paper—the *Liberator*—to sustain it *as long as could live on bread and water*? And, sir, I am informed that he has really practised what he so nobly resolved on the beginning.

Look at his course during his recent mission to England. He has been accused of slandering his country. Sir, he has vindicated the American name. He has *not* slandered it. He has told the whole truth, and put hypocrites and dough faces to open shame. He has won the confidence of the people of England. They saw him attached to his country by the dearest ties; but loathing her follies and abhorring her crimes. He has put the Anti-Slavery movement forward a quarter of a century.

A fellow passenger with Mr. Garrison from Europe—a clergyman of much intelligence—on arriving in this country heard that he was called a fanatic and a madman. 'What,' said he, 'do you call such a man a fanatic? Do you deem such a man insane? For six weeks have I been with him, and a more discreet, humble and faithful christian I never saw.'

Sir, we should throw the shield of our protection and esteem around Mr. Garrison. His life is exposed at this moment. At the door of this saloon, a young man from the South said to-day that if he had opportunity, he would dip his hands in his heart's blood. And, sir, there must be martyrs in this cause. We ought to feel this moment that we are liable to be sacrificed. But when I say this, I know that we are not belligerents. We would die in such a cause, only as martyrs to the truth. In this, our blessed Saviour has set the example.

I did not contemplate delivering a eulogy on Mr. Garrison, when I rose to speak to this resolution. I wish simply to express my heartfelt sympathy with an injured and persecuted man. Be it the honorable object of the members of this Convention to show to our countrymen that they have misunderstood the character, and misconceived the plans, of William Lloyd Garrison. He is said to be imprudent. What is prudence? Is it succumbing to a majority of our frail fellow mortals? Is it holding back a faithful expression of the whole truth, until the people are ready to say *amen*? Was that the prudence of the Apostle Paul, when he stood before the Roman Governor? Was that the prudence of William Penn, when he poured contempt on the regalia of Kings, by wearing before the king of England his broad beaver? Imprudence is moral timidity. That man is imprudent who is afraid to speak as God commands him to speak, when the hour of danger is near. If this reasoning be correct, Mr. Garrison is one of the most prudent men in the nation!

He is not perfect. He is frail, like the rest of human flesh. But if God had not endowed him as He has, and smiled propitiously on his *imprudencies*, we should not now be engaged in the deliberation of this most interesting and important Convention. God has raised up just such a man as William Lloyd Garrison, to be a pioneer in this cause. Let each member present feel solemnly bound to vindicate the character of Mr. Garrison. Let us not be afraid to go forward with him even into the 'imminent breach,' although there may be professed friends who stand back because of him.

I coincide with the views of another gentleman, and hope that the name of Benjamin Lundy will not be forgotten. It is a name dear to every one engaged in this cause.

In a recent conversation which I had with a distinguished civilian of New-York—he informed me that he was a subscriber to Lundy's paper, the 'Genius of Universal Emancipation,' and that he had the highest opinion of his talents and devotedness to the cause of the slave. He said that he had been roused by Lundy's appeals, and induced to examine the bearing the Constitution had on Slavery. The result is a conviction that *a slave should not be given up* who has fled from the South to the North, and dared to assert his claim to his own body. He now contends that the Constitution does not recognize slavery: that the framers of that Instrument had in view the final destruction of our greatest national sin. And he argues that the laws which grow out of the construction of the Constitution to uphold slavery, are contrary to the highest of all laws, and the genius of our republican government. Benjamin Lundy, sir, is the man, under God, who has thus affected the heart of that celebrated individual.

Posterity should know, that their fathers held such men as are contemplated in the resolution now before this body, as men to be highly esteemed. Although they are held accursed by those who know them not, and who seek to impeach their motives and to destroy their lives, yet the coming generation shall hallow their memories, and rise up to call them blessed.

Amos A. Phelps, of Massachusetts, said he wished to give his testimony to the general subject now be-

fore this Convention. He felt it to be one of the greatest importance—one closely identified with the progress of our cause. Names had been mentioned. He would allude to one worthy of remembrance, although not specially mentioned in this resolution. It was that of CHARLES B. STORRS, late President of the Western Reserve College. He presumed it was known to all present, that President Storrs died at Braintree, Mass. A short time before he died, he said he wished to sign his name to a paper containing a declaration of principles, about to be issued in Boston. While lying on his bed, he requested to have a pen placed in his hand, and the paper in question laid before him. It was done. He commenced tracing his name, and had written the first word 'Charles'—when he discovered that two of the letters had been transposed. Letting the pen fall, and turning to his brother standing by, he exclaimed with the energy peculiar to him:—'I can write no more. Brother, do you finish my name. Those principles are eternal truths. They cannot be shaken. I wish to give to them my dying testimony.'

It is supposed that his departure from this world to a better was hastened by his exertions in delivering an Address of great energy in behalf of the poor slave, more than two hours long. We have been talking, sir, about the prospect of our being martyrs in this cause. One has already fallen. And here I cannot forbear alluding to a remark made at his funeral. The individual who preached on that occasion, I am informed, said that he 'had fallen a martyr to an error!' Sir, the assertion is without foundation. President Storrs has fallen a martyr, not to error, but to truth—in his own words, to 'eternal truths.' He looked over this whole subject with a keen and impartial glance. His whole soul was enwrapped in its investigation. All the powers of his giant mind were brought to bear in arraigning and deciding on the testimony of the case. Yet an individual who did not appreciate his righteous abhorrence of this nation's guilt and hypocrisy before God, dared to say, in the very temple of the Holy One, that he had fallen a martyr to error! Sir, I almost wonder that the coffin beneath him did not burst its covering at that moment! I should think that the preacher would have been afraid of a reproof from the voiceless dead!

To the conductors of the press, contemplated in this resolution, we are, as has been said, under great obligations. The press is indeed a mighty engine to control and remodel public opinion. Just so certain as the pulpit and the press temporize and waive, in the work of reform, the pulpit and the press have gone over to the service of Satan. They have become time servants of a corrupt and wicked public sentiment. If such a state of things continues much longer, our Institutions will have perished forever! We shall be as dead men. The pulpit must be brought to bear on the pulpit. The press must be brought to bear on the press. The power and application of what are termed 'abstract' principles must be seen and felt. Sir, the government of God is what some people call *abstract*. They say that there are certain things in that government, which will do in the abstract, but which cannot, and must not, be carried into practice. Yet God declares unequivocally that His moral govern-

ment is founded on the principles of the plainest equity, as well as strictest justice. It is a kingdom that ruleth over *all*. Let any government adopt a course of procedure opposed to the despised abstract principles for which we contend, and they oppose the government of the mighty God. 'All the collisions in our nation grow out of the neglected fact that the power-loving, money-getting government of man, is contrary to the government of God. And such collisions will increase more and more. It would seem as if we were bent on destruction. Peradventure God has determined to crush us, and erect a new government in our stead. He has said that he will overturn, and overturn, until he has introduced the kingdom of universal justice, purity and peace.

Let us then rally around those presses which are builded on the abstract principles which God has established. They should be well sustained. If we suffer them to expire for want of our support, all is lost. Posterity will write on our tomb-stones, as they look back on our past history, 'Perished by their own vices.'

Robert Purvis,\* of Pennsylvania, said he was grateful to God for the day. He felt to pour out the speaking gratitude of his soul to the Convention, for the spirit they had manifested during the session, and especially during the pending of this resolution. He most heartily concurred in such a vote, and had no doubt but that it would pass unanimously. The name of William Lloyd Garrison sounded sweet to his ear. It produced a vibration of feeling in his bosom, which words could but too feebly sound forth. It was a feeling of love and hearty confidence, which none but a conscientious abolitionist could know.

Three years ago, he had watched the progress of Mr. Garrison with extreme solicitude. The nation was then sound asleep on this subject. The colonization scheme—that scheme of darkness and delusion—was then making its wide havoc among the persecuted people of color. It was the cholera to our ranks. But Garrison arose. His voice went up with a trumpet tone. The walls of Baltimore prison could not confine its thunders. The dampness of his cell did not repress the energy of his spirit. Free and unfettered as the air, his denunciations of tyranny rolled over the land. The Liberator, speedily followed. Its pages flashed light and truth far and wide. Darkness and gloom fled before it. The deep, unbroken, tomb-like silence of the church gave way. The tocsin of righteous alarm was sounded. The voice of God-like liberty was heard above the clamor of the oppressors. The effect of these efforts is seen and felt this moment, in this interesting Convention. It is, indeed, a good thing to be here. My heart, Mr. President, is too full for my tongue. But whether I speak to them my feelings as they exist in my inmost soul or not, the friends of the colored American will be remembered. Yes, Sir, their exertions and memories will be cherished, when pyramids and monuments shall crumble.

\* A colored gentleman of Philadelphia, whose talents and gentlemanly deportment, have won the esteem of all who know him. We wish that many who we know have unwittingly circulated colonization slanders, against the free people of color, could become acquainted with Mr. P.

The flood of time, which is rapidly sweeping to destruction that refuge of lies, the American Colonization Society, is bearing on the advocates of our cause to a glorious and blessed immortality.

The following resolutions also were among those passed by the Convention:

On motion of Charles W. Denison, seconded by R. B. Hall, it was—

Resolved, That this Convention recommend the youth of our country, male and female, to form auxiliary Anti-Slavery Societies, as they may deem proper.

On motion, the following Resolution passed by an unanimous vote:

Whereas, the self denying and untiring exertions of William Lloyd Garrison, in the holy cause of abolition, justly entitle him to the grateful respect and affectionate esteem of all the friends of immediate and unconditional emancipation, and particularly of this Convention—therefore

Resolved, That Messrs. Hall, Denison and May be a committee to present to William Lloyd Garrison the respect and esteem of the members of this Convention for his devotedness to the cause of immediate and unconditional emancipation of the slaves in this country.

On motion of William Goodell, seconded by Thomas Shipley, it was

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, the early, disinterested and persevering labors of BENJAMIN LUNDY, in the cause of emancipation, deserve the lively gratitude of this Convention, and of the friends of human rights throughout the world.

On motion of R. B. Hall, seconded by S. S. Jocelyn, it was

Resolved, That this Convention, acting under a sense of dependence on Almighty God, for the accomplishment of the object they have assembled to promote, do affectionately recommend to the Christian Church throughout the land, to observe the LAST MONDAY EVENING OF EACH MONTH in a religious manner, to seek and implore the Divine aid in behalf of the enslaved, and the free people of color.

On motion of Samuel J. May, seconded by Amos A. Phelps, it was

Resolved, That the members exert themselves to procure from the several denominations to which they belong, solemn and earnest addresses to the members of their several denominations in the slaveholding states, to awaken them to a sense of their duty, in view of the sufferings and degradation of our colored brethren.

On motion of Charles W. Denison, seconded by William Lloyd Garrison, it was

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to prepare a synopsis of Wesley's 'Thoughts on Slavery,' and of the anti-slavery items in a note formerly existing in the Catechism of the Presbyterian Church, in the United States, and of such other like testimony as they can obtain, to be addressed to Methodists, Presbyterians and all professed Christians in this country, and published under the sanction of this Convention.

On motion of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, seconded by Abraham L. Cox, it was

Resolved, That the cause of Abolition eminently deserves the countenance and support of American women, inasmuch as one million of their colored sisters are pining in abject servitude,—as their example and influence operate measurably as laws to society—and as the exertions of the females of Great Britain have

been signally instrumental in liberating eight hundred thousand slaves in the Colonies.

On motion of William Goodell, seconded by Charles W. Denison, it was

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the adoption of suitable measures to collect information from all parts of the commercial world, respecting the best means of obtaining supplies for the consumption of our citizens of the *products of free labor* in substitution for those of slaves.

On motion of Abraham L. Cox, seconded by Arnold Buffum, it was

Resolved, That every citizen, and especially the benevolent and affluent of our land, be called upon to contribute of their means, as God has given them ability, to the Treasury of our Society; and that it be earnestly recommended to the members of this Convention, and to all others with whom they may have influence, to devote a certain portion of their income every month, to the purpose of meliorating the condition of the colored race.

On motion of Samuel J. May, seconded by Simeon S. Jocelyn, it was

Resolved, That the members of this Convention exert themselves to urge forward, without delay, the petition of Congress for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia; and that the petition be committed to the hands of Hon. William Ellsworth of Connecticut, and Hon. William Wilkins, of Pennsylvania, to be presented by them to Congress, during its present session. And that the President of this Convention be requested to address a letter to the gentlemen just named, and to such other members of Congress as he may deem expedient, beseeching them not only to present, but fearlessly to advocate its passage.

On motion of Nathaniel Southard, seconded by Horace P. Wakefield, it was

Resolved, That we hail the establishment of Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies as the harbinger of a brighter day, and that we feel great confidence in the efficiency of their exertions, and that those ladies who have promptly come forward in this great work are deserving the thanks of those who are ready to perish.

On motion of Simeon S. Jocelyn, seconded by Amos A. Phelps, it was

Resolved, That the fountains of knowledge, like those of salvation, should be open to every creature, and that we regard those laws and prejudices which prevent or restrict the education of the people of color, bond or free, as pre-eminently cruel and impious, and disgraceful to a christian state or nation; and that we will seek their abolishment, both in the free and slave States, if possible more earnestly than corporeal slavery itself, inasmuch as ignorance enslaves the mind, and tends to the ruin of the immortal soul.

On motion of John Prentice, seconded by William Goodell, it was

Resolved, That this Convention highly approve of the philanthropic efforts of Miss Prudence Crandall, of Canterbury, Conn. in her labors to instruct our colored sisters; and while we deeply sympathize with her in view of the persecutions she has endured in the prosecution of her pious purposes, we pledge ourselves to afford her our continued countenance and assistance.

On motion of Amos A. Phelps, seconded by David Thurston, of Maine, it was

Resolved, That in the opinion of this convention, those teachers of religion who fail to lift a warning voice against the oppressions that are done in this land, in the enslaving of one-sixth part of its population, do not declare the whole counsel of God, and fail in one important branch of their appropriate duties.

On motion of William Goodell, seconded by Elizur Wright, Jr., it was

Resolved, That the laws and customs which withhold the bible from a large portion of the native population of this country, are inconsistent with the first principles of religious liberty; and that any plan of religious instruction for the slaves, which pretends to be adequate while it withholds *the bible*, is undeserving the confidence and patronage of the christian public, and furnishes a dangerous precedent, tending to render insecure the religious liberties of the American people.

On motion of William Lloyd Garrison, seconded by James Loughhead, it was

Resolved, That we view with approbation the resolution of the Pittsburg Anti-Slavery Society, to establish a Manual Labor Institute for the education of colored and white youth, and that we commend this project to the friends of the colored population in this country.

On motion of John G. Whittier, seconded by Joshua Coffin, it was

Resolved, That those literary institutions which have offered their privileges and benefits to our colored brethren, deserve the thanks and the patronage of the friends of abolition throughout the country.

On motion of Amos A. Phelps, seconded by several members, it was

Resolved, That this body regard the annual Conventions of the free people of color in the U. States with decided approbation, as eminently calculated to advance their interests, and render them respected in the eyes of all their intelligent fellow citizens.

On motion of Simeon S. Jocelyn, seconded by several members, it was

Resolved, That the 'Phoenix Associations' of the city of New-York—the various literary associations, both male and female, in the cities of Philadelphia, New-York, Boston, and many other places, and the numerous Temperance and other societies among the colored people, for their improvement,—are highly creditable to them, and deserving of our warmest approbation.\*

We congratulate our friends, we congratulate our country, and philanthropists throughout the world, upon the formation of the AMERICAN ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY. The meeting of this Convention will, we doubt not, in coming years, be regarded as a glorious era in American history. The members of the Convention, and their associates throughout the country, are now pledged to the cause of abolition. They will never cease from their labors till their cause is triumphant. However strong the power and interest which are enlisted against them, they have a mightier power on their side, against which all human force is impotent. The God of Truth and Justice is with them. As surely as there is a God above us and among us, so surely will the Truth and Justice which he supports finally prevail.

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\* We ought to mention that we are indebted to the Emancipator for the foregoing account of the proceedings of the Convention.

## THE LATE JAMES STEPHEN, ESQ.

We have for a long time been intending to give our readers some notices of the life of Mr. Stephen. He was for many years one of the most active and useful leaders in the anti-slavery cause, in England, and, as many of our readers probably know, the author of an able and unanswerable work on West Indian Slavery.

The following biographical notice is taken from the London Law Magazine.

'The late James Stephen, Esq. Master in Chancery, was descended from a respectable family in the North of Scotland. His father (who was the third of seven sons) had no patrimony except a liberal education, and left his native country in early youth in pursuit of fortune. He engaged in commerce (but not, as has been erroneously stated, in the West India trade,) and married Miss Milner, a lady of good family in the West of England, distinguished for her talents and virtues.

Being early encumbered with a large family, and engaged too deeply in mercantile and other speculations, he fell into pecuniary difficulties, in which he continued to be involved till his death.

The late Master in Chancery was the second son of this marriage. Being left at the death of his father utterly without provision at a very early period of life, he was obliged (though then in the progress of his studies for the bar) to seek the means of maintenance as a reporter of Parliamentary debates—an employment always requiring considerable talent and information, and at that time possibly requiring even more than it now does, no notes being allowed to be taken. Having completed his legal education, and being called to the bar, he made his appearance on the Home Circuit, but almost immediately afterwards went out to St. Kitt's, where his prospects were rather more inviting than at home, owing to the circumstance of some members of his father's family being already settled there. Previously to his departure from this country, he married a lady of the name of Stent, who shortly afterwards followed him to St. Kitt's, and by her he had a numerous family.

His professional career at St. Kitt's was successful and brilliant to a degree unprecedented (it is believed) at any colonial bar; he was called the Erskine of the West Indies, and generally recognised as a man of first rate talent, fitted by nature for a higher sphere of action than fortune had then assigned to him. His health having been shattered by successive illnesses, the effect of severe exertion in an unfavorable climate, he returned to England to settle permanently there in the year 1794. During the whole of his residence in the West Indies, he had never been the own-

er of a single slave. He had early determined never to connect himself with such property, owing to the abhorrence he entertained for the system of slavery there established—a sentiment he always publicly avowed, without losing the esteem or good will of the community. Soon after his arrival in England, he began to obtain a share of business in prize appeals at the Cockpit (a field of practice that had till then belonged almost exclusively to the civilians,) and at length attained to such eminence there as to be sure of a retainer in every cause. His reputation gradually extended to the Courts of Westminster Hall. In the latter courts, however, his opportunities of appearing were not very numerous, but he distinguished himself in the King's Bench on several occasions, more particularly in the well-known case of General Picton, for whom he was engaged as counsel.\*

Not long after his return to this country, he was introduced to Mr. Wilberforce, with whom he gradually formed an intimate friendship, cemented by their sympathy on the subject of the slave trade and West India slavery; and about four years after the death of Mrs. Stephen (which occurred in 1796,) he married his second wife, the sister of this gentleman. Of this marriage there was no issue.

In 1805, he published his pamphlet called 'War in Disguise;' the object of which was to point out the insidious invasion of our maritime rights by the neutral powers, in carrying on the colonial trade of the enemy under shelter of their flags. This pamphlet obtained an almost unprecedented celebrity, and is said to have attracted the notice and abuse of Bonaparte. Mr. Stephen's talents having attracted the attention of Mr. Perceval, that gentleman offered him in 1808 a seat in Parliament. He sat in the House of Commons, first for Tralee, afterwards for East Grinstead, for a period of about seven years in the whole. After the death of Mr. Perceval, he continued to support the administration which succeeded him; but, in consequence of their refusing to promote a measure which he had anxiously pressed upon them, for the general registration of slaves in the West Indies, he

\* A singular story, illustrative of the strength of Picton's nerves, is currently told in connection with this trial, on the authority of the highly respectable solicitor who conducted the defence. A consultation between the professional gentlemen engaged, was one night prolonged to a very late hour, and the result was, that the General would certainly be found guilty if he waited to take his trial. The solicitor was commissioned to make known the result of their deliberations, and finding, on his arrival at the General's, that the General was in bed, required to be shown to his room, and began explaining the object of his visit with as little abruptness as he could. 'I suppose you mean,' said Picton, breaking through the ambiguous circumlocution of the solicitor, 'that I am sure to be hanged. Very well. I suppose they won't hang me to-night;' and with that he turned round on his pillow, and was asleep again in half a minute.

felt it inconsistent with his duty to the cause of abolition to maintain any longer his political connection with them, and he resigned his seat.

The following anecdote places his parliamentary character in a very favorable light. It was related to us some time since by a friend pretty nearly as follows:—

‘I remember one evening after dinner, at Mr. Wilberforce’s, his talking to me about the present C— G—, and his qualifications as a debater and as a man of business. In the course of the conversation he mentioned a remark made by Canning while C— G— was delivering one of his ornate field-day speeches. ‘I wish,’ said Canning, slapping his thigh, ‘I wish that young man would *risk himself*.’ As he was telling me this anecdote, Master Stephen left the room. ‘Now *that*,’ continued Mr. W., ‘was precisely what our excellent good friend, who has just left us, always *did* while he was in the House,—even to a fault, but with a noble disregard of self, he was ready to go out in all weathers whether prepared or not.’\*’

In 1811 he was appointed a Master in Chancery, a situation that he held for a period of twenty years, during which he not only discharged with exemplary diligence his official duties, but was the means of introducing into the course of business in the Master’s offices in general, some reforms of a very salutary and important description.† Amongst other specimens of extraordinary disinterestedness, he forbade his clerk to take the ordinary gratuities, and compensated him out of his own pocket for the loss, to the amount, we have heard, of nearly £800 a year. Though he occasionally took great interest in subjects of general policy, such as that discussed in ‘*War in Disguise*,’ it was to the extermination of the slave trade and West India slavery, that his energies, as a public man, were always mainly devoted. His literary productions in this cause were numerous, his correspondence (more particularly with persons in high or influential stations) most assiduous and unremitting,—his conversation in general society, copious and impressive. Of what he wrote, and said, and did in this matter, much is known to the public, but very much more was of a private description, for which he gained no applause, and courted none. These best acquainted with the case, consider him as of all the abolitionists (Mr. Wilberforce, perhaps, excepted) the greatest benefactor of the Af-

rican race, though there may be others who have borne a more conspicuous part in that generous labor. His chief and last publication in this cause was the ‘*Slavery of the British West India Colonies delineated*.’

In April 1831, he resigned his mastership, beginning about that period to be sensible of the fatigues of office, though his constitution was still apparently unbroken. After a year of retirement, his health began to fail rapidly, and he expired on the 10th of October, 1832, in the 75th year of his age.

It is quite unnecessary to finish a sketch like this with a character; for almost every incident portrays the goodness and greatness by which that of the late Master Stephen was marked. We will merely add that he united great acuteness and comprehensiveness with considerable powers of imagination, which both in writing and speaking gave a peculiar force and richness to his style. He possessed an extraordinary ardor of temperament, intensely directed towards useful and benevolent objects. He was in a very singular degree exempt from all mean and selfish alloys, and his virtues shone still more brightly in the domestic circle than abroad.

He left four sons,—The Rev. W. Stephen, Vicar of Bedlow, Bucks; Mr. Serjt. Stephen; James Stephen, Esq., Council to the Colonial Office and Board of Trade; and George Stephen, Esq., Solicitor; and two daughters, one of whom is married to W. A. Garratt, Esq. of the Chancery Bar, and the other to T. E. Dicey, Esq. of Claybrook Hall, Leicestershire.†

In his prefaces to the two volumes on West Indian slavery, Mr. Stephen has given some very interesting biographical notices of himself. Our copy of the work being lent, we extract the passages to which we refer from the *Christian Examiner*, of September, 1831, with some of the accompanying remarks in the article.

‘All who have attended to the controversy which has been going on for many years, respecting colonial slavery, have heard of the name of James Stephen. But the nature and extent of his long-continued, conscientious, and devoted exertions for the benefit of the African race, are probably not generally known in this country.

In his Preface to the Second Volume, he narrates the circumstances that prevented him from experiencing the corrupting effects which familiarity with slavery is too apt to produce. In the year 1783, he sailed from England to St. Christopher, in a vessel which touched on the voyage at Barbadoes. At this latter place he attended the trial of four plantation slaves for the murder of a physician. We give the story in his own words.

‘The court, consisting of a bench of justices of the peace, five I think in number, without a jury, was no sooner constituted, than

\* The same remark used to be made on Flood; and Scott said something very like it of Byron in poetry: ‘Byron let his fame take care of itself, his foot was always in the arena, his shield hung always in the lists.’

† In the Chancery Report, p. 522, or Mr. Spence’s pamphlet on the Evils of the Court of Chancery, p. 48, ample evidence of the enlargement of his views on the subject of Chancery Reform may be seen.

the four black prisoners were placed at the bar; and, as they were the first common field negroes I had seen, their filthy and scanty garbs would have moved my pity, if it had not been more strongly excited by the pain they were visible suffering from tight ligatures of cord round their crossed wrists, which supplied the place of hand-cuffs. I noticed it to my companion, and said, "Surely they will be put at bodily ease during their trial;" but he replied it was not customary. As there was no indictment, or other express charge, and consequently no arraignment, they had not to hold up their hands; and remained bound in the same painful way while I remained a spectator.

"But the first proceeding of the bench changed the sensation of pity in my breast into honest indignation. It was the production and reading by the chairman of a letter received by him from a gentleman, who was owner of two of the prisoners, and who had been written to with an inquiry, whether he would choose to employ a lawyer in the defence of his slaves; and the answer was, that he declined to do so, adding as his reason—"God forbid that he should wish in such a case to screen the guilty from punishment." To the best of my recollection, these were the very words: I am sure such was the exact import of the letter.

"I turned with a look of astonishment to my conductor; but before I could whisper my feelings, they were diverted from the master to the bench; for to my astonishment the chairman applauded the letter, as honorable to the writer; and the other magistrates concurred in his eulogy.

"Strangely misplaced though I felt it to be, and shocked though I was at such a cruel prejudication of the unfortunate prisoners by their natural protector, I supposed that the commendation rested on his disinterestedness, in being willing to sacrifice his property in their bodies, without opposition to the demands of public justice; for I did not then know of the laws noticed in my first volume, pp. 322 to 328, which entitle a master, on the conviction and execution of his slave, to be paid for his loss of property out of the public purse. The lawyers' fees in consequence would have been a profitless expense.

"Not only was there no written charge, but no opening of the case, on the part of the prosecution. The prisoners had to learn it, as I did, only from the evidence adduced; the uncontroverted part of which was briefly as follows.

"The deceased had been visiting a certain estate in his usual routine as its medical attendant; and after seeing the patients, mounted his horse to return to his residence in town. A negro of the estate the same morning brought in the horse with the saddle and bridle on, saying that he had found it grazing in

one of the cane pieces; and the manager thereupon ordered it to be put into the stable; but did not send till the next day to give information of the occurrence at the doctor's house; supposing, as he alleged, that the horse by some accident had got away from him, and would be sent for. The deceased, however, never returned to his home; and, an alarm naturally arising, he was inquired for at the estates he had visited; and after consequent searches, the body was found in a cane piece not far from the house he had last visited, with contusions on the head, such as a fall from his horse could not have occasioned, and which were the apparent cause of his death.

"So far there was nothing to affect either of the prisoners; except that one of them, a very old negro, was the man who brought in the horse; and though this was regarded as a leading circumstance of suspicion against him, it seemed to me of a directly opposite tendency.

"But a negro girl, or *wench*, as she was called in the ordinary style of the slave colonies, a deformed creature, apparently about fifteen years old, was next called, as the only witness who could bring the offence home, by positive testimony, to the prisoners.

"Before she was examined, she was addressed by the chairman in a way that carried my surprise and indignation to the utmost pitch. She was admonished, in the most alarming terms, to beware not to conceal any thing that made against the prisoners; and told that if she did, she would involve herself in their crime, and its punishment. No caution whatever was given as to any sin or danger on the opposite side. Every word implied a premature conviction in the mind of the court, that the prisoners were certainly guilty, and that she would be probably disbelieved and punished if she said any thing tending to acquit them. Terror was strongly depicted in her countenance during this address; and I felt at the moment that had I been a jurymen to try the prisoners on her evidence, after such an exhortation, nothing she might testify against them would weigh a feather in my verdict.

"As the negro dialect was new to me, I should not have been able clearly to understand her testimony in many parts of it, without the assistance of my companion, who kindly whispered the interpretations that I asked for; but her story in substance was, that the deceased rode up to the negro houses of a plantation she belonged to, for shelter against a shower of rain; that he alighted, and gave his horse to one of the prisoners to hold; and that, thereupon, he and the other three, the only persons present except herself, fell upon him with sticks, knocked him down, and beat him to death; and afterwards carried his body to the cane piece in which it was found.

"No provocation, or other motive, was as-

signed by her, and her evidence, independently of the terror that had been impressed upon her, would have appeared to me, from its matter, and the manner in which it was given, wholly unworthy of credit. The countenances and gesticulations of all the unfortunate men during her examination, impressed me with a strong persuasion of their innocence. Never were the workings of nature more clearly imitated by the most expert actor on any stage, if her whole narrative did not fill them with astonishment; and excite in them all the indignation that belongs to injured innocence. I expressed that feeling strongly to my conductor; and he dissented only by observing that negroes in general were masters of dissimulation; or something to that effect. \* \* \* \*

‘Here I must cease to narrate the case from my own direct knowledge. But the sequel was well supplied to me by evidence beyond suspicion. The same day I heard of what further passed on the trial, from persons who had staid in court to the end of it. No further evidence had fortified that of the negro *wench* in material point. On the strength of her testimony alone, the magistrates had convicted all the prisoners of murder.’—*Præface*, vol. ii. pp. 19—24.

‘I left Barbadoes immediately after the trial, but heard soon after the sequel of the tragedy, from several gentlemen who came from that island to St. Christopher. The court applied to the Governor, a planter of the Island, and one who afterwards gave a very favorable account of the general humanity of his brethren, before the privy council, for an *exemplary death*; and he ordered that the four convicts should be burnt alive.

‘But what perhaps will be thought the most singular part of the cases, remains to be told.

‘The owner of two of the slaves, the same I believe who so *laudably* refused to employ a lawyer for them, on hearing of the evidence on which they had been convicted, in respect of time and place, was able to establish a clear *alibi* in their favor, to the satisfaction of the magistrates who had tried them; in consequence of which they were pardoned. But however incredible it may appear, the two other unfortunate men, convicted on the very same evidence, nevertheless underwent the cruel fate to which they were sentenced. They were literally burnt alive at Bridgetown.’—pp. 25, 26.

‘Such was the case which gave me my first right views of negro slavery in the sugar colonies, almost as soon as I reached their shores.’—p. 27.

‘The case I have mentioned was every way calculated to rescue me at the outset from delusion. As a lawyer, I could not but be deeply impressed with the shocking contrast it presented to the impartial and humane administration of British justice, and its revers-

al of every principle that I had been taught to reverence, by writers on general jurisprudence. And how much were my indignant feelings augmented, when I learned from an inquiry which it suggested, that white men in the same island were not only exempt from all such barbarous departures from the laws of England, but for the wilful murder of a slave, were liable only to a fine of fifteen pounds.’—p. 28.

In consequence of the impression produced by this trial, Mr. Stephen formed a resolution never to own a slave; and during a residence of eleven years at St. Christopher, he, with some inconvenience to himself, strictly adhered to this resolution. During his continuance there, he practised law. In answer to a charge which had been brought against him, by the advocates of slavery, of having been himself the owner of slaves, he says:

‘I will be obliged to any reader, ignorant of my history and character, who will take the trouble to inquire of some of the respectable merchants or proprietors now in England, connected with the Leeward Islands, whether I ever held such property; and whether I was not, on the contrary, remarkable for the singularity of carrying my dislike to slavery so far as to have no domestics but hired servants, during the whole of my long residence in St. Christopher. Such was the well known fact. During the chief part of the time I had a family there, which required a pretty numerous domestic establishment, and it was a great breach of economy not to buy my servants; but I was served only by free persons of color, or, when I could not find such of a suitable character, by slaves let out to hire by their owners.

‘Nor did I expose the latter to the disadvantages mentioned in this work as belonging to their situation in general. From the first it was my resolution, that such of them as served me long and faithfully, should not remain in slavery; and I acted up to that purpose. I obtained their manumissions, either by paying the whole value, or adding to what they had themselves saved for the purpose, or vindicating by law a right to freedom, which had, in one instance, been unjustly withheld. Not one of them who had served me for any considerable time without misbehaviour was left in slavery; except in one instance, which may serve to show the hardships of that state in general. I repeatedly offered to purchase his freedom at his full value; but the owner would not consent. At length he came from a distant island, at which he resided, to take the man away. To save the poor fellow, not only from slavery, but exile, I entreated the owner to accept his value, to be ascertained by any person of his own nomination, and when this was refused, to name his own price; but he was inexorable; and for no juster reason, but that he knew the man’s in-

tegrity, and other valuable qualities, and therefore wanted him for his own domestic use. The slave's merits, therefore, and his fitness to make a right use of his freedom, formed, as too frequently happens, the bar to his attainment of it; and his reward was a perpetual exile from the connexions and the island which long settlement in it had endeared to him. In a Spanish or Portuguese colony, he might have compelled the master to enfranchise him by a judicial appraisalment.'—*Preface*, vol. i. p. liv, lv.

After his return to England, it appears that his zeal for the abolition first of the slave-trade, and afterwards of slavery, was in some degree prejudicial to his private interest.

'Let me not be understood, however, as disclaiming all obligations to my West Indian clients and friends. To such of them as are living, and to many more, alas! whom I shall see no more till all human contentions are ended, I owe what is better than wealth,—great personal kindness, and long continued attachment. Their obliging preference followed me into practice here; and gave me, as a chamber counsel, and a practitioner at the Cockpit, advantages which, in my then circumstances, were of great importance, and were rapidly increasing, till, by taking a public part in the abolition controversy, I willingly renounced them. The greatest of the sacrifices that I have made to the cause I still feebly support, though they have been neither few nor small, was to encounter their displeasure; or rather, as I do many of them the justice to believe, an estrangement from me, which the irresistible impulse of an *esprit de corps* compelled them to, against their real feelings. They knew my sincerity; and could not in their hearts condemn me for maintaining in England, views and principles which I had always avowed and acted upon, often at no small personal risk, while resident among them.'—*Preface*, vol. i. pp. lvi, lvii.

In 1802, he published a work, which we have never seen, entitled the 'Crisis of the Sugar Colonies,' intended to promote the abolition of the slave-trade. Since that time, he has always been forward and active in all the efforts which have been made by the opponents of the slave-trade and of slavery. In 1807, he published the 'Dangers of the Country,' and in 1815, 'Reasons for establishing a Registry of Slaves,' in relation to a measure which was then proposed. His speeches delivered at two general meetings of the African Institution, on the 26th of March, 1817, and 16th of May, 1823, have also been published. The publications to which we have referred are all mentioned in the work before us. He has, we believe, also written and published other pieces in behalf of the slaves, which are not particularly referred to, and of which we have no means of preparing a list.

He was for some time a member of Parliament, and in that situation faithfully persevered in his efforts in the cause to which he has devoted himself. In 1824, he published the First Volume of his work on 'The Slavery of the British West India Colonies,' in which he gives an accurate and methodical account of the law upon the subject, with much information in regard to the practical operation of the system. The author was engaged upon the work for many years, having begun it, as he informs us, before the abolition of the slave-trade. As this volume has already been spoken of in a former number of our Journal,\* as well as in other periodical publications, with well-merited commendation, it is not our intention to take any further notice of it at this time.'

#### MR. CHILD'S SPEECH.

*Abolitionist's Library, No. I. The Despotism of Freedom, a speech delivered at the first anniversary of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society. By David Lee Child. Boston: published by the Young Men's Anti-Slavery Association for the Diffusion of Truth. 12 mo. pp. 72.*

We think the Young Men's Anti-Slavery Association have shown sound judgment in making this speech the first publication of their series.

The speech of Mr. Child was delivered before the New England Anti-Slavery Society, in support of the following resolution which he had introduced.

'Resolved, That the free People of Color and Slaves, in this land of Liberty and Law, have less liberty, and are less protected by law, than in any other part of the world.'

The speech fully demonstrates the atrocious cruelty of the laws of the Southern States and the still more atrocious cruelty and depravity of slaveholders. It exhibits deep study and research, is rich in facts and illustrations, and is animated with fire and eloquence. It seems scarcely possible, for any one, not benumbed with prejudice, to read it, without feeling thrilled with the resolution to exert himself to abolish the abominable system which it exposes—we had almost said, to devote his life to the accomplishment of this object. This production of Mr. Child is worthy, and this we think is great praise, of a place by the side of the Appeal of his accomplished wife.

We are afraid that our praises will seem too enthusiastic. We therefore wish to say that we are far from intimating that this speech,

\* See Christian Examiner, Vol. iv. No. 3.

highly as we value it, has no faults. But we have no time to point them out.

We extract a few remarks in regard to the domestic slave trade.

'The internal slave trade of the United States has all the characteristics of the foreign, except alone 'the middle passage.' But I am yet to learn that a voyage from the Chesapeake Bay to Georgia, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, or the *Texas*, is likely to be much more pleasant, while it lasts, than any other slave voyage. I am informed by credible persons, that the slave traders take just so much care of their merchandize, in its passage from market to market, as is necessary for its *preservation*, and *no more*. Whatever they can economize in this respect, is clear gain, added to the difference of value in different markets. If African slave traders afford for daily allowance a decayed yam, and a pint of water, it is highly probable to my mind that *American* slave traders will not do much better. No law with *us* proportions the number they shall carry, to the reasonable and comfortable capacity of the vessel, as the English laws did, in respect to the African slave trade, long before it was abolished. No law obliges the American captain or owner to provide a sufficient stock of wholesome provisions 'for each and every passenger,' during the voyage. Congress have found it necessary to tie up, by strong statutes, the avarice of captains, who bring *while* emigrants into our ports, or carry *white* passengers from them. They have been obliged, by known instances of cruelty to Irish and other passengers, to prescribe the *ship room* and the *provisions*, which each passenger shall be entitled to have, and they have laid captains and owners under no less a penalty than the forfeiture of the vessel, if they fail to comply with the law. This we do for those who have some power to assert their own rights, and are not cut off by inhuman custom and prejudice from the common offices of humanity. But as to poor slaves, who have no protection but what legislators may deign to throw around them, *they* are magnanimously abandoned to the tender mercies of the slave trader, (a character held infamous even among slavites,) and to the voluntary kindness of those captains and owners of vessels, who have cupidity enough to engage in this cruel business.

In the year of 1827, the internal slave trade in the empire of Great Britain ceased for ever. Now, it is *death* to carry on a *domestic*, as much as to carry on the foreign slave trade. Yet, do we still permit the wicked traffic to go on in this country. It is the most brisk of all under the very droppings of the republican sanctuary. The District of Columbia is the grand mart for the sale of men. Kofle after kofle are collected in that wretched space, and driven, under the flourish of whips and the

foldings of the flag, by the very doors of Congress. The clank of their chains makes fine harmony with the voices of pretty orators, who are up, praising *liberty*.'

#### NEW ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.

It is most gratifying to find these societies rapidly increasing. It is a sure proof that the community is becoming alive to the great evil which oppresses our country. Besides the American Anti-Slavery Society, of which we have already spoken, several other societies of kindred principles, have been formed, of which we have received intelligence, since our last publication. The names of these societies and their officers, as far as they have fallen under our notice, follow below.

##### Hallowell Anti-Slavery Society.

This Society was formed on Nov. 26.

EBENEZER DOLE, *President*.  
PAUL STICKNEY, *Vice President*.  
ROBERT GARDINER, *Treasurer*.  
GEORGE SHEPARD, *Cor. Secretary*.  
RICHARD D. RICE, *Rec. Secretary*.

##### Anti-Slavery Society of Oneida Institute.

HIRAM FOOTE, *President*.  
AMOS M. STONE, *Vice President*.  
ISAAC B. HEADLY, *Cor. Secretary*.  
AMMON GASTON, *Rec. Secretary*.  
BENJ. WEBER, *Treasurer*.

CHAUNCEY T. GASTON,	} <i>Directors.</i>
PHILANDER BARBOUR,	
WM. SMITH,	
HENRY H. LOOMIS,	
AMOS D. HOLLISTER,	

##### Rochester Anti-Slavery Society.

DR. J. W. SMITH, *President*.  
BENJ. FISH, *1st Vice President*.  
ABRAM INGERSOLL, *2d V. President*.  
BILL COLBY, *Treasurer*.  
DR. W. W. REID, *Cor. Secretary*.  
EDWIN SCRANTON, *Rec. Secretary*.

DR. J. W. SMITH,	} <i>Managers.</i>
WM. C. BLOSS,	
PETER CHERRY,	
DR. W. W. REID,	
JNO. A. SPRAGUE,	

##### Amesbury Anti-Slavery Society.

JONATHAN A. SARGEANT, *President*;  
ROBERT STORY, *Vice-President*;  
ROBERT SCOTT, *Treasurer*;  
BENJAMIN BRIERLY, *Secretary*.  
JAMES TAYLOR, }  
JOHN MCGARVEY, } *Prudential Committee.*  
SAMUEL FIELDER, }

## MANUAL LABOR SCHOOL.

We publish below an extract from a letter of that devoted and noble minded philanthropist, CHARLES STUART to MR. GARRISON. Our readers will be gratified to learn that Mr. Garrison's mission to England, which did so much to put down the Colonization Society, is also likely to do much toward establishing the Manual Labor School for Colored Youth.

'MY DEAR GARRISON—

'You will have been surprised at my delay. The reason is, that after leaving London in order to proceed according to my purpose, to the United States, I was so strenuously advised to remain for the winter in England, that I was prevailed upon; and you will not regret it, when I tell you, that it is for the purpose of forwarding the chief object of your journey, in the collection of aid for the education of the colored people of the United States on the manual labor system, and for their moral and religious elevation in their native country.

'About five hundred dollars have been already subscribed. The following is an extract from a note accompanying one of the subscriptions. "I shall feel much obliged by thy receiving the enclosed for the American fund thou wast speaking of last evening. Soon after E. Cresson's arrival in this country, I ignorantly contributed three pound to the Liberator scheme, and am therefore glad to have an opportunity of giving a similar sum to a Society more decided in its objects. My dear children have had much pleasure in subscribing £1. The remaining £1 I shall be glad to continue as an annual subscription, if desirable."

'You may expect I think at least one thousand dollars through me, for the above dear and sacred purposes.

'My purpose is to leave this place late in March or early in April, that I may be present, if possible, at the formation of your National Anti-Slavery Society. But if the period of its formation, should be thrown back, I should then probably, prefer leaving this country, a month or two later. But let me have as express information on this subject as may be in your power to give.

'Many letters, &c. &c. have come for you. I have opened them all and are making use of them. The writers are Buffum, Phelps, Cox, Forten, &c. &c. Give my love to them all,

(especially to those dear brethren amongst them, who have so kindly written to myself.

'Many hearts are beating here for the glorious Prudence Crandall. Some of my young friends are working little parcels of presents, for me to take to her dear pupils in the Spring.

'God is with thee brother—and with the noble host which is rising and growing around thee. Yet be not highminded, but fear—His peace and His energy, combined with His spirit, and His loving kindness, be thine, through the Holy Ghost. Watch and pray—go on and conquer—and then—oh then, when the tear or the sigh of a slave, shall no longer pollute your at length really free and glorious country; and when the demon-day of prejudice shall have been swept away for ever. Oh how joyously, whether in the body or out of the body, shall we sing the praises of Him who condescended to use even us in His most sweet and gracious service.

'Farewell a little. If you meet with my Theodore Weld, tell him my heart is doubly his—and believe me,

Your faithful and affectionate,

C. STUART.

Liverpool, 16th Oct. 1833.'

[From Zion's Herald.]

## WESLEY'S OPINIONS ON SLAVERY.

MR. EDITOR,—The existence of Slavery in a country whose institutions are professedly based on the principles of universal liberty, is an inconsistency which has attracted the reprehension of all writers on our country, from Jefferson to Mrs. Trollope. But it is an inconsistency even more reprehensible and deeply to be deplored, that Christians in profession can so far violate the first principles of Christianity, as to hold their fellows in bondage; and that others who would not,

—'For all the wealth

That sinews bought and sold have ever earned,'

be guilty of following their example, can yet be found to plead excuses for their sin. That such was not the practice of the venerated man whose name stands at the head of this article, the following extracts from his works will show. It may be found, with more on the subject, in the sixth volume of the edition recently published by the Book Agents, p. 292.

Yours, in willing bonds,

A FREEMAN.

'This equally concerns all slaveholders, of whatever rank and degree; seeing men buyers are exactly on a level with men stealers. 'Indeed,' you say, 'I pay honestly for my goods; and I am not concerned to know how

they are come by.' Nay, but you are; you are deeply concerned to know they are honestly come by. Otherwise you are a partaker with a thief, and are not a jot honest than him. But you know they are not honestly come by; you know they are procured by means—nothing near so innocent as picking of pockets, house breaking, or robbery upon the highway. You know they are procured by a deliberate series of more complicated villany, (of fraud, robbery, and murder,) than was ever practised either by Mohammedans or Pagans; in particular by murders, of all kinds; by the blood of the innocent poured upon the ground like water. Now, it is your money that pays the merchant, and through him the captain and the African butchers. You therefore are guilty, yea, principally guilty, of all these frauds, robberies, and murders. *You are the spring that puts all the rest in motion;* they would not stir a step without you; therefore, the blood of all these wretches who die before their time, whether in their country or elsewhere, lies upon your head. 'The blood of thy brother,' (for, whether thou wilt believe it or no, such he is in the sight of Him that made him,) 'crieth against thee from the earth,' from the ship, and from the waters. Oh, whatever it costs, put a stop to its cry before it be too late: instantly, at any price, were it the half of your goods, deliver thyself from blood guiltiness! Thy hands, thy bed, thy furniture, thy house, thy lands, are at present stained with blood. Surely it is enough; accumulate no more guilt; spill no more blood of innocence! Do not hire another to shed blood; do not pay him for doing it! Whether you are a Christian or no, show yourself a man! Be not more savage than a lion or a bear.

'Perhaps you will say, *'I do not buy any negroes; I only use those left me by my father.'* So far is well; but is it enough to satisfy your own conscience? Had your father, have you, has any man living, a right to use another as a slave? It cannot be, even setting Revelation aside. It cannot be, that either war, or contract, can give any man such a property in another as he has in his sheep and oxen. *Much less is it possible that any child of man should ever be born a slave.* Liberty is the right of every human creature, as soon as he breathes the vital air; and no human law can deprive him of that right which he derives from the law of nature.\*

'If, therefore, you have any regard to justice, (to say nothing of mercy, nor the revealed will of God,) render unto all their due. Give liberty to whom liberty is due, that is, to

every child of man, to every partaker of human nature. Let none serve you but by his own act and deed, by his own voluntary choice. Away with all whips, all chains, all compulsion! Be gentle toward all men; and see that you invariably do unto every one as you would he should do unto you.'

#### NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Treasurer of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society acknowledges the receipt of the following donations in November and December:

John Taylor, Bath, Me.	17 00
J. D. Yates	2 00
Dr. Ingalls Kittridge, Beverly,	15 00
J. T. Hilton	2 00
James Carpenter	1 00
H. K. Stockton	1 00
Friend in Amesbury, by H. Kimball,	3 00
Geo. W. Ward, Plymouth, N. H.	2 00
P. A. Bell, for sale of publications,	15 00
Garrison (Colored) Society, to constitute Messrs	
Garrison and Knapp life members,	30 00
Daniel E. Jewitt	2 00
Thomas Cole	2 00
Samuel E. Sewall	20 00
James C. Odiorne	10 00
Ellis Gray Loring	15 00
Member of the Society	5 00
J. Cutts Smith	5 00
Robert Cogswell, Salem,	2 00
A. G. Cornelius do.	2 00
Andrew Harraden do.	2 00
John B. Pero	2 00
E. F. B. Mundrucu	2 00
John Remond, Salem,	15 00
Ab'm. Williams do.	2 00
J. L. Shearman do.	2 00
Peter Johnson do.	2 00
S. Lawrence do.	1 00
Wm. Coleman do.	3 00
Ward Litchfield	1 00
Nath. Budd	1 00
Friends	19 00
Nancy Tucker	25
Samuel F. Hussey, Portland, Me.	5 00
John Winslow do.	2 00
H. Manning do.	1 00
Maine Anti-Slavery Society	100 00
P. F. Varnum	1 00
William Stickney, Hallowell, Me.	5 00
Rob't Gardner do.	5 00
R. G. Lincoln do.	5 00
Rev. Geo. Sheppard do.	5 00
Ebenezer Dole do.	5 00
James Gaw do.	1 00
Mark Means do.	2 00
Benjamin G. Childs	2 00
Henry Safford	2 00
John Rogers	2 00
John B. Cutler	2 00
John E. Scarlett	2 00
Total	8350 25

JAMES C. ODIORNE, Treasurer,

\* Many may be struck with the coincidence between this sentence and the celebrated Declaration,—'We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created free and equal, endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; &c. It may therefore be proper to remark, that this was published in 1774.

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FIRST

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF MANAGERS

OF THE

NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

PRESENTED JAN. 9, 1833.

---

WITH AN APPENDIX.

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BOSTON:  
PRINTED BY GARRISON AND KNAPP.

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1833.



**PROCEEDINGS**  
OF THE  
**NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,**  
AT ITS  
FIRST ANNUAL MEETING.

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The Annual Meeting of this Society was held at Boylston Hall, in Boston, on Wednesday evening, January ninth. A numerous audience was assembled.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. TYLER THACHER.

Mr. BUFFUM, President of the Society, made a few remarks, in which he stated the plans and objects of the Society.

Delegates from auxiliary societies having been requested to present their credentials, Mr. DAVID T. KIMBALL, of the Andover Theological Seminary, produced a certificate of his being a delegate from the Andover Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society, which was read by the President.

Mr. GARRISON, the Corresponding Secretary, then read the Annual Report of the Managers. This paper explained at some length the objects of the Society, and vindicated its principles from the unjust reproaches which have been often heaped upon them. It strenuously supported immediate abolition, by showing the true nature of the measure, and its safety and necessity. After exposing the principles of the Colonization Society, and advertng to some other topics, the Report set forth the measures which the Society had adopted, and the gratifying success which had so far attended its exertions.

Mr. ROBERT B. HALL then moved the acceptance of the Report, and supported his motion in a short address, in which he congratulated the Society upon the encouraging prospects before them.

The motion was seconded by Mr. OLIVER JOHNSON, and passed.

SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Esq. then proposed the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That slavery and the traffic in slaves in the District of Columbia, ought to be abolished by the government of the United States ; and that every citizen of every State in which slavery is not tolerated, is bound to use the same exertions to put an end to it in that District, which he would be if it existed in his own State.

Mr. Sewall spoke for a few minutes in support of his resolution. He adverted to the history of the District of Columbia, the cession of its two parts to the United States by Maryland and Virginia, for a seat of government, by means of which it became subject to the exclusive legislation of Congress. He alluded to the wretched system of slave laws which prevailed in the District, showed how negligent Congress had been of the rights of slaves and other persons of color there ; and stated that this District had become one of the greatest slave markets in the country—that slaves were brought into it from the neighboring States, chained in droves, then confined in the public or private jails, and finally shipped to the Southern ports. He pointed out some of the cruel injuries to which free people of color were subjected, by being kidnapped and sold for slaves, in consequence of the toleration of the slave trade in the District ; and concluded by exhorting the audience to exert themselves to put an end to the atrocious system, tolerated by the American nation at the seat of its government.

The Rev. E. M. P. WELLS seconded the motion, and supported it by appropriate remarks. He mentioned the general ignorance which prevailed in this community of the state of things which existed in the District of Columbia. Many people, he said, among us were not aware that slavery and the slave trade were thus directly countenanced and supported by the American government and people. He afterwards spoke of the criminality of slavery, and laid down the following propositions :—  
1. Slavery is inconsistent with christianity.—2. It is inconsistent with humanity.—3. It is inconsistent with the principles of a republican government : each of which propositions he sustained by arguments.

DAVID L. CHILD, Esq. next addressed the meeting, in support of the resolution. He bore testimony to the truth of the

statements of the mover of the resolution. He then pointed out how completely the slave in this country is unprotected by law from injury and oppression. He related some atrocious acts in illustration of his position.

The resolution was then passed unanimously.

W. J. SNELLING, Esq. then spoke for a few minutes, and related an anecdote which illustrated very strikingly the remark of the last speaker, that slaves in this country were not in any degree protected by the law.

After a collection had been taken for the benefit of the funds of the Society, the meeting adjourned, to meet again on Wednesday evening, Jan. 16th.

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JANUARY 16. The Society met, pursuant to the adjournment. The spacious hall was crowded with a highly respectable assemblage, among which were a large number of members of the Legislature, from various parts of the Commonwealth. The meeting was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Tyler Thacher. Extracts of Letters from Rev. Samuel J. May, of Brooklyn, Conn., Gen. Samuel Fessenden, of Portland, Me., Arthur Tappan, Esq. of New-York, and Mr. Theodore D. Weld, of Hartford, Conn., were then read, commending the principles and objects of the Society.

DAVID L. CHILD, Esq. then proposed the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That the Free People of Color and Slaves in this land of Liberty and Law, have less liberty, and are less protected by law, than in any other part of the world.

Mr. Child spoke at some length in support of this resolution. He showed how much more favorable the Civil Law was to slaves than the laws of the Southern States ; and stated that in the French, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies, the slave codes being based on the Civil Law, the slaves were far more protected in their rights than they are in our Slave States or the British West Indies. He then pointed out the improvements which had been made in the slave laws of the British Islands, especially in the Crown Colonies within a few years, which rendered

the legal condition of the slaves in the British Colonies far superior to what it is in the Slave States. Mr. Child introduced a great variety of topics into his speech, and enforced his arguments by numerous illustrations.

The resolution passed without opposition.

The Rev. Mr. RUSSELL, of Watertown, offered the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That the plan of colonizing the blacks in Africa, as explained by its friends, is preposterous in the extreme, and every attempt to put its principles into operation is an unrighteous persecution, levelled against the free people of color, to secure and perpetuate slavery in our country ; and, therefore, calls upon us to counteract its operations by an open, free, and fearless exposition of its policy and effects.

Mr. Russell spoke for a few minutes in support of his resolution. He demonstrated that the efforts of the Colonization Society could never diminish slavery ; that while the Society had removed less than 3000 persons from the country, the slaves here had increased more than 500,000 ; and showed that the true effect of the Society was to perpetuate slavery, by removing from the country a portion of the free colored people who it was supposed might sympathize with the slaves, and might assist them in recovering freedom.

The resolution was adopted.

AMASA WALKER, Esq. proposed the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That the objects contemplated by the New-England Anti-Slavery Society are in strict accordance with the plainest dictates of Religion, Philanthropy, and Patriotism.

Mr. Walker then addressed the meeting. He adverted to the unfavorable circumstances under which the Society had commenced its operations. Public sentiment was against it. Yet this, he said, did not prove that its principles or objects were wrong, for public sentiment is sometimes mistaken. He examined the principles of the Society, and showed that they were consistent with religion, philanthropy, and patriotism. He compared these principles with those of the Colonization Society, and demonstrated the criminality of the latter. The one Society wishes to banish the people of color, the other seeks to improve them here ; the one declares that slaves are rightful property, the other that they are *men*, and have all the rights of men. He

concluded nearly as follows. Every circumstance but one, is in favor of the Colonization Society, and against the Anti-Slavery Society. The former is supported by a formidable array of great names, of judges, governors, members of Congress, and of course flourishes in wealth under the smiles of public opinion. The latter has nothing to support it, but truth and justice. Yet these are worth all the rest, and must ultimately crown the labors of the Society with glorious success.

The resolution was adopted.

The Rev. MOSES THACHER offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the principles of expatriation, pursued by the supporters of the American Colonization Society, exert an influence in opposition to the highest interests of the Colored People in this country.

The resolution was adopted, after having been sustained by the mover in a brief but highly animated and cogent speech.

The following resolution was submitted by Mr. GARRISON, without any remarks, in consequence of the lateness of the hour :

*Resolved*, That the exertions made by the free people of color in this country to improve their condition, and to confer the benefits of education upon their children—notwithstanding the obstacles which they have to encounter from the laws and the prejudices of a large part of the community—are highly meritorious ; that these exertions have already produced highly beneficial results, and will, in our opinion, if persevered in, produce others still more desirable.

Adopted.

The following communication from the Massachusetts General Colored Association was presented by Mr. JOSHUA EASTON, read, and accepted :

Boston, January 15, 1833.

*To the Board of Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.*

The Massachusetts General Colored Association, cordially approving the objects and principles of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, would respectfully communicate their desire to become auxiliary thereto. They have accordingly chosen one of their members to attend the Annual Meeting of the Society as their delegate, (Mr. Joshua Easton of North Bridgewater,) and solicit his acceptance in that capacity.

THOMAS DALTON, *President*.

WILLIAM G. NELL, *Vice President*.

JAMES G. BARBADOES, *Secretary*.

The meeting adjourned to Monday evening, Jan. 21st.

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*Monday Evening, Jan. 21, 1833.* The Society met, pursuant to adjournment, at Jefferson Hall, the President, Mr. BURFUM, in the chair.

The Secretary being absent, Mr. OLIVER JOHNSON was chosen Secretary, pro tem.

The Committee appointed to revise the Constitution made their report, which, after some debate, was adopted.

The Society proceeded to ballot for officers for the ensuing year, and the following gentlemen were elected.

PRESIDENT.

JOHN KENRICK, Newton.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

ARNOLD BUFFUM, Boston.

REV. MOSES THACHER, North Wrentham, Mass.

REV. SIMEON S. JOCELYN, New-Haven, Ct.

REV. SAMUEL J. MAY, Brooklyn, Ct.

REV. E. M. P. WELLS, Boston.

EBENEZER DOLE, Hallowell, Me.

*Corresponding Secretary*,—SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Boston.

*Recording Secretary*,—OLIVER JOHNSON, Boston.

*Treasurer*,—JAMES C. ODIORNE, Boston.

COUNSELLORS.

REV. JAMES D. YATES,

DAVID L. CHILD,

MICHAEL H. SIMPSON,

ISAAC H. APPLETON, M. D.

REV. SAMUEL SNOWDON,

BENJAMIN C. BACON.

ELLIS G. LORING,

ABNER FORBES,

FREDERICK HUGHES,

ISAAC KNAPP.

On motion of Mr. B. C. BACON, it was

*Resolved*, That this Society contemplates the benighted condition of Africa with feelings of christian sympathy ; and although it is forced to protest against the measures and principles of the American Colonization Society, yet it approves every laudable effort to confer upon that quarter of the world the blessings of civilization and Christianity.

On motion of Mr. BUFFUM, it was

*Resolved*, That we contemplate, with the highest satisfaction, the untiring christian zeal and activity of the friends of immediate and universal emancipation in England, and that we will co-operate with them for the promotion of the great cause in which they are engaged, while God shall bless us with the ability to do so, or until every yoke of bondage and oppression shall be broken.

On motion of Mr. GARRISON, it was

*Resolved*, That the formation of a National Anti-Slavery Society is essential to the complete regeneration of public sentiment on the subject of slavery, and to the speedy overthrow of that iniquitous system ; and that the Board of Managers be authorized to call a national meeting of the friends of abolition, for the purpose of organizing such a Society, at such time and place as they shall deem expedient.

*Voted*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the President and Secretaries for their services during the last year.

Adjourned *sine die*.

## REPORT.

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THE Board of Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, in presenting to the public their First Annual Report, deem it proper to make a full developement of the motives which led to the formation of the Society—the principles which govern its actions—and the purposes which it aims to accomplish. It is right that the people of this country, and especially of New-England, to whose countenance and patronage the Society more directly appeals—should understand, fairly and plainly, these motives, and principles, and purposes. Self-defence against the misrepresentations and assaults of ignorance, prejudice, and malice—the success of the cause of truth and justice—imperiously require such an exposition at their hands.

The Managers, while they feel cheered in view of what has been accomplished during the past year, cannot withhold the expression of their regret that there is, in this wide community, such a general aversion to a close, candid and zealous investigation of a subject, which involves the temporal and everlasting welfare of millions of the human family, and the permanency of the institutions of this country. The ignorance which prevails among all classes respecting the nature, extent and withering tendency of slavery, as it exists in the southern states, is as surprising as it is deplorable. Many persons, of good information on other subjects, cannot even guess the number of the slave population; others are hardly able to designate between the free and slave states; others seem not aware of the fact, that, in various portions of territory, slavery is maintained by the peo-

ple and government of the United States ; others know so little of the physical sufferings and spiritual deprivations of the slaves, as to receive with incredulity, if not positive unbelief, the most well-authenticated facts ; others possess merely a general statistical knowledge, but have never traced the pernicious effects of slavery upon the prosperity and happiness of slave states, or imagined that it is, and must inevitably be, the source of national division.

Hence, to this general ignorance may be attributed the success of the colonization scheme, which, having been received upon trust, is still viewed by many benevolent individuals as providing a remedy for slavery. Hence, too, the facility with which false and wicked accusations against the cause of abolition, and its advocates, have been circulated throughout the country ; and hence the necessity of the present defence.

*The motives which actuated the founders of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society were not those of hostility to the interests or persons of slave-owners.* From the statements and complaints of the planters themselves—from the visible curse which rested upon the slave-tilled soil—from the natural unproductiveness of slave labor, the slaves being robbed of all motives for long-continued, well-directed exertions—from the debasing and barbarous tendency of the system—from the fears of insurrection, which always harass the repose and embitter the cup of oppressors—from the solemn lessons which all history teaches, that tyranny cannot always be exercised with impunity—and from the many revolts, which, since the introduction of slaves into this country, had taken place, growing more and more formidable, and ending with terrible massacre at Southampton, in Virginia—they were convinced that the abolition of slavery was the only mode of preserving the lives and increasing the wealth of their southern fellow-citizens. They saw that custom and education, as well as a mistaken policy, had blinded the eyes of the planters to their best interests ; and while they felt and expressed, as christians and philanthropists, the strongest moral indignation, in view of the conduct of the transgressors, they likewise cherished the utmost benevolence of feeling towards them. To deduct aught from the sum of their happiness, in

order to increase that of their victims—or to depress them in proportion to the elevation of the slaves—was not the design of the founders of the Anti-Slavery Society. It was because their good-will and philanthropy were as broad as the earth, embracing all men as members of one family, and estimating the happiness and worth of all by the same standard, that they were impelled, in defiance of persecution and reproach, to put forth every exertion for the overthrow of slavery.

*Nor were their motives those of a sectional character.* They associated together to maintain, not to destroy the Union, by endeavoring to remove the cause of division. They believed, inasmuch as it is impracticable satisfactorily to legislate for a portion of the people as men, and another portion as cattle, that there could be no end to collisions, until the root of bitterness was taken away ; and that nearly all the troubles and excitements in the land sprang from slavery. There were no difficulties or heart-burnings between the free States : they did not threaten each other, or talk of a separation one from another. The longer slavery was tolerated, the more probable, in their conviction, was a dismemberment of the Union. To seek its utter annihilation, then, became them as wise men, as patriots, as christians, as lovers of their country. They were not so thoughtless, or vain, as to suppose that the formation of an anti-slavery society, such as they contemplated, would excite no opposition ; or that they could go into a free discussion of the question of slavery, without subjecting themselves to great reproach as disorganizers, madmen, and fanatics. All the angry ebullitions which their exertions have elicited, both at the north and the south, they were prepared to meet. They had no alternative but to act the part of the Levite, and steel their hearts and close their ears to the cries of two millions of their fellow-creatures, or, like the good Samaritan, to compassionately the bleeding victims, and seek their deliverance. However high the tempest of passion might rise, on the avowal of their sentiments and designs, they were consoled to believe that it would serve to purify a foul atmosphere which was generating moral death. However unkindly their expostulations, warnings, rebukes and efforts might at first be received by the possessors of

slaves, they could not doubt their efficacy to produce, ultimately, a radical reform. However cruelly the slaves might be treated by the excited masters, in consequence of their benevolent interposition, they knew that that aggravated cruelty would only serve to make slavery more odious in the sight of the people, and hasten its downfall. The expostulation of Moses with Pharaoh only hardened the heart of the tyrant, and induced him to increase the burdens of the Israelites ; for he ‘ commanded *the same day*, the taskmasters of the people, and their officers, saying, Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick as heretofore : let them go and gather straw for themselves.’\* Such a result was peculiarly distressing to Moses : even his afflicted brethren upbraided him sharply for his interference. ‘ And they met Moses and Aaron, who stood in the way, as they came forth from Pharaoh : and they said unto them, The Lord look upon you and judge ; because ye have made our savour to be abhorred in the eyes of his servants, to put a sword in their hand to slay us.’† History is full of instruction on this point : there is scarcely an instance on record where the exertions of reformers to break the fetters of tyranny were not immediately succeeded by new and grievous disabilities, imposed by the angry oppressor upon their vassals. The guilty Jews were cut to the heart by the faithful preaching of Stephen : ‘ they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him.’‡ All such outrages, however, promote the cause of truth, and defeat the object for which they were perpetrated.

Let abolitionists derive consolation and hope from these reflections. Let them meekly bear the taunts and reproaches of half-way reformers and temporising gradualists, who accuse them of provoking slaveholders to treat their slaves more rigorously than ever. The sin lies not at their doors. Upon the perpetrators of these fresh grievances must punishment be executed by Heaven. Abolitionists deeply regret to perceive no disposition, on the part of the slaveholding States, to cease from their oppression. Within the last two years, the Legislatures

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\* Exodus v. 6, 7.

† Idem, v. 20, 21.

‡ Acts vii. 57, 58.

of Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana, Alabama and Tennessee, have passed laws respecting the free colored and slave population of those States, which are in the highest degree atrocious.\* The spirit of persecution is abroad, with unexampled malignity; but its violence will prove its destruction.

The New-England Anti-Slavery Society tolerates no compromise of principle. Its demands upon the holders of slaves are as imperative as those of the book inspiration—‘to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free.’ To all the palliatives and excuses which they and their apologists present for their oppressive conduct, it replies in the language of Jehovah—‘Thou shalt not steal’—‘Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor’s house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor’s wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbor’s’—‘Behold the hire of the laborers, which have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.’ It regards with dismay and horror the doctrine which is becoming popular in this land, especially in regard to slavery, that ‘the end sanctifies the means’—that expediency is duty, but duty is not expediency—that the guilt of oppression belongs to past generations, and repentance to posterity—that the circumstances of the times, the laws of the States, the preservation of life and property, justify robbery and oppression, and a violation of all the commandments—and that immediate and universal obedience to the requirements of the gospel, on the part of the transgressors, will produce worse results than continuance in sin, or a gradual reformation.

The purposes of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, as declared in the second article of its Constitution, are to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery, to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.

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\* Appendix (A.)

The magnitude, benevolence and importance of these objects may be more readily perceived by a few illustrations.

Since the Declaration of Independence was put forth, nearly two millions of slaves have perished in this country, who were driven all their days under the lash of callous-hearted overseers; whose bodies were liable to mutilation from the brand and the whip—half supplied with the same coarse, unpalatable food—half clad in summer and in winter; but above all, whose minds were watchfully kept from all knowledge of their rights, of their relations to society and to God, of their destiny beyond the grave—heathens in a christian land, forbidden under horrid penalties to peruse the sacred Scriptures, or learn the alphabet of their language!

Would to Heaven that this embodied our wickedness! that our avarice and cruelty had been glutted in the destruction of this great multitude of hapless, inoffensive beings! But we are preying, at this hour, upon a larger number than those already slain. And yet this is called the land of freedom, of republicanism, of christianity! Every year, one hundred thousand infants—a large proportion the offspring of pollution and shame—are born, and doomed to the horrors of bondage—kidnapped from the hour of their birth by patriots and christians!

The New-England Anti-Slavery Society maintains that the slaves ought instantly to be emancipated from their fetters. It acknowledges no claims upon their persons by their masters. It regards the holders of slaves as guilty of a heinous sin. It reprobates the language of those who say, 'we hold their slaves, as we hold their other property, SACRED.' It says to every individual—'Let the principle be clearly and firmly established in your mind that there is, and can be, no such thing as *property in man*, and you cannot, as a patriot, a philanthropist, or a disciple of Christ, oppose the immediate liberation of the slaves—you cannot but demand that liberation—you cannot be satisfied with any thing short of an immediate liberation.' It is not for men of christian integrity to calculate how far it is expedient to do wrong. The slaves are either justly or unjustly held in bondage. If justly, let the traffic in their bodies be pursued with fresh activity, and all those laws be repealed which now

make the foreign slave trade piracy. If unjustly, there is no alternative but to disobey God, or to let them immediately go free.

‘But would it be safe to comply strictly with the requisitions of justice, *now*?’ If they were not made to be obeyed, for what purpose were they made? Is it safe for a band of robbers to cease from their robberies, *at once*? Is it safe for the fraudulent to be honest, *at once*? Is it safe to abandon the practice of trading in the bodies and souls of men, *at once*? Is it safe to obey the Most High, by breaking every yoke, and letting the oppressed go free, *at once*? Strange questions from the mouths of a christian people!

A very singular kind of logic prevails at the present day. ‘I concede,’ says one, ‘that slavery in the *abstract* is very wicked; but I am opposed to immediate abolition.’ Slavery in the *abstract*? what does the objector mean? *Abstract* slavery never did, and never can exist. He means, perhaps—his language implies nothing else—that it is most atrocious to *think* of enslaving human beings; but, in fact, to buy, or sell, or hold them in fetters, is by no means sinful!—that is to say, if a man should merely *meditate* the destruction of the houses of his fellow citizens by fire, without any doubt he ought to be hung; but if he should actually set them on fire, and run from street to street with the burning brand in his hand, to destroy others, why then he would not be guilty. It would only be necessary for him to cry aloud to the firemen—‘I am as much opposed to arson, in the *abstract*, as you are; but, see! the houses are on fire! My abstract theory has assumed a practical shape, and therefore I am exonerated from blame. I am opposed to an immediate extinguishment of the fire! Put it out very gradually—a few drops of water may now be thrown upon it—some buckets full next week—and at some future time, I cannot tell when, you may give your engines full play!’

They who are crying, ‘Peace! Peace!’ at this momentous crisis—who are denouncing the active friends of bleeding humanity—who urge a far-off emancipation of the slaves—who would stifle all inquiries into the abominations of slavery—who deny the rights of the slaves to immediate freedom—who attempt to palliate the guilt and cover up the crimes of the plant-

ers—who pursue half-way measures of reform—are the real authors of mischief, the real enemies of their country, although they mean no harm. Their moral vision is imperfect—they have not carefully and candidly examined the subject. They seem to have forgotten that, in this case, as in all others, strict obedience to the law of God is the only ground of safety : they overlook the nature of mind and the constitution of man. Even on the detestable ground of expediency, of carnal policy, what facts can they show to warrant a prolongation of oppression ? The law of God may be thrown aside, and the controversy staked on this single point :—It can be shown that, in all ages and climes, oppression has resulted in carnage and death ; but the deluded advocates of gradual emancipation are challenged to produce any instances in which immediate emancipation from personal thralldom has been disastrous or unwise.

The cause of slave insurrections at the south is the loss of liberty. If the *cause* be removed, can the *effect* follow ? The slaves fight to obtain their personal freedom. If they were liberated, it is pretended, they would destroy their masters !—in other words, they fight to achieve their liberty, and when it is given to them, they fight because they receive it ! This is singular logic. They are so attached to their drivers, it would seem—so pleased with being bought and sold—so contented with their peck of corn per week—so fond of having their wives polluted, and their children driven away to be sold—so hostile to independence—so undesirous of knowledge—that if they were set free, they would be so angry in being employed as hired laborers, in possessing their own wives and children, in losing their fetters, in being placed beyond the reach of slave speculators, in being protected in their persons and earnings, in having an opportunity to get religious and secular instruction, that they would cut the throats of their former masters, burn their dwellings, and desolate the land !

The Board of Managers are satisfied that the doctrine of immediate abolition is opposed by many, not because they really mean to justify crime, but simply through ignorance or a misapprehension of its nature. It is associated in their minds with something undefinable, yet dreadful—they see, in imagination,

cities and villages in flames, and blood flowing in torrents, and hear the roll of drums, the shouts of blood-thirsty savages, and the shrieks of the dying—and thus, bringing upon themselves a strong delusion, they naturally stand aghast at the proposition. All this ruffling of mind is indeed ridiculous ; but as it originates unwittingly in error, it merits a charitable allowance rather than satire.

*What, then, is meant by immediate abolition ?*

It means, in the first place, that all title of property in the slaves shall instantly cease, because their Creator has never relinquished his claim of ownership, and because none have a right to sell their own bodies or buy those of their own species as cattle. Is there any thing terrific in this arrangement ?

It means, secondly, that every husband shall have his own wife, and every wife her own husband, both being united in wedlock according to its proper forms, and placed under the protection of law ? Is this unreasonable ?

It means, thirdly, that parents shall have the control and government of their own children, and that the children shall belong to their parents. What is there sanguinary in this concession ?

It means, fourthly, that all trade in human beings shall be regarded as felony, and entitled to the highest punishment. Can this be productive of evil ?

It means, fifthly, that the tremendous power which is now vested in every slaveholder to punish his slaves without trial, and to a savage extent, shall be at once taken away. Is this undesirable ?

It means, sixthly, that all those laws which now prohibit the instruction of the slaves, shall instantly be repealed, and others enacted, providing schools and instruction for their intellectual illumination. Would this prove a calamity ?

It means, seventhly, that the planters shall employ their slaves as free laborers, and pay them just wages. Would this recompense infuriate them ?

It means, eighthly, that the slaves, instead of being forced to labor for the exclusive benefit of others by cruel drivers, and the application of the lash upon their bodies, shall be encouraged to toil for the mutual profit of themselves and their employ-

ers, by the infusion of new motives into their hearts, growing out of their recognition and reward as men. Is this diabolical ?

It means, finally, that right shall take the supremacy over wrong, principle over brute force, humanity over cruelty, honesty over theft, purity over lust, honor over baseness, love over hatred, and religion over heathenism. Is this wrong ?

*This is our meaning of Immediate Abolition.*

Where is the individual in New-England, who is base enough to avow that, on these terms, he is hostile to the liberation of the slaves ? who dares to say, in a public and responsible manner,—‘ I am still for giving to the planters unlimited dominion over their slaves, that they may treat them like cattle, deprive them of instruction, mangle, starve and pollute their bodies, rob them of their earnings, and buy and sell them on speculation, as they do at present ?’ O ! surely there is not that wretch in New-England—if there be, he is a monster, retaining nothing of man but the shape. Where is the individual animated with a soul, having parents, or relations, or children, or friends, who will not exclaim, ‘ I am for the rescue of two millions of enslaved countrymen ! To talk of the danger or injustice of giving them the protection of wise and equitable laws, and relieving them of their heavy burdens, is an insult to my understanding. I contend for the sacredness of the marriage relations, which are now violated by oppression—for the restoration of stolen property to its rightful owners—for the enforcement of that clause in the Declaration of Independence which asserts “ that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ”—and for the instant recognition of every American born citizen, as a countryman and brother !’

Having thus briefly defined the extent of immediate abolition, it may be useful to state some of its probable, nay, positive benefits.

It will remove the cause of bloodshed and insurrection. No patrols at night, no standing army, will be longer needed to keep the slaves in awe. The planters may dismiss their present fears, and sleep soundly ; for, by one act, they will have transformed their enemies into grateful friends and servants.

It will give protection to millions who are now at the mercy of a few irresponsible masters and drivers : every man and every woman may then find redress at law.

It will annihilate a system of licentiousness, incest, blood and cruelty.

It will open an immense market to our mechanics and manufacturers ; for these two millions of free persons will need, and will make every exertion to obtain hats, bonnets, shoes, clothes, houses, lands, &c. &c., of which they are now to a great extent, and while they remain in bondage, must be destitute.

It will afford facilities for educating them in morals, science and literature; *which can never be granted to them as slaves.*

It will permit us to supply every one of them with a Bible, and bring them into the house of God.

It will extinguish the fires of division between the North and South, and make the bonds of our Union (which is now held by a hair, if that be not separated at this moment) stronger than chains of iron.

It will enable us to take the one hundred thousand infants, who are annually born of slave parents, and doomed to a life of ignorance and servitude—place them in infant schools, and transfer them into primary and sabbath schools ; from these into high schools and Bible classes ; and, by the assistance of the Holy Spirit, from Bible classes into the christian church. Thus they will become ornaments to society—capable men, good citizens, devoted christians—instead of mere animals.

It will banish the poverty of the South, reclaim her barren soil, and pour new blood into all her veins and arteries. The transformation of two millions of slaves into free laborers, animated in view of a just recompense for their voluntary toil, will renovate the whole frame of society. There is not a slave State but will exhibit the flush of returning health, and feel a stronger pulse, and draw a freer breath. It is, indeed, often urged that the slaves, if freed, would not work. But they, who cherish this belief, disregard the nature of mind. The slaves, in their present condition, have surely no motives for exertion ; and men without motives are mere machines, mere animals, to be watched and driven by physical force: the natural consequence is, they are as indolent as possible : knowing that, whether they

toil much or little, the fruits of their labor will be enjoyed by their masters, they are improvident and lazy. Then comes the whip upon their bodies *to make them industrious*, every stroke of which puts vengeance into their hearts, to be repaid, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and blow for blow, at the first favorable moment. Compensate them fairly for their labor, and every stone in the earth would be a magnet to attract them. They would have all the hopes, and desires, and feelings of men. And here it is proper to refer to a wild notion which is prevalent in this country. Many persons seem to be wonderfully perplexed and appalled, in view of immediate abolition. They talk as if the slaves, on being liberated, must be driven into the woods, or become drones or vagabonds in society. In the first place, this expulsion is physically impracticable; and, secondly, the planters are unable to dispense with their labor. The liberated slaves would be placed under wholesome regulations, and encouraged to act well; there would, of *necessity*, be few changes of masters, but every thing would go on as peaceably as in the case of the slaves in St. Domingo, who, for eight years after their liberation, continued to work with untiring industry, maintaining the utmost order, and were only roused to deeds of violence by the attempt of Napoleon to reduce them again to servitude. The labor of the blacks is invaluable—the south cannot flourish without them; and their expulsion would bring great and everlasting reproach upon the American name.

The immediate abolition of slavery will purify the churches at the south, which are now red with innocent blood, and ‘filled with all unrighteousness.’ It is impossible that religion should prosper, where the pastors and members of churches trade in the souls of men. ‘How is the gold become dim! how is the most fine gold changed! The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint.’ Now, abolish slavery, and the gospel will have free course, run, and be glorified; salvation will flow in a current broad and deep; and for a short time only can it be reproachfully said that there exist two millions of slaves in a christian land.

In fine, immediate abolition would save the lives of the planters, enhance the value of their lands, promote their temporal

and eternal interests, and secure for them the benignant smiles of Heaven. It would destroy the market for slaves, and consequently, to a certain extent, destroy the foreign slave trade; for when the Africans cannot be sold, they will not be stolen.

Whatever ignorance or delusion may advance to the contrary, the guilt of slaveholding is national; the evil is national; and 'a common evil implies a common right to apply a remedy.' We, of New-England, deeply participate in the guilt of oppression, having early commenced enslaving the natives of Africa, and up to the last hour of the legality of the traffic, actively prosecuted the foreign slave trade. To the south we are now pledging our physical force, in case of insurrection, and giving our co-operation, without which they could not long retain their victims in servitude. To the slaves, therefore, we are bound to make reparation; and no pretext or device can release us from our obligations. 'Whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself, but shall not be heard.'

The Board of Managers would solemnly protest against the doctrine, that slavery concerns the south alone, and that the people of the free States have no right to demand its removal. They regard it as politically and morally false, calculated to paralyze the consciences and efforts of the people, and giving perpetuity to the system. It is true the people of New-England cannot legislate for the southern states; that the national compact was so framed as to guarantee the legal possession of slaves; and that physical interference would be a violation of christian principles. But, so long as slaves are held in the District of Columbia and in the Territories of the United States; so long as ours is a representative government, subject to the will of the people; so long as no efforts are made to modify or repeal the present compact, by those who have both the right and the power thus to do; so long as the interests of the non-slaveholding States are jeopardized by the twenty-five slave votes in Congress; so long as moral influence, widely and wisely disseminated, is productive of beneficial results; so long as public opinion is the lever of national reform; so long as the people of New-England are liable to be called upon to put down slave insurrections at the south; so long as there is neither the liberty of speech nor of the press, on the subject of oppression, in a

large portion of our country ; so long as southern States deprive the colored citizens of New-England, who may visit them, of their liberty and the rights of citizenship guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States ; so long as slavery mars the harmony, divides the policy, retards the prosperity, and fearfully threatens the existence of the nation ; so long as the commands of Jesus remain binding upon all men, ' Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,' ' Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself ' ; so long as there remains any flesh in our hearts, any physical or moral affinity between us and our enslaved brethren, any love to God or man in our souls ; it never can be true that the people of New-England are not bound to use their moral and political power to overthrow slavery in the United States.

While the Anti-Slavery Society makes the emancipation of all the slaves in this country the primary object of its organization, it aims to achieve a noble work of beneficence, in regard to the free people of color. The condition of this unfortunate class, although perceptibly improving, is eminently deserving of compassion and alleviation. To effect the repeal of these laws, which, in the several States, press them down to the earth, and exclude them from a full exercise of their rights as freemen ; to procure for them mechanical trades, and reputable pursuits, by which they may become highly useful to the country, and banish their general poverty ; to encourage and assist them in all laudable efforts for their moral and intellectual improvement ; to provide schools, from the lowest to the highest grade, for their education ; and to exterminate those prejudices which now reign with such tyrannous sway against them ; these are purposes, for the accomplishment of which the New-England Anti-Slavery Society is pledged to spare no efforts.

The Managers consider the removal of the free colored population of the United States to the coast of Africa—to a land of darkness and barbarism—for the purpose of giving them literary, scientific and moral advantages, as highly reproachful to the good name and fame of this great nation, preposterous in its object, and palpably unjust. This is a christian land ; crowded with churches, schools and colleges ; the abode of science and the arts ; basking in the effulgence of the Sun of Righteous-

ness ; the asylum of the degraded and oppressed of other nations ; renowned for its literary and civil institutions ; possessing, far beyond any other country, the means of elevating the benighted mind of man ; and abundantly able to supply all the physical, intellectual and religious necessities of its population. Now to expatriate the free people of color to Africa, a continent more completely enveloped in gloom than any other, ' which is full of the habitations of cruelty,' and which is utterly destitute, in order to raise them in intelligence and dignity, is not only a burlesque upon moral enterprises, but the acme of folly. The reason, too, which is given by the Colonization Society for this expulsion, is monstrous ; and as often as it is urged in any of its reports, or in its official organ, or by any of its itinerants, should fill the readers and hearers of the base libel with indignation. It is—that the American people are so incorrigibly vile, so lost to all sense of shame, so far beyond repentance, so proscriptive in their feelings, so filled with all malice, prejudice, and hate, that, to the latest generation, they will not cease to treat their free colored countrymen in the most tyrannous and dastardly manner, unless they are separated by a breadth of four thousand miles. And in order to vindicate this ungodly spirit, the Managers of the American Colonization Society, in their last Annual Report, utter this blasphemy : ' The Managers consider it clear that causes exist, and are operating to prevent their improvement and elevation to any considerable extent as a class, in this country, which are fixed, *not only beyond the control of the friends of humanity,* BUT OF ANY HUMAN POWER. Christianity will not do for them here, what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the colored man, *nor of the white man,* nor of Christianity ; *but an ordination of Providence, and no more to be changed than the laws of Nature.*'

In other words, when God shall please to make their complexion like ours, then we shall be able to cease from our hatred, contumely and oppression—and *not till then.*

With the doctrines, principles and designs of the American Colonization Society, the New-England Anti-Slavery Society holds no fellowship—viewing them as utterly subversive of sound morality and the law of brotherly love, and calculated to inflame

and strengthen those prejudices which have so long operated against the free colored population of the United States. Submitting the motives of those who support the scheme of African Colonization to the inspection of Him who alone 'searcheth the heart and trieth the reins,' and cheerfully exonerating the people of the free States, generally, from any design to persecute or enslave the people of color in this land, the Managers proceed to state, as comprehensibly as possible, some of the reasons which lead abolitionists to oppose the American Colonization Society.

They denounce and oppose it—

1. Because (as has already been shown) it denies the power of the gospel to overcome prejudice, and maintains that no moral or educational means can ever raise the colored population from their degradation to respectability and usefulness *in this country*.<sup>(1)</sup> By inculcating this disgraceful doctrine, it measurably paralyzes, in the breasts of those who embrace it, all efforts to improve the character and condition of this unfortunate class.

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(1) Vide Fifteenth Annual Report.<sup>2</sup>

'In every part of the United States, there is a broad and impassable line of demarcation between every man who has *one drop* of African blood in his veins, and every other class in the community. The habits, the feelings, all the prejudices of society—prejudices which neither *refinement*, nor *argument*, nor *education*, NOR RELIGION ITSELF, can subdue—mark the people of color, whether bond or free, as the subjects of a degradation *inevitable* and *incurable*. The African in this country belongs by birth to the very lowest station in society; and from that station HE CAN NEVER RISE, *be his talents, his enterprise, his virtues what they may* . . . They constitute a class by themselves—a class out of which *no individual can be elevated*, and below which none can be depressed.'—[African Repository, vol. iv. pp. 118, 119.]

'We have endeavored, but endeavored in vain, to restore them either to self-respect, or to the respect of others (!!!) *It is not our fault that we have failed*; (!!!) it is not theirs. *It has resulted from a cause over which neither we, nor they, can ever have control* [that is to say, they have colored their skins!!!] *Here, therefore, they must be for ever debased*; more than this, they must be FOR EVER USELESS; more even than this, they must be FOR EVER A NUISANCE, from which it were a blessing for society to be rid. *And yet they, AND THEY ONLY, are QUALIFIED for colonizing Africa*' (!!!)—[Idem, vol. v. p. 276.]

'They constantly hear the accents, and behold the triumphs, of a liberty *which here they can never enjoy*.' . . . 'It is against this increase of colored persons, who take but a nominal freedom here, and *cannot rise from their degraded condition*, that this Society attempts to provide.'—[Idem, vi. pp. 17, 82.]

'Is it not *wise*, then, for the free people of color and their friends to admit, *what cannot reasonably be doubted*, that the people of color must, *in this country*, REMAIN FOR AGES, PROBABLY FOR EVER, a *separate and inferior caste*, weighed down by causes, powerful, universal, inevitable; which neither legislation nor CHRISTIANITY can remove?'—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 196.]

2. Because it not only is *not* hostile to slavery, but in its reports and in its official organ, and by its auxiliary societies and principal supporters, exonerates slaveholders from guilt, and represents their *criminality* as their *misfortune*. (2)

3. Because it surrenders the great principle, that man cannot justly hold property in man, and regards the wresting of the slaves from their masters as great an outrage as the invasion of the right of property in houses, cattle and land. (3)

4. Because it openly, actively, uncompromisingly denounces the immediate abolition of slavery as injustice to the masters, a calamity to the slaves, dangerous to society, and contrary to the requirements of Christianity. (4)

(2) 'Slavery is an evil which is entailed upon the present generation of slaveholders, which they must suffer, *whether they will or not*.'—[African Repository, vol. v. p. 179.]

'It [the Society] *condemns no man because he is a slaveholder*.' \* \* \* 'They [abolitionists] confound the *misfortunes* of one generation with the *crimes* of another, and would sacrifice both individual and public good to an *unsubstantial theory of the rights of man*.'—[Idem, vol. vii. pp. 200, 202.]

'The existence of slavery among us, though not at all to be objected to our southern brethren as a *fault*, is yet a blot on our national character and a mighty drawback from our national strength.'—[Second Annual Report of the N. Y. State Col. Society.]

'They do not perceive the propriety of confounding the crime of the kidnaper, with the *misfortune* of the owner of imported and inherited slaves.'—[North American Review, for July, 1832.]

(3) 'We hold their slaves, *as we hold their other property, SACRED*.'—[African Repository, vol. i. p. 283.]

'Does this Society wish to meddle with our slaves as our *rightful property*? I answer *no*, I think not.'—Idem, vol. ii. p. 13.]

'It is equally plain and undeniable that the Society, in the prosecution of this work, has never interfered or evinced even a disposition to interfere in any way with the *rights of proprietors of slaves*.'—[Idem, vol. vi. p. 205.]

'To the slaveholder, who had charged upon them the wicked design of interfering with the *RIGHTS OF PROPERTY* under the specious pretext of removing a vicious and dangerous free population, they address themselves in a tone of conciliation and sympathy. We know your *RIGHTS*, say they, *and we respect them*.'—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 100.]

'It was proper again and again to repeat, that it was far, from the intention of the Society to affect in any manner, the tenure by which a certain *species of property is held*. He was himself a slaveholder; and he considered that *kind of property as inviolable as any other in the country*.'—[Speech of Henry Clay—First Annual Report.]

(4) 'The scope of the Society is large enough, but it is in no wise mingled or confounded with the broad sweeping views of a *few fanatics* in America, who would urge us on to the sudden and total abolition of slavery.'—[African Repository, vol. iii. p. 97.]

'What is to be done? Immediate and universal emancipation will find few, if any advocates among judicious and reflecting men.' \* \* \* 'Here, that race is in every form a curse, and if the system, so long contended for by the uncom-

5. Because it advocates a cautious, partial, gradual emancipation—thus allowing that it is not incumbent on *all* oppressors to do justly and love mercy now, and that it is proper to cease from robbery and sin by a slow process. <sup>(5)</sup>

6. Because, while it professes to remove those emigrants only who go ‘*with their own consent*’ to Africa, it is the instrument of a cruel persecution against the free people of color, by its abuse of their character, representing them as seditious, dangerous and useless : it contends, moreover, that emancipation should not take place without the simultaneous transportation of the liberated—thus leaving to the slave the choice of banishment or perpetual servitude. <sup>(6)</sup>

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promising abolitionist, could prevail, its effect would be to spread discord and devastation from one end of the Union to the other.’—[*Idem*, vol. iv. pp. 202, 363.]

‘Were the very spirit of angelic charity to pervade and fill the hearts of all the slaveholders in our land, it would by no means require that all the slaves should be instantaneously liberated.’—[*Idem*, vol. v. p. 329.]

‘The Society, meeting the objections of the *abolition enthusiast*, in a like spirit of mildness and forbearance, assures him of their equal devotion to the pure principles of liberty and the powerful claims of humanity. . . . ‘We protest, *most solemnly protest*, against the adoption of your views, as alike destructive of the ends of justice, of policy, and of humanity.’ . . . ‘Come, ye abolitionists, away with your *wild enthusiasm*, your *misguided philanthropy*.’—[*Idem*, vol. vii. p. 101.]

‘The inhabitants of the South cannot, and ought not, suddenly to emancipate their slaves, to remain among them free. Such a measure would be no blessing to the slaves, but the very madness of self-destruction to the whites.’—[First Annual Report of the New-Jersey Colonization Society.]

(5) Vide the evidence given in support of the 4th allegation.

(6) ‘That the free colored population of our country is a great and constantly increasing evil must be readily acknowledged. Averse to labor, with no incentives to industry or motives to self-respect, they maintain a precarious existence by petty thefts and plunder, themselves, or by inciting our domestics, not free, to rob their owners to supply their wants.’—[*African Repository*, vol. vi. p. 135.]

‘Placed midway between freedom and slavery, they know neither the incentives of the one, nor the restraints of the other ; but are alike injurious by their conduct and example, to all other classes of society.’—[Eighth Annual Report.]

‘No scheme of abolition will meet my support, that leaves the emancipated blacks among us.’—[*African Repository*, vol. ii. p. 188.]

‘We would say, *liberate them only on condition of their going to Africa or to Hayti*.’—[*Idem*, vol. iii. p. 26.]

‘*I am not complaining of the owners of slaves ; it would be as humane to throw them from the decks in the middle passage, as to set them free in our country.*’ \* \* \* ‘*Any scheme of emancipation without colonization*, they know and see and feel to be productive of nothing but evil ; evil to all whom it affects : to the white population, to the slaves, to the *manumitted themselves*.’—[*Idem*, vol. iv. pp. 226, 300.]

‘Hundreds who hold slaves, would willingly set them at liberty, were the means of their removal provided. And till those means *are* provided, the liberation of the slave would neither be a blessing to himself, nor to the public.’

7. Because it confesses that its measures are calculated to secure the slave-system from destruction, to remove the apprehensions of slaveholders, to increase the value of slave property; and thus to perpetuate the thralldom of millions of native Americans. (7) The proposition is self-evident, that as the number of

. . . . 'It is not therefore incumbent upon those who hold slaves, to set them at liberty, till some means are provided for their removal, or at least for their subsistence. They owe it neither to themselves, to their country, nor the unfortunate beings around them.'—[Idem, vol. v. p. 89.]

'If this question were submitted, whether there should be either immediate or gradual emancipation of all the slaves in the United States, *without their removal or colonization*, painful as it is to express the opinion, *I have no doubt that it would be unwise to emancipate them.*' \* \* \* 'Gentlemen of the highest respectability from the South assure us, that there is among the owners of slaves a very extensive and increasing desire to emancipate them. Their patriotism, their humanity, nay, their self-interest, prompt to this; but it is not expedient, it is not safe to do it, *without being able to remove them.*'—[Idem, vol. vi. pp. 5, 110.]

'The idea of emancipating our slaves, and *permitting them to remain within the limits of the United States*, whether as a measure of humanity or of policy, is most decisively reprobated by universal public sentiment.'—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 230.]

'All emancipation, to however small an extent, *which permits the persons emancipated to remain in this country*, is an evil, which must increase with the increase of the operation.'—[First Annual Report.]

'They will annex the condition that the emancipated *shall leave the country.*'—[Second Annual Report.]

'They require that the *whole mass* of free persons of color, and those who may become such with the consent of their owners, *should be progressively removed* from among us, as fast as their own consent can be obtained, and as the means can be found for their removal and for their proper establishment in Africa.'—[Seventh Annual Report.]

'Colonization, to be correct, must be beyond seas—Emancipation, *with the liberty to remain on this side of the Atlantic*, is but an act of dreamy madness!'—[Thirteenth Annual Report.]

'*Emancipation, without removal from the country, is out of the question.*' \* \* \* 'As long as our present feelings and prejudices exist, the abolition of slavery cannot be accomplished without the removal of the blacks—they cannot be emancipated as a people, and remain among us.'—[Second Annual Report of the New-York State Colonization Society.]

'*The abolition of slavery was no object of desire to him, unless accompanied by colonization.* So far was he from desiring it, unaccompanied by this condition, that he would not live in a country where the one took place without the other'!!!—[Mr. Mercer's Speech in Congress.]

'The Society maintains, that no slave ought to receive his liberty except on condition of being excluded, not merely from the State which sets him loose, but from the whole country; that is, of being colonized.'—[North American Review, for July, 1832.]

(7.) 'So far from being connected with the abolition of slavery, the measure proposed would prove one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property.'—[Speech of John Randolph at the first meeting of the Colonization Society.]

'The slave seeing his free companion live in idleness, or subsist however scantily or precariously by occasional and desultory employment, is apt to grow dis-

the slaves becomes reduced by transportation, the whole remaining mass will rise in value, and may be held more securely in bondage.

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contented with his own condition, and to regard as tyranny and injustice the authority which compels him to labor.'—[General Harper's Letter—First Annual Report, p. 32.]

'The slaves would be greatly benefitted by the removal of the free blacks, who now corrupt them and render them discontented.'—[Second An. Report.]

'Their annual increase is truly astonishing, certainly unexampled. The dangerous ascendancy which they have already acquired over the slaves, is consequently increasing with every addition to their numbers; and every addition to their numbers is a subtraction from the wealth, and strength, and character, and happiness, and safety of the country.'—[Twelfth Annual Report.]

'We all know the effects produced on our slaves by the fascinating, but delusive appearance of happiness, exhibited in some persons of their own complexion, roaming in idleness and vice among them. By removing the most fruitful source of discontent from among our slaves, we should render them more industrious and attentive to our commands.'—[Fourteenth Annual Report.]

'What is the free black to the slave? A standing perpetual incitement to discontent. *Though the condition of the slave be a thousand times the best—supplied, protected, instead of destitute and desolate—yet, the folly of the condition, held to involuntary labor, finds, always, allurements, in the spectacle of exemption from it, without consideration of the adjuncts of destitution and misery. The slave would have, then, little excitement to discontent but for the free black.*'—[Fifteenth Annual Report.]

'By removing these people, we rid ourselves of a large party who will always be ready to assist our slaves in any mischievous design which they may conceive; and who are better able, by their intelligence, and the facilities of their communication, to bring those designs to a successful termination.'—[African Repository, vol. i. p. 176.]

'Here, the African part of our population bears so large a proportion to the residue of European origin, as to create the most lively apprehension, especially in some quarters of the Union. Any project, therefore, by which, in a material degree, the dangerous element in the general mass can be diminished or rendered stationary, deserves deliberate consideration.'—[Idem, vol. ii. p. 338.]

'To remove these persons from among us, will increase the *usefulness*, and improve the moral character of those who remain in servitude, and *with whose labors the country is unable to dispense.*' \* \* \* '*Are they vipers, who are sucking our blood?* we will hurl them from us. It is not sympathy alone,—not sickly sympathy, no, nor manly sympathy either,—which is to act on us; but vital policy, self-interest, are also enlisting themselves on the humane side in our breasts.'—[Idem, vol. iii. pp. 67, 201.]

'It places the attainment of the grand object in view, that is, to withdraw from the United States annually, so many of the colored population, and provide them a comfortable home and all the advantages of civilization in Africa, *as will make the number here remain stationary.*' \* \* \* 'By thus repressing the rapid increase of blacks, the white population would be enabled to reach and soon overtop them. The consequence would be security.'—[Idem, vol. iv. pp. 271, 344.]

'They constitute a large mass of human beings, who hang as a vile excrescence upon society—the objects of a low debasing envy to our slaves, and to ourselves of universal suspicion and distrust.' \* \* \* 'If this process were continued a second term of duplication, it would produce the extraordinary result of forty white men to one black in the country—a state of things in which we should not only cease to feel the burdens which now hang so heavily upon us, but actually regard the poor African as an object of curiosity, and not *uneasiness.*'

8. Because it was conceived, perfected, and is managed principally by those who hold thousands of their fellow creatures in cruel bondage, regarding them as cattle, and shamelessly refu-

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\* \* \* 'Enough, under favorable circumstances, might be removed for a few successive years—if young *females* were encouraged to go—to keep the whole colored population in check.'—[Idem, vol. vii. pp. 230, 232, 246.]

'They are well calculated to render the slaves sullen, discontented, unhappy, and refractory.'—[Matthew Carey's Essays.]

'But is it not certain, that should the people of the Southern States refuse to adopt the opinions of the Colonization Society, [relative to the gradual abolition of slavery,] and continue to consider it both just and politic to leave, untouched, a system, for the termination of which, we think the whole wisdom and energy of the States should be put in requisition, that they will CONTRIBUTE MORE EFFECTUALLY TO THE CONTINUANCE AND STRENGTH OF THIS SYSTEM, by removing those now free, than by any or all other methods which can possibly be devised?'—[African Repository, vol. i. p. 227.]

'THE EXECUTION OF ITS SCHEME WOULD AUGMENT INSTEAD OF DIMINISHING THE VALUE OF THE PROPERTY LEFT BEHIND.'—[Idem, vol. ii. p. 344.]

'The removal of every single free black in America, would be productive of nothing but safety to the slaveholder.'—[Idem, vol. iii. p. 202.]

'The tendency of the scheme, and one of its objects, is to SECURE SLAVE-HOLDERS, AND THE WHOLE SOUTHERN COUNTRY, against certain evil consequences, growing out of the present threefold mixture of our population.'—[Address of the Rockbridge Col. Society.—Idem, vol. iv. p. 274.]

'If, as is most confidently believed, the colonization of the free people of color will render the slave who remains in America more obedient, more faithful, more honest, and, consequently, more useful to his master, &c.'—[Second Ann. Rep.]

'There is but one way, [to avert danger,] but that might be made effectual, fortunately! It was to PROVIDE AND KEEP OPEN A DRAIN FOR THE EXCESS BEYOND THE OCCASIONS OF PROFITABLE EMPLOYMENT. Mr. Archer had been stating the case in the supposition, that after the present class of free blacks had been exhausted, by the operation of the plan he was recommending, others would be supplied for its action, in the proportion of the *excess of colored population it would be necessary to throw off*, by the process of voluntary manumission or sale. This effect, must result inevitably from the depreciating value of the slaves, ensuing their disproportionate multiplication.

The depreciation would be relieved and retarded at the same time, by the process. The two operations would aid reciprocally, and sustain each other, and both be in the highest degree beneficial. It was on the ground of interest, therefore, the most indisputable *pecuniary interest*, that he addressed himself to the people and Legislatures of the slaveholding States.'—[Speech of Mr. Archer.—Fifteenth Annual Report.]

'None are obliged to follow our example; AND THOSE WHO DO NOT, WILL FIND THE VALUE OF THEIR NEGROES INCREASED BY THE DEPARTURE OF OURS.'—[An advocate of colonization in the Western (Ky.) Luminary.]

'So far from its having a dangerous tendency, when properly considered, it will be viewed as *an additional guard to our peculiar species of property*.'—[An advocate of the Society in the New Orleans Argus.]

'The slaveholder, who is in danger of having his slaves contaminated by their free friends of color, will not only be relieved from this danger, but THE VALUE OF HIS SLAVE WILL BE ENHANCED.'—[A new and interesting view of Slavery. By Humanitas, a colonization advocate. Baltimore, 1820.]

sing to let them go free ; <sup>(8)</sup> and while they thus estimate and treat their miserable victims, it is a gross fallacy for them to pretend that they cherish any regard for the welfare of the free people of color. They dare to call the rational creatures of the Most High their *property*, and pertinaciously persist in their deeds of violence and robbery. ‘By their fruits ye shall know them.’ As consistently might the distillers, importers, and retailers of ardent spirits unite to banish intemperance from the land, *by colonizing all the drunkards*, and still continue to poison all classes of society ; as well might debauchees associate together to rid the country of a ‘great moral evil,’ by removing some of the victims of their lust ; as for slaveholders to conspire for the banishment of our free colored population, under the mask of disinterested philanthropy, while they are daily plundering their slaves of every thing precious and sacred. The spectacle is truly revolting.

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(8.) ‘What greater pledge can we give for the moderation and safety of our measures than our own interests as *slaveholders*, and the ties that bind us to the slaveholding communities to which we belong ?’—[Speech of Mr. Key.—Eleventh Annual Report.]

‘The earnestness with which the Legislature [of Virginia] prosecuted their design [of colonizing the free blacks,] may be inferred from the fact, that the Executive was requested to adopt measures of the same character with those just mentioned, at three several times anterior to 1816. But all these, it should be observed, were *private* proceedings ; and *the injunction of secrecy has not been removed*, so far as we know, to this day, excepting as to the fact that such proceedings took place. The first *public* expression of sentiment upon the subject of colonization was also made *by the same body*. This was in Dec. 1816.’ . . . ‘THE SYSTEM ORIGINATED IN THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENT DOMINION. It was generously countenanced by Georgia in its earliest stages. Maryland has done more for it than all the other States. Kentucky and Tennessee have declared themselves ready to support any legitimate interposition of the General Government in its favor. Louisiana and Mississippi are beginning to act vigorously.’—[North American Review, for July, 1832.]

‘The second objection may be resolved into this ; that the Society, under the specious pretext of removing a vicious and noxious population, is secretly undermining the rights of private property. This is the objection expressed in its full force, and if your memorialists could for a moment believe it to be true in point of fact, they would never, *slaveholders as they are*, have associated themselves together for the purpose of co-operating with the Parent Society ; and far less would they have appeared in the character in which they now do, before the legislative bodies of a slaveholding State.’—Memorial of the Auxiliary Colonization Society of Powhatan, to the Legislature of Virginia.—[Twelfth Annual Report.]

‘Nothing has contributed more to retard the operations of the Colonization Society than the mistaken notion that it interferes directly with slavery. This objection is rapidly vanishing away, and many of the slaveholding States are becoming efficient supporters of the national society.’—[From a Tract issued by the Massachusetts Colonization Society in 1831, for gratuitous distribution.]

9. Because it is Janus-faced, presenting one aspect at the South, and another entirely different to the North. Sometimes it is represented by its publications and supporters as the only scheme adapted to abolish slavery and the slave trade, and evangelize Africa ; at other times it denies that it has any reference to either of these objects, but is simply endeavoring to remove such free persons of color as wish to emigrate to Africa. <sup>(9)</sup>

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‘Your memorialists refer with confidence to the course they have pursued, in the prosecution of their objects for nine years past, to shew that it is possible, without danger or alarm, to carry on such an operation, notwithstanding its supposed relation to the subject of slavery, and that they have not been regardless, in any of their measures, of what was due to the state of society in which they live. *They are, themselves, chiefly slaveholders*, and live with all the ties of life binding them to a slaveholding community.’—[Memorial of the Society to the several States.—Af. Rep. vol. ii. p. 60.]

‘The first great material objection is that the Society does, in fact, in spite of its denial, meditate and conspire the emancipation of the slaves. To the candid, let me say that there are names on the rolls of the Society too high to be rationally accused of the duplicity and insidious falsehood which this implies ; farther, the Society and its branches are composed, in by far the larger part, of *citizens of slaveholding States*, who cannot gravely be charged with a design so perilous to themselves.’ \* \* \* ‘Let me repeat, the *friends of the Colonization Society*, three-fourths of them are *SLAVEHOLDERS* ; the legislatures of Maryland, Georgia, Kentucky and Tennessee, all slaveholding States, have approved it ; *every member of this auxiliary Society is, either in himself, or his nearest relatives, interested in holding slaves.*’—[‘The Colonization Society Vindicated.’—Idem. vol. iii. pp. 200, 202.]

‘About twelve years ago, some of the wisest men of the nation, *mostly slaveholders*, formed, in the city of Washington, the present American Colonization Society.’—[Address of the Rockbridge Col. Society.—Idem. vol. iv. p. 274.]

‘*Being, chiefly, slaveholders ourselves*, we well know how it becomes us to approach such a subject as this in a slaveholding state, and in every other. If there were room for a reasonable jealousy, we among the first should feel it ; being as much interested in the welfare of the community, and having as much at heart, as any men can have, the security of ourselves, our property and our families.’—[Review of Mr. Tazewell’s Report.—Idem, p. 341.]

‘*Being, mostly, slaveholders ourselves*, having a common interest with you in this subject, an equal opportunity of understanding it, and the same motives to prudent action, what better guarantee can be afforded for the just discrimination, and the safe operation of our measures ?’—[Af. Rep. vol. vii. p. 100.]

‘It is a gratifying circumstance that the Society has from the first *obtained its most decided and efficient support from the slaveholding States.*’—[Sermon, delivered at Springfield, Mass. July 4th, 1829, before the Auxiliary Colonization Society of Hampden County, by Rev. B. Dickinson.]

(9.) ‘Its primary object now is, and ever has been, to colonize, with their own consent, free people of color on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere, as Congress may deem expedient. And, Sir, I am unwilling to admit, under any circumstances, and particularly in this Hall, that it ever has swerved from this cardinal object.’—[Speech of Mr. Benham.—Fourteenth Annual Report.]

‘Our Society and the friends of colonization wish to be distinctly understood upon this point. From the beginning they have *disavowed*, and they do yet *disavow*, that their object is the *emancipation of the slaves.*’—[Speech of James S. Green, Esq.—First Annual Report of the New-Jersey Col. Soc.]

10. Because it impiously holds that slaveholders are such from *necessity*; that the atrocious laws which are enacted against the free colored and slave population are justified by sound policy; and that it is wrong to increase the number of the free blacks by emancipation. <sup>(10)</sup>

'This institution proposes to do good by a single specific course of measures. Its direct and specific purpose is *not the abolition of slavery*, or the relief of pauperism, or the extension of commerce and civilization, or the enlargement of science, or the conversion of the heathen. The single object which its constitution prescribes, and to which all its efforts are necessarily directed, is, African colonization from America. It proposes only to afford facilities for the voluntary emigration of free people of color from this country to the country of their fathers.'—[Review on African Colonization.—Christian Spectator for September, 1830.]

'It is no abolition Society; it addresses as yet *arguments to no master*, and disavows with horror the idea of offering temptations to any slave. IT DENIES THE DESIGN OF ATTEMPTING EMANCIPATION, EITHER PARTIAL OR GENERAL.'—['The Col. Society Vindicated.'—Af. Rep. vol. iii. p. 197.]

'They can impress upon the southern slaveholder, by the strength of facts, and by the recorded declarations of honest men, that the objects of the Colonization Society are altogether pure and praiseworthy, and that it has no intention to open the door to universal liberty, but only to cut out a channel, where the merciful providence of God may cause those dark waters to flow off.'—[Idem, vol. iv. p. 145.]

'The Colonization Society, as such, have renounced wholly the name and the characteristics of abolitionists. On this point they have been unjustly and injuriously slandered. INTO THEIR ACCOUNTS THE SUBJECT OF EMANCIPATION DOES NOT ENTER AT ALL.'—['N. E.'—Idem, p. 306.]

'From its origin, and throughout the whole period of its existence, it has constantly disclaimed all intention whatever of interfering, in the smallest degree, with the rights of property, or the *object of emancipation*, GRADUAL or immediate.' \* \* \* 'The Society presents to the American public, *no project of emancipation*.'—[Mr. Clay's Speech.—Idem, vol. vi. pp. 13, 17.]

'It is not the object of this Society to liberate slaves, or touch the rights of property.'—[Report of the Kentucky Col. Soc.—Idem, p. 81.]

'The emancipation of slaves or the amelioration of their condition, with the moral, intellectual, and political improvement of people of color within the United States, are subjects foreign to the powers of this Society.'—[Address of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society to its Auxiliary Societies.—Idem, vol. vii. p. 291.]

'It disclaims, and always has disclaimed, all intention whatever, of interfering in the smallest degree, direct or *indirect*, with the rights of slaveholders, the right of property, or the object of emancipation, *gradual* or immediate. It knows that the owners of slaves are the owners, and no one else—it does not in the most remote degree, touch that delicate subject. Every slaveholder may, therefore, remain at ease concerning it or its progress or objects.'—[An advocate of the Society in the New-Orleans Argus.]

'The Society, as a society, recognizes no principles in reference to the slave system. IT SAYS NOTHING AND PROPOSES TO DO NOTHING, RESPECTING IT.' . . . 'So far as we can ascertain, the supporters of the colonization policy generally believe, that slavery is in this country a constitutional and legitimate system, WHICH THEY HAVE NEITHER INCLINATION, INTEREST, NOR ABILITY TO DISTURB.'—[North American Review, for July, 1832.]

(10.) 'Recognizing the constitutional and legitimate existence of slavery, it seeks not to interfere, either directly or indirectly, with the rights which it creates.

11. Because its mode of civilizing and christianizing Africa is preposterous, cruel and wild, and exactly fitted to raise up strong, if not insurmountable barriers to the progress of the gospel in that country ; for the very persons it proposes to remove, it describes as constituting the vilest class on the face of the earth, who nevertheless are well qualified to act as instructors

Acknowledging the *necessity* by which its present continuance and the rigorous provisions for its maintenance are justified, it aims only at furnishing the States, in which it exists, the means of immediately lessening its severities, and of ultimately relieving themselves from its acknowledged evils.'—[Opimius in reply to Caius Gracchus.—Af. Rep. vol. iii. p. 16.]

'IT CONDEMNS NO MAN BECAUSE HE IS A SLAVEHOLDER.'—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 200.]

'There is a golden mean, which all who would pursue the solid interest and reputation of their country may discern at the very heart of their confederation, and will both advocate and enforce—a principle of justice, conciliation and humanity—a principle, sir, which is not inconsistent with itself, and yet can sigh over the degradation of the slave, defend the wisdom and prudence of the South against the charge of studied and pertinacious cruelty,' &c.—[Address of Robert F. Stockton, Esq. at the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Parent Society.]

'We all know from a variety of considerations which it is unnecessary to name, and in consequence of the policy which is obliged to be pursued in the southern States, that it is extremely difficult to free a slave, and hence the enactment of those laws *which a fatal necessity seems to demand*.'—[African Repository, vol. iii. p. 12.]

'They are convinced that there are now hundreds of masters who are so only from *necessity*.'—[Memorial of the Society to the several States.—Idem, vol. ii. p. 60.]

'He [the planter] looks around him and sees that the condition of the great mass of emancipated Africans is one in comparison with which the condition of his slaves is enviable.—Hundreds of humane and Christian slaveholders retain their fellow-men in bondage, because THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT THEY CAN DO NO BETTER.'—[Address of the Managers of the Col. Soc. of Connecticut.—Idem, vol. iv. p. 120.]

'Slavery, in its mildest form, is an evil of the darkest character. Cruel and unnatural in its origin, no plea can be urged in justification of its continuance but the plea of *necessity*.'—[Idem, vol. v. p. 334.]

'How much more consistent and powerful would be our example, but for that population within our limits, whose condition (*necessary* condition, I will not deny) is so much at war with our institutions, and with that memorable national Declaration—"that all men are created equal."—[Fourteenth Ann. Report.]

'Such unhappily is the case ; but there is a *necessity* for it, [for oppressive laws,] and so long as they remain among us will that necessity continue.'—[Ninth Annual Report.]

'Much as we lament the reasons for this sentiment, and the *apparent necessity* of keeping a single fellow creature in ignorance, we willingly leave to others the consideration and the remedy of this evil, in view of the overwhelming magnitude of the remaining objects before us.'—[Address of the Board of Managers of the African Education Society of the United States.]

'Thousands are connected with the system of slavery from *necessity*, and not from choice.' . . . 'The vast majority of those who would emancipate, we have no hesitation in saying, are deterred from it by a PATRIOTISM and a PHILANTHROPY, which look beyond the bounds of their particular district, and beyond the ostensible quality of the mere abstract act.'—[North American Review, July, 1832.]

and missionaries in Liberia! \* Truly has it been said, that the project of evangelizing a heathenish country, by sending to it an illiterate, degraded and irreligious population, for absurdity and inaptitude, stands, and must forever stand, without a parallel: of all the offspring of prejudice and oppression, it is the most shapeless and unnatural. Men, who are intellectually and

‘What but sorrow can we feel at the *misguided piety* which has set free so many of them by death-bed devise or sudden conviction of injustice? Better, far better, for us, had they been kept in bondage, where the opportunity, the inducements, the necessity of vice would not have been so great. Deplorable *necessity*, indeed, to one borne down with the consciousness of the violence we have done. Yet I am clear that, whether we consider it with reference to the welfare of the State, or the happiness of the blacks, it were better to have left them in chains, than to have liberated them to receive such freedom as they enjoy, and greater freedom we cannot, must not allow them.’—[African Repository, vol. iii. p. 197.]

‘They leave a country in which though born and reared, they are strangers and aliens; where *severe necessity* places them in a class of degraded beings.’—[Idem, vol. v. p. 238.]

‘Our great and good men purposed it primarily as a system of relief for two millions of fellow men in our own country—a population dangerous to ourselves and *necessarily degraded here*.’—[Idem, vol. vi. p. 295.]

‘Slavery is a system for the existence of which, a single moment, no plea can be valid but the plea of *necessity*.’—[Letter of Rev. R. R. Gurley, vide Hudson (Ohio) Observer & Telegraph, December 20, 1832.]

‘It is a well-established point, that the public safety forbids either the emancipation or the general instruction of the slaves.’—[Seventh Annual Report.]

‘The managers could, with no propriety, depart from their original and avowed purpose, and make emancipation their object. And they would further say, that if they were not thus restrained by the terms of their association, they would still consider any attempts to promote the increase of the free colored population by manumission, *unnecessary, premature and dangerous*.’—[Af. Rep. vol. ii. p. 58.]

‘TO SET THEM LOOSE AMONG US WOULD BE AN EVIL MORE INTOLERABLE THAN SLAVERY ITSELF. It would make our situation insecure and dangerous.’—[Report of the Kentucky Col. Sec.—Idem, vol. vi. p. 81.]

‘POLICY, and even the voice of humanity forbade the progress of manumission; and the salutary hand of law came forward to co-operate with our convictions, and to arrest the flow of our feelings, and the ardor of our desires.’—[Review of the Report of the Com. of Foreign Relations.—African Repository, vol. iv. p. 268.]

‘Many thousand individuals in our native State, you well know, Mr. President, are restrained, said Mr. Mercer, from manumitting their slaves, as you and I are, by the melancholy conviction, that they cannot yield to the suggestions of humanity, without manifest injury to their country.’ \* \* \* ‘The laws of Virginia now discourage, and very wisely, perhaps, the emancipation of slaves.’—[Speech of Mr. Mercer.—First Annual Report.]

‘There are men in the southern states, who long to do something effectual for the benefit of their slaves, and would gladly emancipate them, did not PRUDENCE and COMPASSION alike forbid such a measure.’—[Review of the Reports of the Society from the Christian Spectator.—Seventh Annual Report.]

\* EVERY EMIGRANT to Africa is a MISSIONARY, carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions’!!!—[Speech of Mr. Clay—Tenth Annual Report.]

morally blind, are violently removed from light effulgent into thick darkness, in order that they may obtain light themselves and diffuse light among others ! Ignorance is sent to instruct ignorance, ungodliness to exhort ungodliness, vice to stop the progress of vice, and depravity to reform depravity ! All that is abhorrent to our moral sense, or dangerous to our quietude, or villanous in human nature, we benevolently disgorge upon Africa for her temporal and eternal welfare ! (11) We propose to build upon her shores, for her glory and defence, colonies framed of materials which we discard as worthless for our own use, and which possess no fitness or durability ! Admirable consistency ! surprising wisdom ! unexampled benevolence !

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' We do not ask that the provisions of our Constitution and statute book should be so modified as to relieve and exalt the condition of the colored people, *whilst they remain with us*. LET THESE PROVISIONS STAND IN ALL THEIR RIGOR, to work out the ultimate and unbounded good of this people. Persuaded that their condition here is not susceptible of a radical and permanent improvement, we would deprecate any legislation that should encourage the vain and injurious hope of it.'—[Memorial of the New-York State Col. Society.]

(11) 'Free blacks are a greater nuisance than even slaves themselves.'—[Af. Repository, vol. ii. p. 328.]

'Although there are individual exceptions distinguished by high moral and intellectual worth, yet the free blacks in our country are, as a body, more vicious and degraded than any other which our population embraces.' \* \* \* 'There is not a State in the Union not at this moment groaning under the evil of this class of persons, a curse and a contagion wherever they reside.'—[Idem, vol. iii. pp. 24, 203.]

'Mr. Mercer adverted to the situation of his native State, and the condition of the free black population existing there, whom he described as a horde of miserable people—the objects of universal suspicion ; SUBSISTING BY PLUNDER.'—[Idem, vol. iv. p. 363.]

'Of all the descriptions of our population, and of either portion of the African race, the free people of color are by far, as a class, the MOST CORRUPT, DEPRAVED, AND ABANDONED.' . . . 'They have no home, no country, no kindred, no friends. They are lazy and indolent, because they have no motives to prompt them to be industrious. They are in general destitute of principle, because they have nothing to stimulate them to honorable and praise-worthy conduct.'—[Idem, vol. vi. pp. 12, 228.]

'The existence, within the very bosom of our country, of an anomalous race of beings, THE MOST DEBASED UPON EARTH, who neither enjoy the blessings of freedom, nor are yet in the bonds of slavery, is a great national evil, which every friend of his country most deeply deploras.'—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 230.]

'The class we first seek to remove, are neither freemen nor slaves ; but between both, and more miserable than either.' \* \* \* 'Leaving slavery and its subjects for the moment entirely out of view, there are in the United States 238,000 blacks denominated free, but whose freedom confers on them, we might say, no privilege but the privilege of being more vicious and miserable than slaves can be.'—[App. Seventh Annual Report.]

'Of all classes of our population, the most vicious is that of the free colored. It is the inevitable result of their moral, political, and civil degradation. Contaminated themselves, they extend their vices to all around them, to the slaves and to the whites.'—[Tenth Annual Report.]

12. Because it is held in abhorrence by the free people of color, wherever they possess the liberty of speech and the means of intelligence, as a scheme full of evil to themselves and to their enslaved brethren ; and to expect a change in their sentiments, after so long a time and the reiterated public expressions of their undying hostility, is gross fatuity. <sup>(12)</sup>

(12) RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF PHILADELPHIA.

Resolved, That we view with deep abhorrence the unmerited stigma attempted to be cast upon the reputation of the free people of color, by the promoters of this measure, 'that they are a dangerous and useless part of the community,' when in the state of disfranchisement in which they live, in the hour of danger they ceased to remember their wrongs, and rallied around the standard of their country.

Resolved, That we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population in this country ; they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrong ; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them, than fancied advantages for a season.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF NEW-YORK.

Resolved, That we view the resolution calling on the worshippers of Christ to assist in the unholy crusade against the colored population of this country, as totally at variance with true Christian principles.

Resolved, That we claim this country, the place of our birth, and not Africa, as our mother country, and all attempts to send us to Africa we consider as gratuitous and uncalled for.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF BOSTON.

Resolved, That this meeting look upon the American Colonization Society as a clamorous, abusive and peace-disturbing combination.

Resolved, That this meeting look upon the conduct of those clergymen, who have filled the ears of their respective congregations with the absurd idea of the necessity of removing the free colored people from the United States, as highly deserving the just reprehension directed to the false prophets and priests, by Jeremiah the true prophet, as recorded in the 23d chapter of his prophecy.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF BALTIMORE.

Resolved, That it is the belief of this meeting, that the American Colonization Society is founded more in a selfish policy, than in the true principles of benevolence :—and, therefore, so far as it regards the life-giving spring of its operations, is not entitled to our confidence, but should be viewed by us with all that caution and distrust which our happiness demands.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

Resolved, That this meeting view with distrust the efforts made by the Colonization Society to cause the free people of color of these United States to emigrate to Liberia on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere.

Resolved, That it is the declared opinion of the members of this meeting, that the soil which gave them birth is their only true and veritable home, and that it would be impolitic, unwise and improper for them to leave their home without the benefits of education.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Resolved, unanimously, That the call of this meeting be approved of ; and that the colored citizens of this village have, with friendly feelings, taken into consideration the objects of the American Colonization Society, together with

Finally, abolitionists oppose the Colonization Society, *because it neither calls for any change of conduct toward the people of color, on the part of the nation, NOR HAS IN ITSELF ANY PRINCIPLE OF REFORM.* It confesses to be actuated and governed by strong, vindictive prejudices—‘prejudices, which neither refinement, nor argument, nor education, *nor religion itself*, can overcome’—prejudices ‘which are fixed beyond the

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all its auxiliary movements, preparatory for our removal to the coast of Africa ; and we view them as wholly gratuitous, not called for by us, and not essential to the real welfare of our race.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF HARTFORD, CT.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the American Colonization Society is actuated by the same motives which influenced the mind of Pharaoh, when he ordered the male children of the Israelites to be destroyed.

Resolved, That it is the belief of this meeting, that the Society is the greatest foe to the free colored and slave population with whom liberty and equality have to contend.

Resolved, That, in our belief, we have committed no crime worthy of banishment, and that we will resist, even unto death, all the attempts of the Colonization Society to banish us from this our native land.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF MIDDLETOWN, CT.

Resolved, That the proceedings of our brethren in Brooklyn, N. Y., meet our entire approbation : they breathe our sentiments in full, and may our voices cheerfully accord with them in protesting against leaving this our native soil.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF NEW-HAVEN, CT.

Resolved, That we will resist all attempts made for our removal to the torrid shores of Africa, and will sooner suffer every drop of blood to be taken from our veins than submit to such unrighteous treatment.

Resolved, That we consider the American Colonization Society founded on principles that no Afric-American, unless very weak in mind, will follow ; and any man who will be persuaded to leave his own country and go to Africa, as an enemy to his country and a traitor to his brethren.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF COLUMBIA, PA.

Resolved, That it is our firm belief, that the Colonization Society is replete with infinite mischief, and that we view all the arguments of its advocates as mere sophistry, not worthy our notice as freemen.

Resolved, That we will not be duped out of our rights as freemen, by colonizationists, nor by any other combination of men. All the encomiums pronounced upon Liberia can never form the least temptation to induce us to leave our native soil, to emigrate to a strange land.

Resolved, That it is the decided opinion of this meeting, that African colonization is a scheme of southern policy, a wicked device of slaveholders who are desirous of riveting more firmly, and perpetuating more certainly, the fetters of slavery ; who are only anxious to rid themselves of a population whose presence, influence and example have a tendency (as they suppose) to produce discontent among the slaves, and to furnish them with incitements to rebellion.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF NANTUCKET.

Resolved, That the call of this meeting be approved of, and that the colored citizens of this town have with friendly feelings taken into consideration the objects of the Colonization Society, together with its movements preparatory for

control of any human power,' which spring 'from an ordination of Providence,' and which are 'no more to be changed than the laws of Nature.' But benevolence and prejudice do not run in the same channel—they are opposed to each other. Hence the Society is not a benevolent institution, according to its own confessions ; and, therefore, does not deserve the confidence or patronage of benevolent men.

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our removal to the coast of Africa ; and we view them as wholly gratuitous, not called for by us, and in no way essential to the welfare of our race ; and we believe that our condition can be best improved in this our own country and native soil, the United States of America.

Resolved, That there is no philanthropy towards the people of color in the colonization plan, but that it is got up to delude us away from our country and home into a country of sickness and death.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF PITTSBURG, PA.

Resolved, That it is the decided opinion of this meeting, that African colonization is a scheme to drain the better informed part of the colored people out of these United States, so that the chain of slavery may be riveted more tightly ; but we are determined not to be cheated out of our rights by the colonization men, or any other set of intriguers.

Resolved, That we, the colored people of Pittsburgh and citizens of these United States, view the country in which we live as our only true and proper home. We are just as much natives here as the members of the Colonization Society. Here we were born—here bred—here are our earliest and most pleasant associations—here is all that binds man to earth, and makes life valuable. And we do consider every colored man who allows himself to be colonized in Africa, or elsewhere, a traitor to our cause.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF WILMINGTON, DEL.

Resolved, That this meeting view with deep regret the attempt now making to colonize the free people of color on the western coast of Africa ; believing as we do that it is inimical to the best interests of the people of color, and at variance with the principles of civil and religious liberty, and wholly incompatible with the spirit of the Constitution and Declaration of Independence of these United States.

Resolved, That we disclaim all connexion with Africa ; and although the descendants of that much afflicted country, we cannot consent to remove to any tropical climate, and thus aid in a design having for its object the total extirpation of our race from this country, professions to the contrary notwithstanding.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF HARRISBURG, PA.

Resolved, That we reject the inhuman and unchristian measures taken by the Colonization Society, for the illumination of the colored citizens of the United States, their appropriate home, in a land of sickness, affliction and death, when they are not willing, with few exceptions, to give us a christian education while among them.

Resolved, That this meeting look upon the Colonization Society as a vicious, nefarious and peace-disturbing combination, and that its leaders might as well essay to cure a wound with an argument, or set a dislocated bone by a lecture on logic, as to tell us their object is to better our condition.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Resolved, That we never will remove to Africa ; but should any of our brethren wish to emigrate, we would recommend Canada as a country far more congenial to our constitutions.

To prove the truth of the last allegation, it is only necessary to remember that the reason which is given by the Society for expatriating the colored population is,—*the wickedness of the people*—the determination, on their part, never to cease from persecuting those whom they have so long abused, degraded and enslaved. Yet the Society boasts that it receives the support of a great majority of the nation—that it is cherished by all religious denominations—and that it is hailed emphatically by ‘*the voice of the people.*’ If this be so,—if the friends of the Society constitute an overwhelming majority in this country, and they are actuated by true philanthropy,—if it is opposed only by ‘*a few wild fanatics,*’ otherwise named *abolitionists*, (who, certainly, are ready to give the people of color equal rights and privileges,)—and if, nevertheless, nothing but colonization can

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Resolved, That we view, with unfeigned astonishment, the anti-christian and inconsistent conduct of those who so strenuously advocate our removal from this our native country to the burning shores of Liberia, and who with the same breath contend against the cruelty and injustice of Georgia in her attempt to remove the Cherokee Indians west of the Mississippi.

Resolved, That we will not leave our homes, nor the graves of our fathers, and this boasted land of liberty and christian philanthropy.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF TRENTON, N. J.

Resolved, Whereas we have lived peaceably and quietly in these United States, of which we are natives, and have never been the cause of any insurrectionary or tumultuous movements as a body, that we do view every measure taken by any associated bodies to remove us to other climes, anti-christian and hostile to our peace, and a violation of the laws of humanity.

Resolved, That we view the American Colonization Society as the most invertebrate foe both to the free and slave man of color.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF LYME, CT.

Resolved, That it is the sincere opinion of this meeting, that the American Colonization Society is one of the wildest projects ever patronised by a body of enlightened men ; and further, that many of those who support it would be willing, if it were in their power to drive us out of existence.

Resolved, That though we be last in calling a meeting, we feel no less the pernicious influence of this Society than the rest of our brethren ; and that we will resist every attempt to banish us from this our native land.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF LEWISTOWN, PA.

Resolved, That we will not leave these United States, the land of our birth, for a home in Africa.

Resolved, That we will strenuously oppose the colonizing of the free people of color in Liberia.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF NEW-BEDFORD.

Resolved, That in whatever light we view the Colonization Society, we discover nothing in it but terror, prejudice and oppression ; that the warm and beneficent hand of philanthropy is not apparent in the system, but the influence of the Society on public opinion is more prejudicial to the interest and welfare of the people of color in the United States, than slavery itself.

save the colored population from persecution and servitude,—is it not evident that nothing is wanting to render unnecessary this disgraceful expulsion, but that the supporters of the scheme should abandon their prejudices, clothe themselves with humility, and be christians and republicans indeed? It is undeniable that the popularity of the Society is immense; but if it be a benevolent institution, and exercise a wide and powerful moral influence, and is thus popular, how does it happen that no change, but for the worse, has taken place in the legal condition of the people of color, or in public sentiment? Has one prejudice been eradicated by its operations? Has it commended itself to the gratitude and confidence of the objects of its *benevolence*, as the Howard Benevolent Society has done to the recipients of its bounty? Are not all who are hostile to our free colored population, in favor of their banishment? Is not the design of the Society universally agreeable to the proud, the vulgar, the insolent, the scornful? Who, but its supporters, descant upon the prejudices which exist against the blacks? who, but themselves, acknowledge that they are swayed by those prejudices—powerfully and unalterably?

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BY THE NATIONAL COLORED CONVENTION HELD IN PHILADELPHIA, IN 1831.

‘The Convention has not been unmindful of the operations of the American Colonization Society; and it would respectfully suggest to that august body of learning, talent and worth, that, in our humble opinion, strengthened, too, by the opinions of eminent men in this country, as well as in Europe, that they are pursuing the direct road to perpetuate slavery, with all its unchristianlike concomitants, in this boasted land of freedom; and, as citizens and men whose best blood is sapped to gain popularity for that institution, we would, in the most feeling manner, beg of them to desist: or, if we must be sacrificed to their philanthropy, we would rather die at home. Many of our fathers, and some of us, have fought and bled for the liberty, independence and peace which you now enjoy; and, surely, it would be ungenerous and unfeeling in you to deny us a humble and quiet grave in that country which gave us birth.’

BY THE SAME CONVENTION, IN 1832.

Resolved, That we still solemnly and sincerely protest against any interference, on the part of the American Colonization Society, with the free colored population in these United States, so long as they shall countenance or endeavor to use coercive measures, (either directly or indirectly,) to colonize us in any place which is not the object of our choice. And we ask them respectfully, as men and as Christians, to cease their unhallowed persecutions, of a people already sufficiently oppressed, or if, as they profess, they have our welfare and prosperity at heart, to assist us in the object of our choice.

We might here repeat our protest against that institution, but it is unnecessary. Our views and sentiments have long since gone to the world—the wings of the wind have borne our disapprobation to that institution. *Time itself cannot erase it.* We have dated our opposition from its beginning, and our views are strengthened by time and circumstances, and they hold the uppermost seat in our affections.

The American Colonization Society, *even allowing it to be a benevolent body*, HAS UNDERTAKEN TO ACCOMPLISH A PHYSICAL IMPOSSIBILITY—namely, the removal of the entire colored population of this country to Africa. It has been sixteen years in operation ; and with all its immense resources and its exceeding popularity, it has carried off, during that long period, *only the increase of a single fortnight !* More blacks are born *every day*, than it has removed *annually* since its organization ! The slave population has increased more than HALF A MILLION, and been reduced less than FIVE HUNDRED by the Society, since the year 1816 ! When the Alleghany mountains can be cast into the sea by separate particles ; or the sun extinguished by drops of water ; or the ocean dried up by a sun-beam ; or the ravages of the gaunt King of Terrors permanently arrested by the cure of a sick patient ;—then, and not till then, can the American Colonization Society succeed in carrying to Africa the colored population of the United States. It has been weighed in the balance, and found wanting ; and its fall is destined to be like that of Babylon the great.

In view of the events of the past year, the Managers congratulate the real friends of the colored race, both bond and free. One year since, the New-England Anti-Slavery Society commenced its operations, under very discouraging circumstances. Its members were few—its means, trifling. It has rapidly risen to a commanding rank, and is attracting general attention in this country. The fame of its principles neither the winds nor the waves of the Atlantic could drown—it has gone over to England, and given a strong impulse to the cause of abolition in that country. It has brought back the response from that distinguished philanthropist, James Cropper of Liverpool—‘ I did indeed feel it as a cordial to my heart to see a Society established within the United States, advocating the immediate and entire abolition of slavery.’

The pecuniary ability of the Society has been small.\* A large amount of funds is not easily accumulated for any moral

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\* Among the donations which have been made to the Society, the Managers would gratefully acknowledge the following :—*Two hundred and Fifty dollars* (one hundred dollars of this sum to be appropriated to the Manual Labor

enterprise in its infancy. Yet, with feeble means, the Society has produced great results. It has constantly employed its presiding officer as an Agent, for the past six months, to go forth to the people, and urge its claims upon their charities and confidence. His labors, it is believed, have been extensively useful. The Managers bear honorable testimony to his zeal, faithfulness and ability. Other Agents have been successfully employed for a shorter period. Five thousand copies of the Constitution and Address of the Society have been printed for gratuitous distribution. A liberal purchase has been made of Mr. Garrison's 'Thoughts on African Colonization,' for a similar purpose. The Society has effected the emancipation of a young slave boy in this city, by a suit at law.\* It is now making strenuous exertions for the establishment of a Manual Labor School, for the education of Colored Youth, and will probably attain its object. It has effected the conversion of a multitude of minds to the doctrine of immediate abolition, and given a wide and salutary check to the progress of the Colonization Society. It has done more to make slavery a subject of national investigation, to excite discussion, and to maintain the freedom of speech on a hitherto prohibited theme, than all other societies now in operation. It has been eminently serviceable in encouraging the free colored population, in various places, to go forward in paths of improvement, and organize themselves into moral and benevolent associations. It has commenced a monthly periodical, with the expressive title of 'THE ABOLITIONIST,' for the purpose of vindicating its principles, and promoting the various objects which it has in view. It is now laying the axe at the root of the tree of slavery in this country; and though some may stand afar off and mock, and close their ears to the sound of its blows, and demand evidence of its efficiency, seeing the tree has not yet fallen; yet in due time this Bohon Upas shall be prostrated, as it were in the twinkling of an eye, and consumed to ashes.

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School Fund) from JOHN KENRICK, Esq. of Newton, Mass.; *Fifty Dollars* (including fifteen dollars to constitute him a life member) from Mr. EBENEZER DOLE, of Hallowell, Me.; *Fifty Dollars* from Mrs. SARAH H. WINSLOW, and *Fifteen Dollars* from Mrs. C. WINSLOW, both of Portland, Me.

\* Appendix B.

An Auxiliary Society has been formed in the Theological Seminary at Andover. A society, based upon the same principles, has also been formed in Hudson College, Ohio, under the auspices of the President and Professors ; and also a kindred association in Lynn, Massachusetts. Other societies, it is expected, will be speedily organized in Portland, Providence, Bath, Hallowell, New-Haven, and other places. The light which has burst forth so auspiciously in the West, is the harbinger of a mighty victory.

In closing their Report, the Managers would earnestly and feelingly conjure abolitionists in this country to maintain their ground, firmly and confidently. The controversy is not, in fact, between them and the oppressors of their fellow men, but between these oppressors and Jehovah. Their cause is based upon the immutable principles of justice and righteousness. It must prevail. Let full reliance be placed upon the promises of Him who has said that he will maintain the cause of the afflicted and the right of the poor ; let every thing be done that may and should be done ; let the heart be inspired but by one principle—love to God and love to man ; let abolition societies be established in every town and village in the free states ; and the speedy emancipation of the slaves is sure.

The blood of the millions who have perished unredressed in this guilty land ; the sufferings and lamentations of the millions who yet remain in cruel servitude ; the groans and supplications of bleeding Africa ; the cries of the suffering victims in the holds of the slave-ships now wafted upon the ocean ; the threatenings and judgments of the God of all flesh ; all demand the utter and immediate annihilation of slavery.

*And let all the people, from the Lakes to the Atlantic, and from Maine to the shores of the Pacific, in one mighty burst, thunder—‘ AMEN, AND AMEN ! ’*

## A P P E N D I X .

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( A . )

The Legislature of Louisiana has enacted that whosoever shall make use of language, in any public discourse, from the bar, the bench, the pulpit, the stage, or in any other place whatsoever shall make use of language, in any private discourses, or shall make use of signs or actions having a tendency to produce discontent among the colored population, shall suffer imprisonment at hard labor, not less than three years, nor more than twenty-one years, or DEATH, at the discretion of the court!! It has also prohibited the instruction of the blacks in Sabbath Schools—\$500 penalty for the first offence—DEATH for the second!! The Legislature of Virginia has passed a bill which subjects all free negroes who shall be convicted of remaining in the commonwealth contrary to law, to the liability of *being sold by the sheriff*. All meetings of free negroes, at any school-house or meeting-house, for teaching them reading or writing, are declared an unlawful assembly; and it is made the duty of any justice of the peace to issue his warrant to enter the house where such unlawful assemblage is held, for the purpose of apprehending or dispersing such free negroes. A fine is to be imposed on every white person who instructs at such meetings. All emancipated slaves, who shall remain more than twelve months, contrary to law, shall revert to the executors as assets. Laws have been passed in Georgia and North Carolina, imposing a heavy tax or imprisonment on every free person of color who shall come into their ports in the capacity of stewards, cooks, or seamen of any vessels belonging to the non-slaveholding States. The Legislature of Tennessee has passed an act forbidding free blacks from coming into the State to remain more than twenty days. The penalty is a fine of from ten to fifty dollars, and confinement in the penitentiary from one to two years. Double the highest penalty is to be inflicted after the first offence. The act also prohibits manumission, without an immediate removal from the State. The last Legislature of Maryland passed a bill, by which no free negro or mulatto is allowed to emigrate to, or settle in the State, under the penalty of fifty dollars for every week's residence therein; and if he refuse or neglect to pay such fine, he shall be committed to jail and sold by the sheriff at public sale; and no person shall employ or harbor him, under

the penalty of twenty dollars for every day he shall be so employed, hired or harbored ! It is not lawful for any free blacks to attend any meetings for religious purposes, unless conducted by a *white* licensed or ordained preacher, or some respectable white person duly authorised ! All free colored persons residing in the State, are compelled to register their names, ages, &c. &c. ; and if any negro or mulatto shall remove from the State, and remain without the limits thereof for a space longer than thirty consecutive days, unless before leaving the State he deposits with the clerk of the county in which he resides, *a written statement of his object in doing so*, and his intention of returning again, or unless he shall have been detained by sickness or coercion, *of which he shall bring a certificate*, he shall be regarded as a resident of another State, and be subject, if he return, to the penalties imposed by the foregoing provisions upon free negroes and mulattoes of another State, migrating to Maryland ! It is not lawful for any person or persons to purchase of any free negro or mulatto any articles, unless he produce a certificate from a justice of the peace, or three respectable persons residing in his neighborhood, that he or they have reason to believe, and do believe, that such free negro or mulatto came honestly and bona fide into possession of any such articles so offered for sale !

*All the above named Legislatures, with one exception, have passed resolutions highly encomiastic of the American Colonization Society !!* The Senate of Louisiana has adopted similar resolutions !

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( B. )

SUPREME JUDICIAL COURT—DEC. 4, 1832.

*Before SHAW, Chief Justice.*

CASE OF FRANCISCO. A *habeas corpus* was brought against Mrs. Howard, a lady who had resided in the Island of Cuba, in order to have the body of Francisco, a colored boy 12 or 14 years of age, (whom it was alleged that the defendant intended to carry to the Island of Cuba, and there keep or sell as a slave,) brought before the Court.

The defendant, in her return to the *habeas corpus*, stated in writing, that the boy Francisco was her servant, that he was free, and that she did not claim him as a slave, and submitted herself to such order in the premises as the Court might see fit to make.

To contradict this return, several witnesses were produced, who proved that Mrs. Howard purchased Francisco as a slave, that she had held him as a slave at Havana, and had brought him with her from thence to this country, that she intended to carry him back to Havana, and that she had spoken of him since

she had been here, as her slave, her property, &c., and had exhibited great anxiety lest he should be taken away from her while in this country. The evidence was strong to show that Mrs. Howard intended, or had intended until this *habeas corpus* was brought, to claim him as her slave in Havana, on her return there.

On behalf of Mrs. Howard, evidence was produced to prove that the boy was very much attached to her, and she to him ; that she had treated him with great kindness, and had no design to sell him ; and that before leaving the Havana, she was admonished that he would become free on being brought into this country, and that the boy preferred going with her to remaining here.

*Curtis*, on behalf of Mrs. Howard, contended, that the court ought not to deprive her of the care of a boy, whom she had treated kindly, and who was attached to her, and desirous of going with her ; that the boy was free, and would still continue to be free, on going to Havana ; that his actual condition would probably be better, if he went with her, than if he was kept in this country ; and her counsel further stated that she was perfectly willing to have the question, whether or not the boy should go with her, left to his own decision. In support of this course, he cited a case decided by Chancellor Kent, and another by the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, in the matter of a writ of *habeas corpus*, directed to the society of Shakers, to relieve a young person detained by them. The counsel also denied the authority of the court to interfere in a case where the respondent exercised no restraint over the person of the minor, and the minor himself made no complaints of restraint or detainment, but remained with the respondent of his own free will.

*Sewall*, on the other side, urged that Francisco, on being brought into Massachusetts, became free ; that it was evidently Mrs. Howard's intention to make him a slave again, when she arrived at Havana ; that he was entitled to the same protection of the court as any other free person in Massachusetts ; and that the court ought to interfere to preserve him from slavery. His affection for Mrs. Howard, and his desire of going with her, were no sufficient reasons for sending him to a place where he would inevitably be deprived of his freedom. And the counsel requested, that as Francisco was too young to determine what was for his interest, the court would appoint a guardian to act for him in the case.

SHAW, C. J., after examining Francisco privately, and ascertaining that it was his desire to go with Mrs. Howard, delivered an opinion, of which the following is a very imperfect sketch.

The question before the court is one of great importance. The writ of *habeas corpus* is intended for the protection of per-

sonal liberty. If Mrs. Howard, in her return to the writ, had claimed the boy as a slave, I should have ordered him to be discharged from her custody. But it appears from her return to the writ, that she does not claim him as a slave. The boy, by the law of Massachusetts, is in fact free; and Mrs. Howard having, by her return to the writ, disclaimed to hold him as a slave, has made a record of his freedom, and cannot make him a slave again in the Island of Cuba.

The evidence shows that up to a very recent period, she intended to claim him as a slave on carrying him back to Havana. But after the disclaimer which she has made in her return, ought the Court to interfere to prevent the boy from going to Cuba with her, merely because he will be in more danger of being made a slave there, than if he was retained in this State? I think not. I know of no precedent of a guardian *ad litem* being appointed in a case of this kind. The Court must act as the boy's guardian. He appears to be attached to Mrs. Howard, and to be desirous of going with her, and I think it is for his interest to be allowed to do so, if he pleases. He can therefore go with her or not as he chooses. And all persons will be prohibited from interfering or attempting by force to prevent him from going with her, if such continues his wish.—*Boston Atlas*.

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#### REPORT ON THE FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE.

The Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the *Foreign and Domestic Slave Trade*, most respectfully submit the following report :

Notwithstanding the prohibition of the African slave trade by the laws and treaties of all nations, it appears, by the reports of British cruisers who have within the last year captured a number of vessels freighted with African slaves, that the trade is still prosecuted with unabated rigor; and thousands are annually stolen away from their homes in Africa, and transported across the ocean, to supply those Christian markets where men, women and children are bought and sold like brute beasts; fully demonstrating that so long as there is a market for human beings, laws, treaties and navies, aided by the power of moral and christian influence, are insufficient to restrain the avarice of wicked men from tearing from their peaceful homes those hapless victims of their cupidity, and consigning them to a life of bereavement, mourning and wo.

It can hardly be supposed that the statistics of an illicit trade can be very accurately ascertained; but it is universally admit-

ted that the demand for slaves, in the yet unglutted marts of christian states and colonies, has caused the trade to be prosecuted with as much severity and rigor since its legal prohibition as before. And it is contrary to all experience to suppose that it can ever be abolished, but by abolishing the market.

Appalling as is the contemplation of the wickedness, cruelty and sufferings attendant on the *African* slave trade, we turn with deeper horror to the countless woes and more aggravated crimes of the *American* slave trade. Here, where 'the trade in slaves and souls of men' is legalized, and counted honorable, we have more correct data for statistical calculation.

One sixth part of the people of the United States of America are held as property, and regarded as articles of commerce !

One hundred thousand children, annually born in the United States, are raised like cattle, to be sold and transferred from one owner to another, without any regard to their will or welfare !

When a slaveholder dies, his men, women and children are appraised and sold, and there is witnessed one of those heart-rending scenes of human agony, which may be better conceived than described in words. The miserable victims of this inhuman system are brought to the stand, one by one, and each separately knocked off to the highest bidder. Husbands are separated from their wives, parents from children, friend from friend, and lover from lover, and every endearing tie of nature and affection is most unfeelingly sundered, causing the heavens to resound with their cries and their groans. And it is not only at the death of a slaveholder that these scenes of anguish and despair are witnessed ; for 'the trade in slaves and souls of men' is one of the most extensive branches of commerce in our country, and probably amounts to *twenty millions* of dollars in a year. Men sell their own children, and their brothers and sisters ; and every day in which the light of heaven shines upon our guilty land, does it witness the image of God exposed at public sale, and that, too, by men who would be offended were we to call them cannibals. Even in the District of Columbia, under the exclusive jurisdiction of the general government of the Republic, men and women, whose only crime is that they are descended from African parents, are sold to inland pirates, who purchase them for the western market.

In the contemplation of these things, we are compelled to exclaim,—Oh, America ! how long shall it prove a misfortune and a curse to a portion of thy children, that their ancestors were not permitted to remain in a land of heathens ? How long, in this Christian land, shall these unfortunate people be regarded as merchandise, and be denied that instruction which is essential for rational, intelligent and immortal souls ?

May the Christian churches in our land speedily clear their skirts of the stain of blood ! May they make haste to put away from them this abomination, which has so long obstructed their progress, and obscured their glory ; that the glad voices of ransomed millions may unite with those who love the Lord, in ascribing unto Him, who, with a mighty hand and outstretched arm, delivered Israel from the house of bondage, the praise of having, in like manner, delivered his children from oppression in this guilty land !

In behalf of the Committee,

ARNOLD BUFFUM.

## CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

### PREAMBLE.

Whereas, we believe that Slavery is contrary to the precepts of Christianity, dangerous to the liberties of the country, and ought immediately to be abolished ; and whereas, we believe that the citizens of New-England not only have the right to protest against it, but are under the highest obligation to seek its removal by a moral influence ; and whereas, we believe that the free people of color are unrighteously oppressed, and stand in need of our sympathy and benevolent co-operation ; therefore, recognizing the inspired declaration that God ‘ hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth,’ and in obedience to our Saviour’s golden rule, ‘ all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them ; we agree to form ourselves into a Society, and to be governed by the following

### CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1. This Society shall be called the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

ART. 2. The objects of the Society shall be, to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States ; to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.

ART. 3. Any person by signing the Constitution, and paying to the Treasurer fifteen dollars as a life subscription, or two dollars annually shall be considered a member of the Society, and entitled to a copy of all its official publications.

ART. 4. The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Sec-

retary, a Treasurer, and ten Counsellors, who shall be elected annually, by ballot, on the fourth Wednesday of January, or subsequently by adjournment, and shall hold their respective offices until others are chosen.

ART. 5. The foregoing officers shall constitute a Board of Managers, to whom shall be entrusted the disposition of the funds, and the management of the concerns of the Society. They shall have power to make their own by-laws, to fill any vacancy which may occur in their Board and to employ agents to promote the objects of the Society.

ART. 6. There shall be a public meeting of the Society annually, on the third Wednesday of January, at which the Board of Managers shall make a Report of their doings for the past year, and of the income, expenditures, and funds of the Society.

ART. 7. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Board of Managers, or in his absence one of the Vice Presidents, or in their absence a President pro tem.

ART. 8. The Corresponding Secretary shall receive and keep all communications or publications directed to the Society, and transmit those issued by them, and shall correspond with the agents, or any other bodies or individuals, according to the directions of the Society or the Managers.

ART. 9. The Recording Secretary shall notify all meetings of the Society and of the Board of Managers, and keep the records of the same.

ART. 10. The Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions and donations to the Society, hold all its funds, and make payments according to the directions of the Managers; and he shall keep a true account of the same, and render a statement to accompany the Annual Report of the Society.

ART. 11. Any Anti-Slavery Society, or any association founded on kindred principles, may become auxiliary to this Society, by contributing to its funds, and may communicate with us by letter or delegation.

ART. 12. The Society shall hold meetings on the last Monday of March, June, and September, for the transaction of any business which may be presented by the Board of Managers, or for addresses, or for discussion of any subject connected with the objects of the Society. Special meetings may be called by the Board of Managers, or by the Recording Secretary on application from ten members of the Society.

ART. 13. This Constitution may be altered at the Annual Meeting for the choice of officers, provided the amendments proposed to be made, have been submitted to the Board of Managers, in writing, one month previous.

## LETTER TO THOMAS CLARKSON.

LIVERPOOL, 10th Month, 2d, 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND :—

It has caused me deep regret to see thy name amongst those of many well-tried friends of humanity as supporters of the American Colonization Society ; though I am not surprised that many under the mask of a voluntary and prosperous settlement of free blacks on the coast of Africa—a measure in which every friend of humanity must rejoice—have been led to support a scheme, the nature and effects of which are of a very different character.

In judging of this scheme, we ought never to lose sight of two facts with respect to the enslaved Africans in the United States, in which the enormities of that free country have exceeded those of any other. The first is, that slaves are regularly bred for sale. The second, that, in many of the States, the laws affecting free blacks are of so violently persecuting a character as to compel those who obtain their liberty to leave those States. From the former of these causes, instances must often occur, (from the state of morals in slave countries,) of fathers selling their own children ! ! From the latter has originated the Colonization Society ; it arose out of those prejudices against color, and is a direct attempt to extend the same principle to transportation.

Why are slaveholders so anxious to send away free people of color ? Because their slave institutions would be endangered by the competition of respectable free black laborers ; and they dread still more their education and advancement in science. If they were desirous of serving the free blacks, they would instruct them at home, (not a *few* of them, but every one that they send,) and not send them in ignorance to a barbarous country.

To this real scheme of transporting the people of color a professed one is attached, for the ultimate extinction of slavery, by the transportation of the whole black population to the coast of Africa ; and we are gravely told that one hundred thousand slaves are ready to be given up, if means can be found of sending them to Africa ! A most extraordinary statement, and one for which I believe there is no foundation, in either fact or probability. Can it be believed that the slaveholders of the United States are ready to give up their property, worth at least *five millions sterling* ?—a liberality unheard of since the foundation of the world. In all the rest of the United States, enough to

pay the expense of their emigration cannot be raised, and hence it is sought for in England. If there was any truth in this wonderful statement, we must all of us have been sadly deceived about the debasing effects of slaveholding on the minds of those engaged in it. No other occupation ever produced such extraordinary liberality.

It would be interesting to know to what class these men belong. Is it the practice of selling their own children which has produced this extraordinary effect? Or are these men amongst the slave buyers, who purchase them for no other purpose than to give them their freedom so soon as the means of sending them to Liberia can be found? Is it not strange indeed, that any man can be bold enough to make assertions so obviously at variance with truth? To whatsoever extent this transportation of slaves was carried, the slaveholders know that the price of those slaves which remained would be enhanced, and their condition embittered, by the removal of all hopes of liberty, so precious to the human soul. The free colored people being kept few and poor, will be prevented from rising, by fair competition, to the equal rank and honor to which that competition naturally conducts, when not marred in its progress by some such scheme as the American Colonization Society. No wonder that, with the exception of some who do not understand the plan, the planters are friendly to the colonization scheme. But the free people of color are opposed to this scheme. They have committed no crime, and do not like to be transported and suffer the highest penalty of the law next to death.

To whatever extent the United States expatriate their cotton cultivators, they destroy one of the chief sinews of their own prosperity, and increase the temptation to other States to renew the slave trade by fresh importations. The whole revenue of the United States, for thirty years to come, would be required to purchase the slaves, and to transport them and the free blacks to Africa. Such an idea as the extinction of slavery by means of the Colonization Society can never have been seriously contemplated. No ! *perpetuation*, and not *extinction of slavery*, is its object !

The first command ever given to man was—‘ Be fruitful and multiply.’ Who can doubt that it is for his interest to obey this and every other command of God? But in no case is it so manifest as when in a state of slavery. The value of men, as of every other commodity, is governed by their plenty or scarcity ; where they are so abundant that parishes are willing to pay the expenses of emigration to get rid of them, there must be an end of slavery. Every increase of numbers tends, whilst it is a proof of better treatment, to promote the mitigation and final

extinction of slavery ; and it must be admitted that the Americans evince this proof of better treatment.

The slaves in the United States have rapidly increased, and this increase has been highly beneficial to the cause of humanity. It is estimated that they have increased since 1808, (the time of both our and their abolition of the slave trade,) from 1,130,000 to 2,010,000, and they have more than trebled the growth of cotton since the peace of 1814, and have reduced its price to one third of what it then was, though the Brazils, with all their slave trading, have only added one fourth part to their growth of cotton in the same time. Hence it is plain, that if there has been any increase in the cotton cultivators of Brazils, few or no slaves can have been imported for its cultivation. May we not then say that the increase of the slave population of the United States has done more than all our enormous expenditure for the suppression of the African slave trade ?

It cannot but be interesting to thee to know what would have been the effect of a similar increase in the English West Indian slaves. Had they increased in the same proportion as those of the United States (since the abolition of the slave trade) their numbers would have been 728,317 more than they now are, which, if employed in the cultivation of sugar, would have been sufficient to have produced an increase of 240,000 tons annually, whilst all the slave trading of the Brazils and Cuba and the French colonies have only added 115,000 tons to their growth. Such an increase of sugar would have greatly reduced its price, and consequently the price of slaves, and thereby have destroyed the slave trade for the growth of sugar, as it has long since extinguished that for the cultivation of indigo, and more recently for the growth of cotton.

The disguise is now removing, and the real tendency of the Society is becoming apparent. A bill was reported to House of Delegates of Virginia, for sending the free blacks away by force ; but though this compulsory clause was rejected, it is added that several other motions were made, and decided by majorities which amply proved the determination of the House, to adopt some measure for the removal of the free blacks. These legislators admit that the free blacks will not leave the land without some sort of force ; which may either be absolute, or by rendering their situation absolutely intolerable.

Great injury has been done to the cause of negro emancipation by the encouragement which the agent of this most *diabolical* scheme has received from the sanction of thy name. The term diabolical is not too severe ; for never did Satan, with more success, transform himself into an angel of light, than in the gloss which has covered its deformities.

These persecuted free blacks view the whole plan with the abhorrence which is justly due it, and with which we should view a plan of general transportation from the land of our nativity. The slave-owners are its advocates and supporters. Surely the name of Clarkson will be withdrawn from the ranks of the oppressors, and will be found, as it has ever yet been, amongst the friends of the oppressed African race.

Let us repair the injury which has been done on both sides of the water by this unholy connection between slaveholders and philanthropists ; for since this scheme has been on foot, its deadening influence on the energies of the friends of humanity in the United States has been most manifest.

Let there no longer be any doubt which side is taken by the philanthropists of England. Let them declare their deep feeling of sympathy with these sorely persecuted and oppressed people ; and such an example will be followed in the U. States, where the friends of humanity will hasten to leave the ranks of the oppressors, and the cause of justice will again flourish.

May I particularly request thy attentive perusal of the following twenty pages, written by my friend Charles Stuart, one of the most devoted Christians I have ever known, and an unwearied advocate of the oppressed Africans.

I am, with great regard,

Thy sincere friend,

JAMES CROPPER.

## EXTRACTS.

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### I.

‘ Tell those who would paralyze your exertions in this righteous cause, by anticipations of danger, or considerations of national policy—that, whatever is *moral duty*, can never, ultimately, be a *political evil*—that to do *evil* that *good* may come—or to avoid good, *lest evil* should come, is as crooked a doctrine in Politics as it is in Divinity ; and if a Heathen could exclaim, ‘ *Fiat Justitia ruat Cælum,*’ well may the Christian adopt similar language, with his clearer views, and stronger confidence in the superintendence and protection of a Power as Omnipotent as Just !’—*Abolitionist’s Catechism.*

### II.

‘ Come forward, we beseech you, as men—and as christians ; temperately, but fearlessly—constitutionally, but **DECIDEDLY**—in the support of every legitimate measure for the utter abolition of a System which no prospect of private gain—no consideration of public advantage—no plea of political expediency—can sufficiently justify or excuse :—thus will you extend the blessings of liberty to Hundreds of Thousands of your fellow-creatures—hold up to an enlightened world a glorious and merciful example—and stand among the foremost in the defence of the violated rights of Human Nature.’—*Anti-Slavery Tract.*

### III.

‘ It is quite evident that our slave system will be abolished, and that its supporters will hereafter be regarded with the same public feelings, as he who was an advocate of the slave trade is now. How is it that legislators, or that public men, are so indifferent to their fame ? Who would now be willing that biography should record of him—**THIS MAN DEFENDED THE SLAVE TRADE ?** The time will come when the record, **THIS MAN OPPOSED THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY**—will occasion a great deduction from the public estimate of worth of character. When both these atrocities are abolished, and but for the page of history forgotten, that page will make a wide difference be-

tween those who aided the abolition, and those who obstructed it. The one will be ranked amongst the Howards that are departed, and the other amongst those who, in ignorance or in guilt, have employed their little day in inflicting misery upon mankind.'—*Dymond's Essays*.

## IV.

'I am for speedy, immediate abolition. I care not what caste, creed, or color, slavery may assume—I am for its total, its instant abolition. Whether it be personal or political, mental or corporeal, intellectual or spiritual, I am for its immediate abolition. I enter into no compromise with slavery ; I am for justice, in the name of humanity, and according to the law of the living God.'—*O'Connell*.

3  
SECOND

# ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

**BOARD OF MANAGERS**

OF THE

**NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,**

PRESENTED JANUARY 15, 1834.

—  
WITH AN APPENDIX.  
—

✓  
BOSTON:  
PRINTED BY GARRISON & KNAPP.

1834.

1877

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PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,  
AT ITS  
SECOND ANNUAL MEETING.

The second annual meeting of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society was held at Boylston Hall, on Wednesday evening, Jan. 15, 1834.

Rev. E. M. P. Wells, of Boston, one of the Vice-Presidents, took the chair.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Aaron Pickett of Reading, Mass.

The Rev. Aaron Pickett and Capt. Jonas Parker of Reading, and Mr. Benjamin Brierly of Amesbury, appeared as Delegates from their respective Anti-Slavery Societies, and their credentials were read by the President.

The Report of the Board of Managers was read by Samuel E. Sewall, Esq., Corresponding Secretary; and also highly interesting letters from the following gentlemen—Arnold Buffum, Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. Samuel J. May, Brooklyn, Ct.; John G. Whittier, Esq., Haverhill, Mass.; and Rev. Elam Smalley of Franklin, Mass.

Horace P. Wakefield, Esq. of Reading, moved that the Report be accepted and printed under the direction of the Board of Managers.

He congratulated the Society upon the extraordinary advancement which the sacred cause of emancipation had made under its auspices. It was still going right onward; and no power could make it retrograde or stationary, but that which caused the shadow on the dial-plate of Ahaz to go backwards, and the sun to stay its course in the heavens.

Mr. Garrison said he rose simply to second the motion for printing the Report—not to make a speech. Three years ago, he told the base plunderers of his species, in the slaveholding States, that they should hear him, of him, and from him, in a tone and with a frequency that should make them tremble. How faithful he had been in the performance of his pledge, let a quickened, an astonished, and a repenting nation testify.

The motion was unanimously adopted.

Rev. Mr. Phelps, of Boston, offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the condition of the slaves in the United States is such as to make a strong appeal to the sympathy and benevolence of every friend of God and man.

Sir, said Mr. Phelps, in offering this resolution, it is my design to discuss the question of the slave's *treatment*. In so doing, however, I wish to say

distinctly, at the outset, that I do not do it because I suppose the question of the guilt or innocence of slavery is one of treatment merely. It is often so regarded and so discussed. Multitudes seem to imagine that if the slave be kindly treated, his servitude is all very well—there is little or no harm—little or no guilt in it. And nothing more is needed, than to assure them that the slave is thus treated, and all their sympathies are lulled to sleep in a moment. This, however, is a mistaken view of the subject. The question of slavery—its guilt or innocence—is not one of treatment, kind or cruel. It is solely a question of PRINCIPLE, and I wish it to be so understood at the outset. What is it to me, Sir, whether a man robs me in a polite, genteel, gentlemanly way, or in a way somewhat more ruffian-like? That alters not the fact that I am robbed, and that the man who does this, is a robber. He is none the less a robber from the fact of his being a genteel, gentlemanly one. The question in such a case is solely a question of principle—the principle of the thing, not of the manner in which it is done.

Sir, I am not going into the whole question of the treatment of the slaves. I will only take a single item—that of *whipping*. And here it should be borne in mind distinctly, that there are no laws at the south to prevent the master from inflicting any degree of cruelty on his slave—death itself even not excepted—if there be no white person present to witness and testify to the fact. Here are some fifteen different modes of whipping the slaves :

1. What is called *Picketing*—i. e. laying the slave prostrate, tying each hand and foot to a stake drove in the ground, and then whipping him on the bare back. And the whip, sir, you understand, consists of a short stout stick, with a long loaded lash, so that when used by an expert hand, every blow flays the skin from the flesh. Other modes of whipping are these.

2. *Tying the hands under the knees*, in such a way that the slave cannot help himself, and then whipping him at pleasure.

3. *Tying the slave over a barrel*, or something of the kind. One person said he had himself been whipped in this way until the skin was flayed from the flesh, from the small of his back to his thighs, in such a way that he was unable to sit down for several days.

4. *Cobbing*, as it is called. The individual in this case is stretched naked over a barrel, or something of the kind, and the blows are inflicted with a broad paddle, made of hard wood, smooth and perforated with holes of about half an inch in diameter.—At each blow, *every hole raises a blister!*

5. *Catting*. Here the individual is stretched on a ladder, and whipped as before on the bare back, at the pleasure and caprice of the master. Then a cat is taken and her claws drawn down the back, and sometimes the torment is consummated by washing the flayed back down with *salt-water!*

6. Sometimes their feet are fastened to ring-bolts in the floor, and the hands fastened to something overhead. One individual told me he had seen

the walls in the flogging room, in a cotton mill, where slaves were flogged in this way, *all bespattered with blood!*

7. Whipping in the stocks.

8. Whipping with walnut switches, heated in the fire. One said he had known a woman in Maryland, tied up in this way, and whipped on her bare back.

9. Slaves are sometimes tied up by their wrists, free from the ground, the feet fastened together, a heavy pole thrust between the legs, so as to increase the weight upon the wrists, and then whipped, hanging in that position.

10. The slave is made to stand off the length of the whip, and receive any number of lashes the master chooses to inflict.

11. A slave, for some cause, offered to strike a white man, was seized, arms extended and lashed to a stick thus, (†) and then whipped at the corners of the streets in one of the Southern cities. The whipping was repeated for four or five successive days.

12. A slave, who was a husband and father, was made to strip his wife and daughter, and whip them.

13. On the sugar plantations, the overseer, on Monday morning, makes examination to see if the task for the preceding week be done. If not, he lays down the driver and whips him. Then gives him the whip, and orders him to 'go through the field'—i. e. whip the gang.—And he must do it. He refuses at his peril.

14. The women they sometimes put astride a wooden horse, or something fixed for the purpose, breast to breast, and then inflict the blow on the bare back—*on the bare back of women, Sir!*

15. The last mode I shall mention is '*whipping them on spikes.*' A piece of plank is taken, perforated with holes, and sharp wooden pins or spikes inserted therein. This is laid on the floor, the slave is made to stand on it with bare feet, his hands are lashed together over his head, and drawn up just so that he must either rest his whole weight on the sharp wooden pins, or relieve himself by bending his knees and resting his weight on his wrists. In this position he is whipped. In one instance, said my informer, (an intelligent colored preacher,) I have known a man whipped in this way, and left tied up and standing on the pins, *during the whole night!*

And this, Sir, is the comfort of the slaves! These are the beings who are so happy, and contented, and comfortable! Ay, and the half is not yet told. This is mere physical suffering. Their moral condition! Oh, Sir, I have not time to dwell upon it; but to think of two millions and more of immortal souls—two millions lying at our very door, famishing for the bread of life—and yet, such are the laws, we may not, must not, at our peril, give them a single bible—not a morsel of that bread of life eternal! Sir, is not their condition one that makes an appeal, a heart-rending appeal, to the sympathy and benevolence of every friend of God and man? Yes, sir, it does; and however it may for a time be unheeded, rely upon it, it will be

heeded ere long. It will be felt. Slumbering sympathy will be aroused. The scales will fall from off the eyes of American benevolence. And a tide of holy indignation will rise, and swell, and roll over this land, and sweep away every vestige of this accursed, abominable thing, and thus turn back from us the indignation and the judgments of a holy God.

Mr. Phelps's resolution was unanimously adopted.

Rev. Mr. Perry, of Mendon, offered the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That the immediate Emancipationist is the true friend of the Slaveholders, of the Slaves, and of his Country.

In supporting this resolution, Mr. Perry forcibly remarked—

In his providence God has a voice to man, which none can fail to hear and understand but those who close their ears and steel their hearts against it. And by his providence he has made a proclamation of the sinfulness of slavery: and with that proclamation before me, I hesitate not to consider every pretended defence of slavery from the Bible as a refuge of lies, which will not bide the day of coming retribution. To that proclamation I appeal.

Why, I ask, the sterility that marks some of the fairest and loveliest portions of this fair and lovely land? What is the meaning of arsenals, arms, and a standing army, in the midst of a peaceful population? Why the fear with which the planter opens his door in the morning, and the caution with which he closes it at night? Why those fears which lead him to lock the door of knowledge, and hide the key from his slave? that close even the book of God to his enquiring gaze? Why do men go armed with dirk and pistol? Why the midnight patrol? Why does the fond father, while absent from home, tremble when he thinks of his wife, and children around their own fireside? Why the midnight shriek and the midnight carnage, which have already disturbed the quiet of half our land? Why, sir, these are tokens of the curse which a holy God has written out against oppression. They are His call to immediate repentance. They are the foretaste of coming retribution. And with such a proclamation of the guilt of slavery, shall we stop to reason with those, who, with the Bible in their hands, would fain persuade us that God sanctions slavery? Sir, *slavery is a sin*; and close upon its heels is treading a fearful retribution. And is it not the part of a friend, to urge the slaveholder to break off that sin by immediate repentance, and thus avert that coming retribution?

Sir, the conscientious Abolitionist may bear the name of '*reckless incendiary*;' but while my soul retains the perceptions of right and wrong, I shall deem him the true, though rejected friend of the slaveholder.

Jehovah is a God who hateth oppression—He will not long be trifled with. For the nation and kingdom that will not serve Him shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted. God has long called us to *immediate repentance*; but we have sinned on, until as a nation our judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and our damnation slumbereth not. The dark cloud of God's vengeance is gathering over us. We have heard its distant rumblings, and seen the distant lightnings, and temporised and delayed repentance to a *more convenient time*. And now that cloud of wrath

hangs over our devoted land, and its thunders are breaking in upon our ears, and the lightnings of wrath are flashing around us. And soon, if we hold on in our guilt, it will *burst* upon our devoted heads, and sweep us away into forgetfulness with the guilty nations which have perished before us.

Mr. Perry's resolution was seconded by James C. Clorne, and adopted.

The Society adjourned to meet at such time as the managers might appoint.

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Pursuant to the adjournment, the Society met at the Temple, Tremont Street, on Monday evening, March 10, 1834.

Rev. E. M. P. Wells in the chair.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, of Salem.

Several appropriate hymns were sung with great taste and effect by a choir of colored children, under the direction of Miss Paul and the Misses Yates.

Mr. Garrison offered the following resolution, which was adopted :

*Resolved*, That the rapid progress which the anti-slavery cause has made within the last two years, is attributable to the divine blessing upon the humble exertions and limited means put forth in its behalf, and encourages the expectation that the day is not far distant when complete deliverance shall be given to that portion of our countrymen now groaning in bondage.

At the close of his speech, Mr. Garrison said—

While God sits upon the throne of the universe, neither the oppressed nor their advocates are authorized to despair. It becomes us to humble ourselves, to exalt his truth, and to glorify his name, at the wonders he has wrought in public sentiment, by the feeblest instruments and the most limited means, within a short period. Let us see, Sir, whether our cause has given us any evidences that it is of God. What have we had to contend against?

A profound and universal moral lethargy, excessive and criminal fear, and total ignorance—All the venomous prejudices cherished toward the people of color—An earnest and general desire for the expulsion of our colored population, operating through a powerful combination—the American Colonization Society—All the wealth of the country—All the intellectual strength of the country—All the great and popular men of the country—All the religious denominations in the country—The legislatures of more than half of the States.

What is now the prospect?

A few pens, a few periodicals, a few tracts, and a few limited agencies, have electrified the nation, and already stirred up a mighty host to plead and labor for the oppressed. Our cause is rapidly getting complete supremacy in New-England. It has received an accession of wealth, of talent, of piety, and of unconquerable zeal, that ensures its speedy triumph. The American Colonization Society, that Babel of prejudice and wickedness, has been overthrown, and upon its ruins has been erected the American Anti-Slavery Society.

In addition to that Society and our own, we have a large number of male and female anti-slavery societies in various parts of our land, which embrace the names of thousands who are pledged to the doctrine of immediate emancipation. These societies are multiplying with a rapidity which is truly astonishing. The glorious cause of Temperance has not been more signally prospered than our own. These are but faint and imperfect outlines of the progress which the truth of God, and the humanity of the gospel, have made within the last three years.

Professor Charles Follen of Cambridge, offered the following resolutions :

*Resolved*, That this Society has for its sole object the abolition of slavery in the United States, without any reference to local interests, political parties, or religious sects.

*Resolved*, That it is the object of this Society so to direct public sentiment as to induce the slaveholders to liberate their slaves of their own accord, and to persuade the slaves to abstain from violent means, awaiting patiently the result of the peaceable measures employed by their friends for the restoration of their rights.

These resolutions were sustained in a truly admirable manner by the mover, and unanimously adopted.

Rev. Mr. Grosvenor, of Salem, offered the following resolution, which he advocated in a powerful speech :

*Resolved*, That in view of the ignorance existing in New-England, on the subject of slavery, it is the duty of the ministers of Christ, of all denominations, to inform themselves in relation to its true character, and to use their exertions for its speedy and entire abolition, as the gospel of Jesus Christ shall direct them.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Rev. Mr. Grew, of Boston, submitted the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That the apathy which has so long prevailed, and which still prevails in this favored land, in respect to the affecting woes of our colored brethren, in consequence of withholding from them their inalienable rights, is entirely incompatible with all the principles of republicanism, of humanity, and of our holy religion.

The remarks of the reverend gentleman, in support of his resolution, were in the highest degree solemn and impressive.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Yates, it was

*Resolved*, That the principles and operations of the American Colonization Society are anti-scriptural and anti-republican ; and therefore ought to be execrated by every lover of his country, and friend of the human family.

On motion of Samuel E. Sewall, Esq. it was

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the juvenile choir, and the ladies who have conducted it, for their very acceptable services this evening.

Adjourned, *sine die*.

## REPORT.

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It is now two years since the New-England Anti-Slavery Society was formed. During that short period, many events, highly auspicious to the great cause of human rights in which it is engaged, have occurred. The success which has attended our society, and others that are engaged in the same benevolent enterprise, has been rapid far beyond our most sanguine expectations. A retrospect of the past year must, we think, satisfy every candid mind that this opinion is not erroneous.

The operations of the Society, during this period, have been very extensive, considering its limited means. A number of agents have been employed for various terms, in different parts of the country, who, we have every reason to believe, have been highly useful in diffusing correct opinions on the subject of slavery. Among these we mention Arnold Buffum, Oliver Johnson, and Orson S. Murray.

One of the Society's agents, Moses Hadley, was employed for some time in procuring subscribers to petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. He obtained, we believe, more than twenty-five hundred signatures. A general feeling appears to pervade the community that this abominable system ought to be expelled from the seat of our government. A large number of petitions, in addition to those obtained by the society's agent, it is supposed will be presented to Congress at its present session for the same object. We have, it is true, little hope that any decisive measure will be adopted by that body during the present year. But bringing the subject under discussion there, will place it fairly before the nation, and lead to a full expression of that public opinion which really exists, and will never be satisfied until slavery in the District is abolished.

During the past year, a number of lectures on the subject of slavery have been delivered in Boston before the Society and large audiences, by the Rev. Mr. Phelps, and an address by the Rev. Mr. May. These discourses were listened to with deep interest. Mr. Phelps's lectures have just been issued from the press. Professor Wright also had several public discussions with Mr. Finley, on the merits of the Colonization Society, which we believe had a beneficial influence on the public mind.

During the year the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, in connexion with the Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society of Boston, has commenced the formation of an Anti-Slavery Library, called the Wilberforce Library. A number of volumes have already been procured by donation and purchase. This institution will, it is believed, prove a powerful instrument in aid of our cause.

The most important measure of the Society during the year, was sending Mr. Garrison to England. The objects of this mission were to solicit aid for the Manual Labor School for Colored Children contemplated by the Society, and to expose the principles and measures of the Colonization Society. In both these objects, the mission has been abundantly successful. Funds to a considerable amount have, in consequence of Mr. Garrison's exertions, been collected for the school, since he left England. The whole amount to be expected from this source is not yet known, but it is supposed that two or three thousand dollars will be realized.

Mr. Garrison, by his public and private labors in England, succeeded in convincing almost all the leading abolitionists in that country, of the injustice and absurdity of the schemes of the Colonization Society. The Protest which he obtained signed by a number of distinguished abolitionists in Britain, deserves great attention in this country as the honest expression of opinion of able men, far removed from the prejudices which operate in the United States. One of the last acts of the long, unstained, and glorious life of the venerable Wilberforce, was putting his name to this protest. We mention this circumstance, because an attempt has been made to represent him as favoring the

Colonization Society, by publishing a letter of his to Elliott Cresson, which was written some time before, at a time when he had adopted favorable impressions in regard to the Society, which fuller information led him to reverse.

During the year, the Society has been deprived by death of its venerable and excellent President, John Kenrick, Esq. He was a man of great benevolence and integrity. He had for many years before his death taken an active part in the anti-slavery cause.

'In the year 1816, he published a small volume compiled by himself, entitled the "Horrors of Slavery." This work is in two parts, the first chiefly composed of extracts from the speeches of British statesmen; the second chiefly of extracts from American writers. It contains also an introduction and concluding remarks by the compiler. He printed 3000 copies of the work at his own expense, which he distributed chiefly among the members of Congress, and of the State Legislatures, and other persons in the Northern and Western States.'\*

He was a liberal benefactor of our Society, having given donations to it to the amount of six hundred dollars, including two hundred and fifty dollars to the Manual Labor School.

We trust that the example of this active and devoted philanthropist will animate the surviving members of our Society to renewed exertions in the glorious cause in which they are engaged.

The friends of the abolition of slavery in this country have been far more active during the past year than at any previous period, and are now, undoubtedly, more numerous and powerful than they ever have been. One of the strongest evidences of this fact, is the number of new anti-slavery societies that have been formed. The following are those, accounts of the formation of which have fallen under our notice.

MAINE.—Maine [Portland] Anti-Slavery Society; Bath do.; Waterville do.; Brunswick do.; Augusta do.; Hallowell do.; Portland Female do.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Plymouth do.

VERMONT.—Jamaica do.; Peacham do.; Cabot do.; Craftsbury do.; Waitsfield do.; Walden do.

MASSACHUSETTS.—Reading do.; Amherst College do.; Amesbury do.; Uxbridge do.; Lowell do.; Salem and Vicinity do.; Nantucket Colored

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\* From the Abolitionist.

do.; Boston Female do.; Reading Female do.; Amesbury Female do.; Boston Young Men's Anti-Slavery Association; Waltham Anti-Slavery Society.

RHODE ISLAND.—Providence do.; Pawtucket do.; Assonet do.

CONNECTICUT.—New Haven do.; Middletown do.; Plainfield and Vicinity do.; Pomfret do.

NEW YORK.—New York City do.; Oneida Institute do.; Rochester do.; Rochester Female do.; Hudson Female do.

PENNSYLVANIA.—Pittsburgh do.; Philadelphia Female do.

OHIO.—Vernon do.; New Garden do.; Medina do.; Western Reserve do.; Paint Valley do.; Lane Seminary do.

ILLINOIS.—Putnam County do.\*

In addition to these, the last year has been rendered memorable by the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society. This institution was formed by a Convention at Philadelphia under most favorable auspices. Its proceedings are already before the public. The Declaration signed by its members, which has been published, exhibits the holy resolution of martyrs. It is difficult to estimate the effect which this Society is to have on the great cause of abolition. The members of the Convention which formed it, coming from all parts of the country, and all devoted to the work on which they had entered, had their hopes animated and their zeal invigorated by the meeting. Most, we believe all, of those whom we have seen, regard it as one of the most delightful events of their lives. We believe that this Society is to have a permanent and powerful influence in our country, not only from the character of the men who have formed it, but also from the principles which they have embraced. The great truths that to hold slaves is a sin, and therefore that slavery ought immediately to be abolished, are the foundations on which the American Society rests. Founded upon these true principles, its success is certain. It commends itself to the hearts and the consciences of the people.

We have not yet alluded to the event, which, more than all others which have happened during the year, important as they are, is to hasten the abolition of American slavery—we mean the act abolishing slavery in the Colonies of the British empire. This glorious work, for which so many philanthropists have prayed and labored so long, is at last accomplished. It is true that there are great defects in the measure—that the full enjoy-

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\* Some of these Societies have been organized since the Report was read.

ment of the rights of the emancipated slaves is delayed to them for some years, and that the plan of apprenticing them is liable to serious objections. But after making all deductions, we must admit that a great end has been gained. Eight hundred thousand fellow men, who were slaves, have become freemen.

‘This event,’ we borrow the words of a recent publication,\* ‘is an era in the history of the British nation, to which its past records afford no parallel. When the memory of the bloody victories of Cressy and Agincourt, Blenheim and Waterloo, shall become dim in the lapse of ages, future generations of Britons will look back to the abolition of slavery as the brightest and most godlike act in the annals of their country. It is a triumph of the higher principles of our nature,—of justice and humanity, over selfishness, prejudice, and avarice.

‘The apparent apathy with which the news of an event so striking and momentous has been received in this country, would be surprising, if it were not that we had been prepared for the measure by slow and successive stages of information, so that long before the passage of the act was known, the result was considered certain.

‘The abolition of slavery in the British colonies, however, cannot be looked upon with unconcern in the United States. Though the restoration of their natural rights to eight hundred thousand men, however distant from us, is an event interesting on its own account, yet the effects which it is to produce in this and other slaveholding countries, are even more important. When the British king put his name to the statute for abolishing slavery in the colonies, he signed the death warrant of slavery throughout the civilized world.

‘In vain will slaveholders and their adherents attempt to resist the moral influence of Great Britain. The moral courage of the benevolent will be strengthened, the moral sensibility of the lukewarm will be roused, and the moral force of the great body of the people will be called into action, to exterminate at once and forever the system which has so long disgraced manhood and Christianity.’

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\* The Abolitionist for October, 1833.

Among the memorable proceedings of the last year must be ranked the persecution of a lady, Miss Prudence Crandall, for the heinous offence of keeping a school for colored females.

Miss Crandall, who had for some years kept a boarding school for young ladies in Canterbury, Connecticut, with considerable success, about a year ago determined to devote herself to the instruction of young ladies of color. Her intention having been announced, soon occasioned great excitement in the town. A town meeting was in consequence called, at which some violent proceedings took place, and resolutions denouncing the school were passed. Miss Crandall, having formed her plans deliberately, was not to be deterred from what she felt to be her duty, by any personal considerations. She established her school. Since that time, she has been subjected to a bitter persecution from the inhabitants of the town. They petitioned the legislature of the State, and through the influence of a leading man in the town, Andrew T. Judson, Esq., procured the passage of a statute in May last, making it a penal offence to establish any school for the instruction of colored persons not inhabitants of the State, or to instruct or board or harbor such persons coming into the State for the purpose of being instructed.

Miss Crandall, believing this law to be unconstitutional, as a violation of that clause of the constitution which gives the citizens of each state all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States, did not hesitate in the course which she ought to adopt, but persevered in continuing her school.

She was, in consequence, arrested for a violation of the law, carried before a justice of the peace, by whom she was committed to jail, to take her trial at the next session of the County Court. She was there confined in the same room which the murderer Watkins had occupied during the last days of his life.\* She was, however, only confined for one day, as bail was given

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\* There has been some dispute upon this subject. If our memory does not deceive us, Miss Crandall's friends having published that she had been confined in the same cell which Watkins had occupied, they were loudly accused of falsehood and misrepresentation. The fact, however, is as stated in the text, but it seems the persecutors of Miss Crandall think the apartment ought not to be called a *cell*. We confess ourselves unable to decide whether the room should be called a cell or not, but are ready to grant that the term is inappropriate, if that admission has any tendency to illustrate the humanity of her enemies.

for her the day after she was committed. At the ensuing session of the Court she was tried, but the jury did not agree.

She has since been indicted and convicted for a violation of the black law of Connecticut. And she and her younger sister have since been prosecuted for a further violation of the same law. From the judgment against her, she has appealed to a higher court. If the decision of the highest tribunal of the State should be finally against her, it is intended to carry the constitutional question before the Supreme Court of the United States. Whether free people of color are entitled to the protection of the constitution as citizens, is one of the most interesting and important questions, that has ever been agitated in the courts of law in our country, involving in its decision directly, the rights of three hundred thousand free people of color, and indirectly of more than two millions of slaves. That free people of color, born in the country, are citizens, would seem to us to admit of no dispute, had it not been doubted by respectable lawyers and judges in Connecticut.

In addition to the sufferings to which Miss Crandall has been exposed by these repeated prosecutions, she and her pupils have been subjected to numerous insults, injuries, and indignities from the petty malice of her neighbors. Her character has been traduced. Her property has been attacked and injured, her fences defaced, and her well filled up. She and her pupils have been denied admittance into the neighboring meeting house to attend public worship. For a time, all the traders in the place refused to sell any thing to her, so that she was compelled to send to a considerable distance for her necessary supplies. In short, every thing has been done to render the lives of herself and the inmates of her house uncomfortable.

Under all these disheartening circumstances, this lady has conducted herself with exemplary meekness, discretion, and fortitude. She has felt herself called on by Providence, to maintain the rights of the free people of color, and for this cause she has submitted unshrinkingly to the exposure of a public trial, imprisonment in a common jail, and all the other painful afflictions to which the malice of her enemies has exposed her.

The persecution of this lady, distressing as it must have been to herself and her friends, we regard as highly auspicious to the colored race. It has aided in bringing her school into notice. We are happy to state that this establishment is now in a very flourishing condition. She has, we are informed, about thirty pupils. This rapid success is probably to be ascribed in some degree to the persecution under which she has suffered. But this is not its only good effect. The infuriated proceedings of Canterbury, and of the legislature of Connecticut, have roused a general feeling of indignation, which must be beneficial to the colored race. The solemn decision of the Supreme Court of the United States upon the constitutional question to be submitted to it, must also aid the same cause. And the general discussion of the rights and privileges of the people of color, and of the prejudices against them, must, if any thing can, rouse the American people to a sense of the cruelty and injustice with which they have so long treated this unfortunate race.

The last year has exhibited a rapidly increasing interest in this country in the rights of the slaves and people of color. This interest is not only proved by the number of anti-slavery societies formed, but by many other circumstances. More has probably been written and published on this subject during the last year, than in double the time at any preceding period, except perhaps during the agitation of the Missouri question. Several newspapers and periodicals, devoted entirely to the abolition of slavery and other connected topics, have been carried on during the year; besides which many journals, chiefly occupied by other matter, have entered extensively into the discussion of these subjects.\*

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\* The following is an imperfect list of Newspapers and periodicals in the United States which advocate the cause of abolition:—Philanthropist, Brownsville, Pa.; Observer, Lowell, Mass.; State Journal, Montpelier, Vt.; Anti-Masonic Enquirer, Rochester, N. Y.; Working-man's Press, New-Bedford, Mass.; Rights of Man, Rochester, N. Y.; Free Press, Hallowell, Me.; Gazette, Haverhill, Mass.; Friend, Philadelphia, Pa.; Emancipator, New York City; Massachusetts Spy, Worcester, Mass.; Unionist, Brooklyn, Ct.; Record, Lynn, Mass.; Evangelist, New York City; Canonsburg Luminary, Pa.; New-England Telegraph, North Wrentham, Mass.; Genius of Universal Emancipation, Washington, D. C.; Christian Watchman, Boston, Mass.; Messenger, Printer's Retreat, Indiana; Liberator.

In addition to this, a number of separate works on the subject, of great merit and value, have recently appeared. Among them may be mentioned Paxton's Letters on Slavery, Wright's Sin of Slavery, Whittier's Justice and Expediency, Mrs. Child's Appeal, and Mr. Child's Speech.\* Without going into any critical examination of these works, it is sufficient to say that they are admirably adapted to promote the great cause which they advocate. These works, and other valuable publications on Slavery, both British and American, have been widely circulated during the year.

Other facts might be stated in proof of the assertion, that the situation of the colored race excites an increasing attention in our country. In Lyceums, Debating Societies, and other public meetings, the comparative merits of the Anti-Slavery and Colonization schemes, and other similar questions, have been frequently brought under discussion. Nor is this all. Slavery has become a frequent topic of conversation throughout the country. In taverns, stages, and steamboats, the subject is constantly introduced. A great variety of opinions has, of course, been expressed. But the result of this increasing discussion is, that men of intelligence and virtue are almost daily becoming converts to anti-slavery opinions, or are rapidly approaching them.

The sympathy which has been exhibited towards the free people of color, for the last few years, has led them to feel a greater respect for themselves, and has excited them to great exertions to elevate their condition. Within a very short period, they have formed associations for mutual improvement in Boston, New-York, and Philadelphia, and in other places. The indications of rapid moral and intellectual advancement among this class of our fellow-citizens are numerous and encouraging.

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Boston, Mass.; Palladium, Bethania, Pa.; Freeman, Greenfield, Mass.; Reporter, Watertown, N. Y.; Philanthropist, Providence, R. I.; Christian Secretary, Hartford, Ct.; We, the People, Plymouth, Mass.

\* Mr. Phelps's Lectures have been published since the Report was written. The Managers cordially recommend this work, as well as those mentioned above, for general circulation.

The progress of anti-slavery principles has recently been very fully attested by the clamor raised against them at the South. Not only have their newspapers complained of Northern abolitionists, but even some of their governors have condescended to attack them.

The Managers have stated a few facts to show how fast the principles of the Society are gaining ground. Many others might have been mentioned. But enough have been adduced to prove that the whole country is gradually awakening to the evils of slavery, and the necessity of a remedy. The secret of this change lies in the truth of the doctrines held by abolitionists.

We contend that man can have no rightful property in man. From this great principle, we draw the conclusion that every slave has an immediate right to his freedom. Since he has this right, it becomes the duty of every master at once to emancipate all his slaves, and of all legislatures to make all bondmen within their jurisdiction free.

To this doctrine of immediate emancipation, many objections have been urged. It is said that though the slaves have a right to be free, yet still their masters have a valuable property in them, of which it would be cruel to deprive them. This objection is inconsistent enough. For if the slaves have a right to freedom, their masters can have no right to deprive them of it. But the right of slaves to be free is so plain, that very few, except slaveholders, ever think of blaming a slave for running away when he has an opportunity. And a person who should reproach a slave for his wickedness in running away, supposing the slave beyond the reach of his master's power, would only be laughed at.

But it is urged that it would be dangerous in the extreme to let loose two millions of ignorant and degraded men to prey upon society ; that they are incapable of enjoying freedom, and require to be kept under guardianship like children and idiots.

The objection deserves to be examined a little in detail. It evidently concedes that the slave is entitled to all the privileges of a freeman, which he can enjoy consistently with the safety of society and his own good. Does he then enjoy all these privileges ? Is he only restrained with a view to the safety of society and his own good ?

Does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that families should be separated in sales, parents torn from children, and wives from husbands ? No, certainly not. No one will pretend that thus to rend asunder the sacred ties of blood and affection, can render society more secure, or the slaves more happy. On the contrary, is it not evident that these cruel separations are tolerated solely from regard to the interests of slave-owners ? Is it not manifest that by violating the family relations of the slave, you take away one of the strongest pledges of his obedience ?

Does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that it should be lawful for them to be sent by compulsion from one part of the country to another ? Will it be pretended that you have promoted the earthly comfort of the slave, by tearing him from the home of his love in Maryland, and sending him to perish in the cultivation of the cane on the pestilential banks of the Mississippi ? Can it be said that the safety of society is promoted by such a measure, when it is notorious that these transported slaves excite the greatest apprehension in their new abodes, by their violence, plots, and insurrections ? No. The internal slave-trade in this country, which, in its principles, is as nefarious, and in its practice nearly as atrocious, as the African slave-trade, is tolerated solely because it promotes the pecuniary interests of the masters of slaves in Virginia and the other slave States.

Does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that they should be bought and sold at all ? No, certainly not. It may be for the pecuniary interest of the slaveholder to be able to sell his slaves. But the slaves themselves would evidently be more quiet and contented, supposing them still to continue to labor without wages, if they could be transferred only with the estates to which they belong, and could not be compelled to labor anywhere else.

Does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that they should be deprived of all personal rights, should be denied the right to hold property, and to maintain actions for injuries done them ? No, certainly not. At first sight, it seems that to give the slaves a secure property in their hard earnings gained by hours of extra exertion, and to allow them to appeal to the laws for redress when their persons or property were vio-

lated, would tend to make them more happy and contented. We should not suppose that they would be more dissatisfied, because their reasons for dissatisfaction were diminished.

But it is contended, and not without some show of reason, that the moment any rights are conferred on the slaves, they will begin to understand how valuable are the rights from which they are still debarred, and will never be contented till they have gained them all. We perceive the full force of the argument ; but it leads us to a conclusion directly opposite to that of those who urge it. The uneasiness of the slaves would not arise from some rights being conceded to them, but from others being denied them. We should therefore say, remove all cause of dissatisfaction, by granting them all the rights of white men.

Again, does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that they should be liable to be flogged at the arbitrary discretion of their masters and overseers ? Again, we must answer, certainly not. The slaves would undoubtedly be much better satisfied, if they could only be punished by the order of a magistrate, after the hearing of the complaints against them. Perhaps it may be said, that if slaves could only be punished in this way, they would become indolent from not having the fear of a prompt application of the lash constantly before them. We are not prepared to admit that this would be the case, if all punishments were taken from the hands of the master ; but admit that it would be, it only shows that the pecuniary interests of the master would suffer from the change of system, not that society would be endangered by the excesses of the negroes, or that they themselves would be less contented.

Does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that they should be compelled to labor without wages ? It cannot be pretended that the community would be unfavorably affected by having the negroes paid for their labor, except so far as it might make labor more expensive. But it seems obvious that a change of this kind would render the slaves more satisfied with their situation, and less likely to violate the peace of the community.

Does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that to teach them to read and write should be made penal of-

fences ? No. It is not kindness to the slaves, it is not the safety of society, but love of slave property, and the safety of the slave system, which dictate the laws for this purpose.

Does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that their offences should be punished with far greater severity, than the same acts when committed by white persons ?—

But it is needless to pursue these inquiries. It would be easy to examine every part of the existing system of slavery in the same manner. What has been already said, however, is sufficient to show that the objections against each particular change are not, in truth, that such a change would endanger the peace of society, or prove really injurious to the slave himself, but that it might occasion a pecuniary loss to slave owners, or help to undermine the whole system. It must be obvious that the cruel laws and the oppressive practices engendered by slavery, are defended not from any tender regard for the slave, but from a determination of slaveholders not to suffer their property to be impaired. The whole system, so far from being intended to protect the slave, is constructed for the manifest purpose of perpetuating itself, and maintaining the privileges of slave owners, regardless of the rights and feelings of their unfortunate victims.

Let the advocates of slavery point out any important parts of their laws, which are made with a single eye to the good of the slaves ; show the benevolent statutes which consider these ignorant and helpless men as wards under the guardianship of kind friends. It is a base and heartless mockery of the names of justice and benevolence, to claim their countenance for Southern oppression. It is monstrous to contend, as slaveholders do, that because the slaves are not fit to enjoy all the privileges of enlightened and intelligent freemen, therefore, their bloody statutes and atrocious cruelties are justified. Can any one doubt, for a moment, that if the majority of southern planters had a sincere desire of making their slaves free, they could accomplish the work without any danger ?

But it is urged that notwithstanding no objection may be apparent to some particular changes in the system of slavery, yet if the whole system should be overthrown at once, terrible dis-

asters would inevitably ensue—the slaves, freed from their present restraints and having no new ones in their place, would run riot, refuse to labor, and subsist by plundering the peaceable citizens. Let us admit this objection in its full force, and what is the conclusion? that injustice, cruelty, and oppression, are to be tolerated and fostered forever, because their abandonment may produce temporary evils?

Perhaps we have paid the arguments of slaveholders more attention than they really merit; for any one, who considers the subject of emancipation candidly, must, we think, be satisfied that our opponents, like other men who are defending themselves against charges which they are ashamed of, put forth not the reasons which really influence their conduct, but those which seem to them most likely to strike their antagonists. Thus, while slaveholders defend their perseverance in the present system on the ground of humanity, and the fear of creating disturbance by a change, the animating motive to their conduct is, with most of them, a sense of their own interest.

When abolitionists call for immediate emancipation, they do not mean that legislation should at once abandon all caution and discretion in carrying the measure into effect. They are far from denying that any restraints may be imposed upon the newly emancipated slaves, which their own good or the safety of society may require. They are contending for a great principle, namely, that colored men have equal natural rights with white men. They would applaud any Southern State, which conscientiously regulated its laws by this principle, even if it accompanied the gift of liberty with temporary restrictions which they could not approve.

It is not to be disputed that when a large number of persons are enfranchised at once, new and peculiar legislation would be required by the emergency. Under such circumstances, a strict police, and prompt and efficient modes of compelling able bodied vagrants to work, would probably be necessary. It might also be advisable to exclude ignorant blacks from the elective franchise. Any disabilities, however, peculiar to people of color, should be temporary. Indeed, there seems great reason for thinking that though the new laws would, from their character,

apply chiefly to people of color, yet the laws themselves should make no distinction between the white and colored races. Thus, instead of enacting that no colored person should be allowed to vote, who could not read and write, it would be well to provide that no person should be allowed to vote, who could not read and write. So, instead of empowering magistrates under certain circumstances to compel able bodied colored vagrants to labor, it would be well to give magistrates this power over all vagrants. By this sort of legislation, while society would be protected against the misconduct of the newly emancipated slaves, the laws would not regard them as a distinct and degraded caste—every colored man would be, in the eye of the law, equal to a white man.

Though this is not the place to enter into the details of legislative plans, it ought never to be forgotten, that emancipation would be a very imperfect measure, if provision were not at the same time made for the intellectual, moral, and religious education of newly emancipated slaves.

The opposers of slavery are not so unreasonable as to suppose that its abolition is to work a miracle, and prevent the evils which inevitably spring from ignorance and degradation. The southern States cannot by any legislation escape entirely the visitation of calamities, which the oppression of a great part of their population is calculated to produce. But by a change of system, they may avoid the greatest evils which now impend over them—they may preserve themselves from insurrection and bloodshed, and by a general diffusion of education through every part of society, may, in the course of years, enjoy the blessing of being filled with industrious, enlightened, and moral freemen.

Some of our friends say, Why insist on *immediate* emancipation? Leave out that word, and many would join your ranks, who now consider you visionary enthusiasts. But take away that word, and you take out the soul of our cause. You deprive it of its moral life and energy. If, as it has already been remarked, to hold slaves be a sin—to emancipate them immediately is a duty. If we admit that it is right to emancipate slaves gradually, we admit that to hold them for a time in their present state is not sinful.

We say that their natural rights are violated when they are made property, subjected to the arbitrary will of others, and made to work without wages, and we must claim for them immediate emancipation, until we shall see clearly that the safety of society and the good of the slaves can only be established by continuing their fetters. We say to the advocates of slavery, it is not sufficient for you to assert, in general terms, that emancipation would destroy the south and injure the negroes ; but you must prove it clearly, fully, and beyond doubt, before you have made out your case. The humanity of our law will not allow an individual to be put under guardianship on the ground of insanity, without giving him an opportunity of being heard, and every presumption is in favor of his competency to act for himself. And yet the friends of slavery would condemn two millions of persons and their descendants to abject servitude, on the bare suggestion of their incompetency to take care of themselves,—a suggestion which all history contradicts.

We entreat the friends of human rights, for we cannot here enter into a detail of facts which would fill a volume—we intreat them to examine carefully the history of the abolition of slavery wherever it has taken place, in our Northern States, in Mexico, in Hayti, and we are satisfied that the more thoroughly they examine the facts, the more will they be convinced of the safety of immediate emancipation.

The argument which is most frequently and seriously urged against all attacks upon slavery from this quarter, is, that the citizens of the Northern States have no right to interfere with the Southern States—that slavery is their business—and no concern of ours.

This argument deserves a passing notice—not from its intrinsic difficulty, but from the warmth and confidence with which it is advanced, and the influence which it apparently has upon the minds of many conscientious persons.

The position which abolitionists in this country assume is not generally understood. They claim for the United States government the power of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, and the Territories, and of putting an end to the slave-trade between the States, as rights clearly vested in the govern-

ment by the Constitution.\* But they have never asserted or intimated, it is believed, that Congress had any power to abolish slavery in the Southern States, or to legislate respecting their slaves, except in regard to the slave-trade carried on between the States.

They do, however, claim the right to express their opinions on the subject of slavery in the Southern States, freely and openly, and to address to slaveholders every fair argument in regard to it, which they think calculated to produce in them a change of principles and practice. They claim the right to remonstrate and expostulate with slaveholders on their conduct, and to declare the criminality of owning or dealing in human flesh and blood.

This right of attempting to exert a moral influence upon our southern brethren, is claimed by abolitionists on many grounds. They are freemen, and the freedom of the press is guarantied to them by the constitution; and they consider the subject of slavery no more beyond the limits of legitimate discussion, than any other topic of legislation or morals. This right they would claim, even if the Southern States were occupied by foreign nations. They think there is no impropriety in discussing the law of primogeniture, or the benefit of a reformed parliament in

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\* The Constitution gives Congress the power 'to exercise exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever, over such district, (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States.' The jurisdiction of Congress over the District of Columbia, which was obtained for the seat of government under this provision, does not admit of dispute.

Congress has also power by the constitution, 'to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States.' The slave-trade carried on between the States, evidently falls within this provision. It is under this provision that Congress had power to prohibit the foreign slave-trade. The constitution in the next section declares that 'the migration or importation of such persons, as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by Congress, prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.' This is a declaration of the constitution that, without this exception, Congress under the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, would have had an immediate right to abolish the foreign slave-trade. The right to abolish the slave-trade between the States follows as clearly from the power to regulate commerce among the States.

The power of Congress over the territories is given in explicit language by the 3d Section of the third Article of the Constitution.

England. May they not discuss similar questions in relation to their own country ?

But many considerations occur which render exertions to put down slavery at the South by moral means, not merely a right, but a duty. The Northern States suffer directly from the existence of slavery at the South. The institution is the perpetual source of jealousy and irritation between the two sections of the country. No true harmony can subsist between them as long as it exists. If the Union is divided, slavery will be the cause of the rupture. The moral sensibility of the people of the North is constantly shocked by seeing runaway slaves, who have entered on their territories, carried back to the South : it would be still more wounded should they be called on to march to the South to quell an insurrection of the slaves, as they are liable to be under the Constitution. Besides all this, the moral principles of a large part of the citizens of the North in regard to slavery, are corrupted and impaired by the contagion of Southern example. Too many at the North apologize for slaveholding, forgetting that it is a sin, in language current at the South. Has not every one here a right to attempt to reform the morals of his fellow citizens ?

Not only is slavery at the South sustained by the moral influence of the North, but the riches of the North are the greatest supports of the system. When we consume the cotton, the tobacco, and the rice of the South, are we not contributing to maintain slavery ? If we and others did not purchase the productions of the planters, would they continue to raise them ? It is true, they sell a part of their productions to foreign nations, but as far as we purchase them, we support the slave system. The slave who cultivates the cotton which we wear, or the rice which we eat, works for us as really, as if we were his owners or overseers, and drove him to his daily toil.

It is not necessary, in this place, to adduce all the particular reasons which justify the exertions making to extend at the North, correct opinions in regard to slavery. The society justifies them on the broad ground of a common humanity. In whatever part of the globe we see men suffering from poverty, ignorance, or oppression, they are entitled to our sympathy and compassion,

and our duty to assist in improving their condition, is only limited by our means of usefulness.

Great good, it is believed, may be effected in the Southern States by the exertions of this and kindred Societies. It is therefore a duty to continue these exertions. A strong hostility to slavery is already growing up in some of the Southern States, among a large part of the white population. It would be increased by a powerful expression of opinion on the subject from the North. Nay, it is believed that if the great mass of the population at the North were to adopt Christian principles on the subject of slavery, and to assert them boldly, it would strike the fetters from the slaves as certainly, as if the Northern States had the power of legislating for the South. In a country like ours, enjoying throughout a common language, and frequent and rapid means of communication, moral principles spread like other opinions. Slavery exists at the South, because the North has adopted the low standard of Southern morality on the subject. Let the North correct its opinions, and the reform must extend to the South. We do great injustice to our Southern brethren, if we suppose that they will all be obstinately deaf to the appeals of justice and humanity. The consciences of many of them may be roused and their principles corrected, if a loud voice from the North should direct their attention to the subject of slavery. We do injustice to our religion in doubting its power, to convince men of the iniquity of holding their fellow men in bondage.

Suppose that the opinions of the Northern States should be changed, and that all the members of Congress from the Northern States, following the people, should be convinced that slaveholding is a sin, and that the slaves have a right to immediate freedom, and should express these convictions with the frequency and earnestness which would be almost unavoidable in such a case, could slavery, under these circumstances, continue for many years in the Southern States ?

It is, however, insisted that the measures of anti-slavery societies tend to produce disaffection and insurrections among the slaves. No one who has fairly examined the publications of these associations in this country will pretend that they have any

design to excite the slaves to outrage and violence : the utmost that can be charged against them is, that their course has a tendency to produce this effect.

It is not necessary to deny that the exertions of anti-slavery societies may have, in some degree, the tendency which is ascribed to them, and yet when the nature and amount of this tendency is considered, the objection deserves little attention.

Astronomy teaches us that every particle of matter in creation attracts every other particle. If we should assert that the fixed star Sirius not only tended, but did in fact, affect the motion of the earth in its orbit, no philosopher probably would dispute the truth of the assertion ; but yet this effect is so slight and inappreciable as never to be taken into account in astronomical calculations. So it is with anti-slavery movements, though their tendency to excite servile insurrections may be indisputable, yet this tendency is so unimportant that it ought to be entirely disregarded by any one who wishes to ascertain the efficient causes of the undeniable disaffection of the slave population.

Every thing that the slave sees or hears which leads him to compare his condition with that of a freeman, or to reflect upon his wrongs and sufferings, every thing which fans for a moment in his bosom the love of liberty, a flame which is never extinguished, has a tendency to excite disaffection and revolt. The very names of liberty and freedom, a statue of Washington, a fourth of July celebration, a history of the revolution, an account of the free schools of New England, the Bible—nay, the very west wind which braces his limbs, and invigorates his body,—may any one of them serve as a spark to kindle an unquenchable conflagration. But these good things are not to be blamed as the great causes of the mischief. No. It is in vain to deny it, the chief, the only important cause of the slaves violating the peace of society, is the oppression under which they are groaning. Plots and insurrections are its natural and inevitable results. They have frequently taken place in this country before anti-slavery Societies were formed, and they will still continue to take place until slavery is abolished, whether the subject is discussed at the North or not. It is most unjust to accuse anti-slavery Societies of being the causes of evils, which they merely

predict ; and endeavor to conceal the true causes—injustice and oppression.

The publications of these Societies are branded as incendiary, but publications which are ten-fold more inflammatory are freely circulated in the Southern States, with the approbation of their governments. If it is thought that pamphlets and newspapers in which slavery is attacked, on being read by slaves, (very few of whom, by the way, can read,) would excite them against their masters, one would suppose that the slave codes of Virginia and South Carolina, written, as they are, in blood, would drive them to acts of frenzy and desperation.

The Managers might say much more in vindication of the measures and principles of the Society, but to embrace every thing which the subject demands, would require volumes. They again congratulate their friends on the auspicious situation of the great cause in which they are engaged. They may be sure that Heaven smiles upon it, and that no exertion to promote it will be lost. The final success of truth and justice is certain. Every one who will devote himself to the object, can do something to promote its more speedy accomplishment.

## TREASURER'S REPORT.

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*New-England Anti-Slavery Society in account with James C. Odiorne, Treasurer.*

1833.	<i>Dr.</i>		
April.	To cash paid W. L. Garrison, for expenses in part of his mission to England	- -	\$380,00
Oct.	Cash paid sundry Agents	- - -	904,80
	Cash paid for printing	- - -	454,00
	Paid for use of Halls for public meetings	- - -	106,25
	Incidental expenses	- - -	47,57
Dec.	Balance on hand	- - -	266,21
			\$2158,83.

1833.	<i>Cr.</i>		
Jan.	By balance of last year's account	-	\$ 9,24
	Annual assessments from members	-	164,00
	Cash received to constitute Life Members	-	240,00
Feb.	Cash received of John Kenrick, Esq. towards Manual Labor School fund	- -	250,00
Dec.	Cash collected by Agents	- -	496,00
	Maine Anti-Slavery Society	- -	100,00
	Other Anti-Slavery Societies	- -	59,86
	Contributed at public meetings	- -	107,61
	Publications sold	- -	17,50
	Sundry small donations	- -	304,62
	Amount of a loan to the Society	- -	410,00
			\$2158,83

JAMES C. ORDIORNE, *Treasurer.*

*Boston, January 14, 1834.*

BOSTON, JANUARY 15, 1834.

I certify that I have examined the above account, and find it correct and properly vouched.

JOHN S. WILLIAMS, *Auditor.*

## APPENDIX.

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### MISSION TO ENGLAND.

*Extracts from Mr. Garrison's Report to the Board of Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.*

IN obedience to a resolution of the Board of Managers, passed March 7, 1833, I left New York in the packet ship *Hibernia*, Capt. Wilson, on the 1st of May ensuing, for Liverpool, and arrived at the latter port on the 22d of the same month.

Two great objects were embraced in the mission—first, the obtainment of funds for the establishment of a Manual Labor School for Colored Youth—and, secondly, an exposure of the real character of the American Colonization Society to the people of England. An incidental object was to gain the acquaintance and secure the correspondence of the leading philanthropists of that country, and to accumulate such anti-slavery periodicals and tracts as had been instrumentally blessed to the advancement of the great cause of human rights. Each of these objects was deemed of sufficient importance to authorize the mission; but, owing to the limited means of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, my private instructions from the Board forbade a protracted visit, unless I were successful in procuring funds for the School, or unless circumstances scarcely anticipated should seem to require delay.

The subject of the mission was agitated by the Board as early as November, 1832. Aware of their desire that I should appear as their representative in England, it was not until after the most extensive consultation among the friends of emancipation—the strictest personal examination—the most enlarged survey of the whole ground of duty—and the most earnest supplications for Divine guidance—that I felt willing to acquiesce in their decision. From the first moment that the enterprise was projected, it appeared to me not only desirable but imperative. A clear acquittal of the anti-slavery party in this country from blame, and a prompt discharge of duty toward that party in England, evidently demanded just such a mission. An agent of the American Colonization Society had been travelling nearly three years in its behalf, and by his misrepresentations had extensively succeeded in making the British public believe that its primary object was *the emancipation of all the slaves in the United States*. Hailing

it, therefore, as a grand ABOLITION SOCIETY, they had liberally contributed to its funds, and given its advocate the right hand of fellowship. To have permitted this deception to prevail, without making strenuous efforts to remove it, would have been a base connivance at dishonesty. Epistolary correspondence would not answer. The urgency of the case was such as to require something more than apocryphal and private testimony. A living agent, speaking by authority and clothed with official power, was needed to insure the triumph of TRUTH and HONESTY OVER FALSEHOOD and FRAUD.

But, although I was persuaded of the necessity of the mission, I came very slowly, nay, reluctantly to the conclusion, that it was my duty to embark for England and engage in this sacred strife. The task was a mighty one, and painfully and unfeignedly did I feel my incompetency to meet it. It was unpleasant, moreover, to engage in a contest which must assume, positively and unavoidably, an invidious and personal aspect. Humble as was the post which I filled, the thought of even a temporary abandonment of it filled me with disquietude. I desired to remain in the battle-field at home, where the peril was imminent, where blows fell fast, where personal exertions were so much needed, and where the movements of the enemy could be readily perceived and counteracted. But other considerations arose to outweigh these:—Either I must go, or the mission must be abandoned at least for a time, because no other person could be found willing to assume its responsibilities. Occurrences had conspired to identify me with the anti-slavery cause in the United States, and, consequently, my name and exertions had become more familiar to the leading abolitionists in England, than perhaps those of any other individual: this was a desirable and signal advantage. Moreover, no one was better acquainted with the principles, or had more narrowly watched the tendencies of the American Colonization Society, than myself; and as it was not a brilliant display of talent, but a simple exhibition of truth, which the mission exacted, I felt reconciled to a separation from my friends in the discharge of a high and solemn trust.

I have made these explanatory remarks, because justice to the Board and to myself seems to require them as proofs of the caution, deliberation, and wisdom, with which the mission was undertaken.

In a Report like the present, it will be difficult to shun the appearance of personal hostility and personal egotism. References to Mr. Elliott Cresson (the agent of the American Colonization Society) and myself must be frequent, but they shall be as dispassionate and unostentatious as practicable.

Agreeably to my instructions, on landing at Liverpool I called at the hospitable dwelling of JAMES CROPPER,—the distinguished friend of the human race,—but failed to see him, as he was then in London. His sons, however, received me with great cordiality, by whom I was introduced to several worthy friends of both sexes, all of whom hailed my visit as singularly providential. Having tarried in Liverpool three or four days, by their

advice I hastened to 'the capital city of mankind,' in order to lay my credentials before the Anti-Slavery Society, and to secure its advice and co-operation.

Before I proceed to state my reception in London, I wish to indulge in a brief but delightful episode.

Travellers have told us that in England, (and so throughout Europe,) the malignant prejudices which reign in this country against persons of a colored or black complexion, do not exist; or, if cherished at all, they are scarcely perceptible and practically inert. This assertion has never been denied, except by such of our countrymen as have remained always at home, and who, filled with these prejudices and deeming them incurable, are democratically and religiously persuaded that white men and black men never can and never ought to live together on terms of equality. For myself, I had three good reasons for believing the report; and these were drawn from our oppression of our colored population, and their consequent debasement and servitude. First; the wonderful-variety of shades which were observable in the complexions of that population proved that there was no mutual repugnance to *color* between the white and sable races: the amalgamation was voluntary and reciprocal. Second; every day brought me indubitable evidence that black people became offensive only as they became enlightened and independent: if they were servants or slaves, they found no difficulty in procuring seats in stage coaches, or in freely mingling with the passengers on board of steam-boats, or in serving at the tables of the fastidious and opulent. Persons seldom thought of disliking their complexion, or quarrelling with their presence, under such circumstances. But whenever they appeared in a handsome garb, in a dignified mien, as intelligent and wealthy citizens, they invariably excited the ridicule of their white contemnners, and were rudely thrust out from all the conveniences and privileges of society; the pretence for such treatment being found in their color. Third; as the African race had not been subjected to slavery in Europe, and as 'men naturally hate those whom they have injured,' I was not surprised to learn that colored persons were treated with as much courtesy in England, France, Spain, &c. &c. as the white inhabitants; any more than I am to perceive the haughty disdain with which they are treated by those in this land whose republicanism and christianity permit them to defraud and brutalize millions of these sable victims with impunity.

Still, powerful as are well-authenticated facts, their impression deepens upon the mind by a visible exemplification to the eye. Hence, although I was prepared, on my arrival in England, to see colored men on terms of equality with the whites, yet the novelty of the spectacle called up involuntary surprise, as well as pleasurable emotion.

On attending public worship in the Rev. Dr. Raffles' church, I was politely conducted to an eligible seat in the broad aisle. In a few moments afterward, by a singular, and certainly to me a very agreeable coincidence,

a colored man was bowed into the same pew with as much courtesy as I had been : next came a fashionably dressed lady and gentleman, and soon the pew was completely occupied. Ah ! thought I, what an anomaly is this ! how it would disturb and annoy a religious congregation in republican America !—But here I perceive no repugnance, no hostility, no pushing into a remote corner, persons of a sable complexion. Have the people in England no eyes ? Can they not discriminate between white and black ? Why do they not shrink from a juxta-position like this ? Where is that aristocratic refinement and despotic taste, of which the democracy of my native country vaunts itself ? Are they not aware that ‘causes exist, and are operating, to prevent the improvement and elevation’ of black men, to any considerable extent, as a class, in England,—‘causes which are fixed, not only beyond the control of the friends of humanity, but of any human power ?’ Do they not know that ‘Christianity cannot do for them here, what it will do for them in Africa ?’—that this is ‘an ordination of Providence, no more to be changed than the laws of Nature’ ? Thanks be to God, such barbarity finds no place in the hearts, such impiety dwells not on the lips, of this truly great and noble people. The black man has never been enslaved in England, and therefore the prejudice which arises, not from the color of the skin, but from the degradation of its victim, is not known. The services of the sanctuary seemed to acquire new interest—the spirit of the gospel to excel in amiability—and my soul to derive new strength. Here was demonstrative proof that no change of the skin, but only an end of slavery, is necessary to make the people of color in the United States respectable and happy.

Before I pass from this topic, I will anticipate the regular occurrence of similar incidents, by stating that in travelling in various parts of the kingdom, I found that colored persons were as readily admitted into the coaches as white persons ;—I met them in circles of refinement and gentility—at the tables of opulent and reputable individuals—on the platform in public meetings with the peers of the realm—as spectators in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords—arm-in-arm with gentlemen in the streets, &c. &c. Nay, while I was in London, a colored American (the Rev. NATHANIEL PAUL) was united in wedlock to a white lady of respectability, talent and piety. What an uproar such an occurrence would create in this country !—Even in Massachusetts, the marriage would by law be null and void, and the clergymen performing it would be fined £50 !

Indeed, so far from prejudice against a colored complexion abounding in England, I often found it extremely difficult to make our trans-atlantic brethren credit my statements, respecting the persecution to which the colored people were subjected in the United States, on account of their color. It seemed, by the surprise and incredulity which they manifested in their countenances, as if they suspected me of indulging in playful exaggeration, or of exploring the whole extent of their credulousness. All such statements were perfectly astounding and inexplicable to them, be-

cause they saw nothing, even remotely, to confirm them in England. When I told them that in the United States, even in those parts where actual slavery does not exist, and where learning, intelligence and piety stand pre-eminent, a black man is not permitted to occupy a pew on the floor of a meeting-house, or to travel in a coach, or to enjoy any cabin privileges in a steam-boat; astonished, they would inquire, 'Why?' My answer invariably was—'Because he is a *black* man.' This I thought would solve the enigma, but it seemed only to add to their perplexity; for they would with great simplicity ask, 'What of that?' Truly, it is no good reason whatever; and I was happy to confess it, and to unite with them in deploring and execrating that brutal prejudice which is so diametrically opposed to brotherly love, and to all the injunctions of our holy religion. But that love and that religion shall yet conquer it, not only in this country, but throughout the world!

Having spent four days in Liverpool, in a manner so agreeable as to make me deeply regret my inability to return to it again, I took a seat in one of the rail-road cars, and was almost *too* impetuously conveyed to Manchester. Tarrying only a few hours in that dense and bustling city, I went from thence in a coach directly to London, and soon had the happiness of surveying that august abode of the congregated humanity of the world.\*

As in duty bound, both by my instructions and my obligations of gratitude, I immediately called upon JAMES CROPPER, in Finsbury Circus, at whose hands I experienced the utmost hospitality and kindness, and from whose lips I received congratulations upon my arrival at the very crisis of the anti-slavery cause in England. He informed me that a large number of delegates, from various anti-slavery societies in the kingdom, were then in London, vigilantly watching the progress of the Abolition Bill through Parliament; that they took breakfast together every morning at the Guildhall Coffee House, and from thence adjourned to the anti-slavery rooms at No. 18, Aldermanbury, for the purpose of devising plans and discussing propositions for the accomplishment of their grand design; and that if I would attend, he would give me a general introduction.

My heart was full of gratitude to him for his kindness, and to God for ordering events in a manner so highly auspicious.

Accordingly, I was prompt in my attendance at the Coffee House the next morning. About sixty delegates were present, most of whom were members of the Society of Friends.† After the reading of a portion of

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\* As my object, in this Report, is to give as concise an account of my mission as will serve to develop its most important features, I shall purposely avoid all descriptions of the country, the habits of the people, &c. &c.

† It is remarkable that while the Friends in England have been the courageous pioneers, the undaunted standard-bearers, in the anti-slavery conflict, and have liberally expended their wealth, and given their time and talents, to achieve a victory more splendid than any yet recorded in the pages of history, those in this country, as a body, seem to have degenerated from their parent-stock, to have measurably lost their primitive spirit on the subject of slavery, and to have become ensnared by wicked prejudices, and by a cruel scheme to banish our colored population from their native to a foreign and barbarous land. There are many noble exceptions to this remark; and I am confident that ere long, the example of the Friends in England will stimulate the great mass of those who reside in this country to 'go and do likewise.'

the Scriptures, breakfast was served up, at the close of which Mr. Cropper rose and begged leave to introduce to the company, William Lloyd Garrison, the Agent of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, from America. He then briefly stated the object of my mission, and expressed a hope that I would be permitted, at a suitable opportunity, to lay my purposes more fully before them. This request was afterwards readily granted. They individually gave me a generous welcome, and evinced a deep interest to learn the state of public opinion in the United States, in relation to the subject of slavery and the merits of the American Colonization Society.

Having ascertained that Mr. Elliott Cresson, the Agent of that Society, was in London, I addressed the following letter to him :

*'To Mr. Elliott Cresson, Agent of the American Colonization Society.*

SIR—I affirm that the American Colonization Society, of which you are an Agent, is utterly corrupt and proscriptive in its principles ; that its tendency is to embarrass the freedom and diminish the happiness of the colored population of the United States ; and, consequently, that you are abusing the confidence and generosity of the philanthropists of Great Britain. As an American citizen, and the accredited Agent of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, I invite you to meet me in public debate in this city, to discuss the following

#### PROPOSITIONS.

1. The American Colonization Society was conceived, perfected, and is principally managed by those who retain a portion of their own countrymen as slaves and property.
2. Its avowed and exclusive object is, the colonization of the *free* people of color, in Africa, or *some other place*.
3. It is the active, inveterate, uncompromising enemy of immediate abolition, and deprecates the liberation of the slaves, except on condition of their being simultaneously transported to Africa.
4. It maintains that possessors of slaves, in the southern States, are not such from *choice* but *necessity* ; and that, of course, they are not, under present circumstances, blameworthy for holding millions of human beings in servile bondage.
5. Its tendency is, to increase the value of the slaves, to confirm the power of the oppressors, and to injure the free colored population, by whom it is held in abhorrence, wherever they possess liberty of speech and the means of intelligence.
6. It is influenced by fear, selfishness, and prejudice, and neither calls for any change of conduct on the part of the nation, nor has in itself any principle of reform.
7. Its mode of civilizing and christianizing Africa is preposterous and cruel, and calculated rather to retard than promote the moral and spiritual improvement of her benighted children.

These charges, Sir, are grave and vital. I dare you to attempt their refutation. Let them be taken up in their present order, and each discussed and decided upon separately. And may God prosper the right !

Yours, &c.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

18, Addle-street, Aldermanbury, June 4, 1833.'

It will be perceived that I made the strongest allegations against the Society, and, therefore, that if they were in the least degree untrue, they would completely ensure my defeat, and give Mr. Cresson the victory.

Here let me premise two things:

1st. Nothing but the official authority with which he was clothed, elevated him to the level of my notice. Aside from his connexion with the Society which he represented, no independent position assumed by him could have attracted my attention, or challenged my resistance.

2d. As he had pre-occupied the ground in England nearly three years, and made his statements *ex parte*, I was not strictly obligated to invite him to a public debate; but I chose to do so, in order to epitomize the controversy, as I felt confident that he would advance my objects faster than I could myself.

To prevent any miscarriage of my letter, I entrusted it to my esteemed friend Mr. JOSEPH PHILLIPS, by whom it was presented to Mr. Cresson, who, in the most offensive manner, refused to receive it from Mr. Phillips. It was then tendered to him by Mr. WILLIAM HORSENAIL, of Dover, but he declined taking it, stating that arrangements had been made with Dr. HODGKIN and JOSEPH T. PRICE for an interview with me. Afterwards, it was presented a third time by Mr. JEREMIAH BARRETT, and again rejected. Mr. Cresson was finally induced to receive it from the hands of Mr. Phillips, in the presence of Messrs. J. T. Price and Emanuel Cooper. His answer to it was as follows:

‘Elliott Cresson wishes W. L. Garrison informed, in reply to his letter of the 4th, and note of to-day, that having agreed to follow the course which J. T. Price and Dr. Hodgkin should recommend, as to a private or public discussion of the merits of the American Colonization Society, with reference to slavery in the U. S. and the slave trade in Africa—E. C. awaits their recommendation for the government of his conduct on the occasion.  
6 mo. 6, 1833.’

On the receipt of the above note, I immediately addressed the following to the gentlemen selected by Mr. Cresson to save him from a public overthrow:

‘London, June 7, 1833.

Messrs. Price and Hodgkin:

Gentlemen—I have received, this morning, a note from Mr. Elliott Cresson, acknowledging the receipt of my letter to him of the 4th instant; in which he informs me ‘that having agreed to follow the course which J. T. Price and Dr. Hodgkin should recommend as to a private or public discussion of the merits of the American Colonization Society, with reference to slavery in the United States and the slave trade in Africa, E. C. awaits their recommendation for the government of his conduct on the occasion.’

I wait to learn the course which you may recommend Mr. Cresson to adopt, as to my proposition to him for a public discussion. An answer this day, as so much time has already elapsed in this negotiation, will much oblige

Yours, respectfully,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.’

A copy of the following letter was sent to Mr. Cresson and myself—

‘Guy’s Hospital, 2 o’clock, 7 of 6 mo. 1833.

To Wm. Lloyd Garrison and Elliott Cresson:

In reply to your notes to us, we recommend, that with a view to the advantage of you both, and to the cause of humanity, an interview between

you, in the presence of a few friends impartially chosen, would be desirable in the *first* instance—open to a more public discussion, should it *then* be deemed proper; but that this need not impede either of you from taking your own measures for giving publicity to your views as to the best mode of assisting the blacks.

We are your friends,

THOMAS HODGKIN,  
JOSEPH T. PRICE.'

I rejected this proposal for a private interview with Mr. Cresson, for two reasons—first, I saw it was a mere *ruse* on the part of Mr. C. and his friend Dr. Hodgkin, to obviate the necessity of a public meeting; and secondly, my business was exclusively with the British people, and with Mr. Cresson in his public capacity as the Agent of the American Colonization Society.

Having thus fairly and earnestly invited Mr. Cresson, by letter, to defend the Society which he represented, and finding that he shrunk from the offer, I addressed a letter to him in the *London Times*, repeating the challenge; but he was too pusillanimous, or too wary, to accept of it.

On Monday and Tuesday evenings, June 10th and 11th, I gave two public lectures, explanatory of the principles and tendencies of the American Colonization Society, in the Rev. Mr. Price's Chapel in Devonshire Square, Bishopsgate-street, the use of which was generously granted to me without any charge. JAMES CROPPER, Esq. took the chair. The audience was select and most respectable. Mr. Cresson, with a few friends, was in attendance at the first lecture. On my accusing him of having misrepresented the object of the Society, in asserting that it aimed at the abolition of slavery—

'Mr. James Cropper, the Chairman, observed, that this was a grave charge to bring against a man, and as Elliott Cresson, the Agent, was present, he would call upon him to admit the charge or deny it, as he pleased. Did he ever make use of those words?

Mr. Cresson.—What words?

The Lecturer repeated them.

Mr. Cresson.—Undoubtedly it is most true, certainly.

The Chairman.—This is not a meeting for discussion; but I thought it fair that Elliott Cresson should be allowed to rebut the charge if he thought it false.

Mr. George Thompson.—I saw some placards advertising a meeting issued by Mr. Cresson, and headed, 'American Colonization Society, and the Abolition of Slavery.' (Hear, hear.)

The Lecturer here handed a pamphlet to the Chairman, who, on opening it, said—I mentioned that this meeting was not intended for a discussion between two parties; but I did wish to give the person accused—because the charges are very grave—an opportunity of saying "Yes," or "No." The introduction of this pamphlet is signed by Elliott Cresson, who states that "the great object of the Colonization Society is, the final and entire abolition of slavery, by providing for the best interests of the blacks, and establishing them on the coast of Africa," &c.

A Gentleman, who sat next to Mr. Cresson, rose and said, I think this is calculated to cause a discussion.

The Chairman.—I wish, when a charge is fairly brought against an individual, to give him an opportunity of denying it, if he can. (Hear.) We want discussion; we are anxious for discussion; because we believe until that Society is put down, there will be no progress made towards the abolition of slavery in the United States. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, if Elliott Cresson wishes for discussion, we will have a meeting for that purpose, and we will hear what he has to say. (Hear.)’ \*

It was very proper, on the part of my esteemed friend, Mr. CROPPER, to give Mr. CRESSON an opportunity to deny the truth of my assertion, if he could. The following extract from Mr. Cresson’s Introduction to the report of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, for 1831, which was widely circulated in England, will show how grossly he attempted to impose upon the generous confidence of the British nation :

‘The great objects of that Society were, THE FINAL AND ENTIRE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, providing for the best interests of the blacks, by establishing them in independence upon the coast of Africa, thus constituting them the protectors of the unfortunate native against the inhuman ravages of the slaver, and seeking, through them, to spread the lights of civilization and christianity among the fifty millions who inhabit those dark regions.’

As the proceedings of these meetings have been minutely laid before the public, through the medium of the *Liberator*, it is deemed unnecessary to swell this Report by their insertion. I beg leave, however, to introduce a few quotations from the eloquent speeches which were delivered on that occasion by GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. and the Rev. Mr. PRICE. Mr. Thompson remarked—

‘I was one of those persons who was deceived by the accredited Agent of the American Colonization Society; for I wrote to him, and put the question frequently as to the object of that institution, and he declared to me again and again that it was abolition. (Hear.) He also calumniated Mr. Garrison to me, and gave me such an account of him, that he made me regard him as a pest of society. There is another amiable individual whose character he injured, I mean Captain Charles Stuart; but I have discovered that his description of both these excellent men is foul slander; and step by step I have been convinced that the plan is bad; that the means used to carry it into operation are dishonest; and that the supporters of the Society, in this country at least, have been deceived. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Garrison has fully demonstrated the fiend-like design of the American Colonization Society. He has shown that its object is not the civilization of Africa—not the humanization of her wild inhabitants—but the annihilation of that connecting link between the free and enslaved population of the United States, which is constituted by the free people of color, lest, happily, the electric shock of freedom should be conveyed to the two millions of their wretched slaves; and, from the condition of brutes, they should spring up into the loftiness and dignity of immortal beings. (Applause.) What is the pretext of the Colonization Society for the course it is pursuing? It is, that there exists a prejudice too strong for humanity, legislation, and religion, to overcome. And shall this doctrine be preached in England, from whose shores a Morrison went forth to grapple single-

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\* From the Report of the meeting in the *London Patriot* of June 19, 1833.

handed with the prejudices of China? Shall this doctrine be preached to the people of England, who sent forth a Henry Martyn, freighted with their prayers and their blessings, to wage war with the prejudice of India? Shall this doctrine be preached in England, who has her missionaries amongst the cannibals of New Zealand and the Caffres of South Africa? No. It may be cherished by miscreant Americans, but can never be received by a Christian-minded Briton. (Applause.) It is an impious doctrine. It is opposed to that faith which removes mountains. It defies the omnipotence of God. It libels that everlasting gospel which is to triumph over all the prejudices and superstitions of men, and all the abominations that defile the earth. If the influence which is now exerted to banish the men of color from America, were directed with equal energy, in a Christian spirit, to grapple with this prejudice, who is there who does not believe that Heaven would smile upon and bless such an effort? and, in seventeen years, instead of having to show a small colony on the coast of Africa, which, when described by its most partial friends, is contemptible in comparison with what might be achieved at home, they might point to prejudice and slavery expiring together, and call upon us to hail the dawning of a day of jubilee for two millions of slaves. (Cheers.)

The Rev. T. PRICE (an eminent Baptist clergyman of London) said—

‘It devolves upon me to state a negotiation which has been carried on, during the course of this meeting, and which I do in the presence of the gentleman who, on the part of Mr. Cresson, has conducted it, and who will correct my representation, if it be inaccurate in any point. I received, soon after I entered this place, the following communication from Mr. Cresson:—

‘Elliott Cresson presents his respects to the Rev. — Price, with his thanks for the offer made after E. C. left the chapel last evening, in order that he may be fairly and fully heard in defence of himself and the American Colonization Society. E. C. proposes the evening of the 14th inst., provided it meets the convenience of the Rev. Mr. Price.

6th mo. 11, 1833.’

I requested to see the gentleman who brought the communication, and asked, whether Mr. Cresson referred to a discussion on Friday evening, or wished to deliver a lecture by himself? I was told that he did not contemplate a discussion, but wished to deliver a lecture, as Mr. Garrison had done. I at once stated, in reply, that I could not give the loan of my place for any such purpose. I should consider that whatever influence was associated with my name, as the minister of this place, amongst my own people, would in that case have been prostituted; for I am now constrained, by overwhelming evidence, to regard the Society as a most anti-christian scheme. At the same time, I told the gentleman that the place was at the service of Mr. Cresson and Mr. Garrison, for a discussion on any evening of any day that they may fix. I inquired of the gentleman, whether Mr. Cresson could be communicated with, during the course of the lecture? He replied in the affirmative, and said that he would convey to him my opinion, and would bring back his reply. He had just returned, and has informed me that Mr. Cresson thinks it proper not to accept the offer on the terms proposed, but thinks that he ought to have it for the purpose of delivering an exposition of his own case. Now, with my present views of the Colonization Society, I could no more grant the use of this place for the delivery of a lecture advocating its interests, than I could for the publication of any other views, or the advocacy of any other system, however reprehensible it might be. I should have been happy, in past times, to have seen any discussion, in this place, between an advocate for abolition and an advocate of the West Indian system; but I would never

have given the use of the place for the delivery of a lecture by a *pro-slavery* man. On the same principle, I feel constrained to refuse its use for the delivery of a lecture by Mr. Cresson, who has declined it for a discussion. If my statement be not correct, the gentleman who has conducted the negotiation will state to the meeting any point in which I am inaccurate.

The Gentleman referred to, said the statement was perfectly correct.

The Rev. T. PRICE resumed. I think the meeting should be distinctly informed on this point, in order that there may be no misapprehension in future. Before I sit down, I would submit for your adoption a resolution. I should not do justice to my own feelings, and to the conviction of my judgment, if I did not propose something of this sort. I have admitted, with extreme reluctance, the convictions which at present possess my mind. There was a time, when I regarded the Colonization Society with feelings of admiration, and with thankfulness to God. I esteemed it as the dawn of better days for the sons of Africa. I beheld it as the germ of a system more comprehensive than itself, which should embrace not merely one portion of the American colored population, but whose ample fold should enclose all the section of the family of Africa included in the United States. Subsequent examination has served to satisfy my mind, that the system is based on an unrighteous and detestable principle, and that in its proceedings, and in the influence which it exerts upon all classes of American society, whether white, or black, or colored, it must indicate by its fruits the nature of its origin, and must add strongly to the amount of that sorrow which sin has created in our world. I formerly wrote on behalf of the Society, but I shall now feel bound to employ all my energies in opposition to it. I am sorry to observe that in the present number of the *Baptist Magazine* there has been some communication inserted from Mr. Cresson. I shall feel bound, as a member of that denomination, to put a paper in the next number, correcting, as far as I am able, its numerous misrepresentations (cheers.) The resolution which I have to propose is this:

*Resolved*, That this meeting, having attentively listened to the statements of Mr. Garrison, in support of his propositions, is of opinion that he has fully established their truth by evidence drawn from the Reports and other publications of the American Colonization Society; and therefore most earnestly entreats all the friends of civil and religious liberty to withhold their sanction and assistance from the said Society.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.'

Defeated in his efforts to secure the confidence and approval of the English philanthropists, in relation to the American Colonization Society, Mr. Cresson now artfully exerted himself to organize a British Colonization Society which should co-operate, indirectly at least, with his darling association. For this purpose, he held a secret meeting with a few individuals, none of whom had ever acted with the abolition party; the result of which was, the calling of a public meeting at Freemason Tavern, over which, it was ostentatiously announced, his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex would preside. At this time, I was on a visit to Mr. WILBERFORCE, at Bath, a distance of about 100 miles from London. The following note from my watchful friend, CHARLES STUART, Esq. first apprised me that my presence was needed in the city:

'MY DEAR GARRISON:

If engaged at all seriously, so as to render returning to town imme-

diately *unadvisable*, do not come. But if not so engaged, *do* come up *immediately*, as, in such case, there is occasion for your presence.

Ever yours affectionately,

London, Wednesday, June 19.

C. STUART.'

Having completed my interviews with Mr. WILBERFORCE, I immediately returned to London, and arrived there on the morning of the day which had been announced for the meeting. Punctual to the hour, I went to the meeting, accompanied by my friends Capt. STUART, JOSEPH PHILLIPS, WILLIAM HUME, Esq. of Dublin, and other gentlemen, expecting to find a large audience. Mr. Cresson and six or eight of his friends constituted the whole company in attendance, excepting those who went with me!—The Duke of Sussex was absent, and Mr. Cresson therefore moved that the meeting be adjourned!

As soon as I ascertained that, pursuant to adjournment, another meeting was to be held, I immediately transmitted the following letter to the Duke of Sussex:

*To His Grace the Duke of Sussex:* MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE—

I perceive by the Times of yesterday morning, that you are expected to preside at a meeting which is to be held at the Hanover Square Rooms, on Wednesday next, the 3d of July, the object of which is to give currency to the scheme of the American Colonization Society. I am sure that your Lordship is actuated by pure and benevolent motives, in thus consenting to occupy the chair on the occasion above alluded to; and just as sure that, if you can be satisfied that the Agent of that Society is imposing not only upon your generous confidence, but upon the British community, you will give no countenance to the proposed meeting. I affirm that Mr. Elliott Cresson is a deceiver; I have challenged him, in private and public, (vide the 'Times' of this morning,) to meet me before a British assembly, in order to vindicate his own cause, and the Society of which he is the Agent. I further affirm that the American Colonization Society is corrupt in its principles, proscriptive in its measures, and the worst enemy of the free colored and slave population of the United States; and as an American citizen—as the accredited Agent of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, I hold myself in readiness to convince your Lordship of the truth of these charges, from the official documents of the American Colonization Society, if your Lordship will grant me the privilege of conferring with you a single hour between the receipt of this letter and Wednesday evening. As an individual whose life is dedicated to the cause of negro emancipation in the United States, and who has suffered much in its prosecution; and as the representative of the abolitionists of that country, I beseech your Lordship to grant me a private interview; or, at least, to make some further inquiries into the merits of the African Colonization enterprise, before you appear publicly in its support. Permit me to recommend T. F. Buxton, Z. Macaulay, and James Cropper, (who rank among the best friends of the colored race,) as gentlemen who will satisfy you of my official character, and of the design and tendency of the American Colonization Society. I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Grace's obd't serv't,

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

18, Aldermanbury, June 28, 1834.

To the above letter, no answer was returned.

Notwithstanding the indefatigable efforts which were made to collect a large assembly on this occasion, not more than one hundred and twenty persons were present, one third of whom were on the platform by special invitation, and another third were abolitionists, opposed to the object of the meeting. Let it be remembered that this was the *third* attempt to get up a meeting for the formation of a British Colonization Society; and, although the Duke of Sussex and Lord Bexley were present, yet out of a population of a million and a half, only 120 individuals were in attendance!! It was a total failure; and the attempt in this country, by the friends of African Colonization, to magnify its importance, is in the highest degree ludicrous. It was addressed, at some length, by Mr. Cresson, who was forced to declare (as did every other speaker) that it had no connection whatever with the American Colonization Society, neither approving nor disapproving of its principles and measures. The Duke of Sussex, Lord Bexley, J. S. Buckingham, Esq., Lieut. Rosenberg, and T. Crawford, Esq. also addressed the meeting in favor of a British Society. In opposition to the project, the venerable and eminent philanthropist, ZACHARY MACAULAY, GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. and Capt. CHARLES STUART, spoke in the most impressive and eloquent manner. The tone of the discussion was vehement, and even boisterous, but only a partial hearing was given to the abolitionists. I endeavored to show, by a simple statement of facts, that it was a delusion to think of suppressing the foreign slave trade by means of colonies on the African coast, while slavery—or, in other words, the market for slaves—was suffered to exist in any part of the world. T. Crawford, Esq. having offered a resolution, to the effect, that a Society be formed under the name of the British African Colonization Society, for the purpose of abolishing the slave trade, and diffusing the benefits of civilization and religion among the natives of Africa—George Thompson, Esq. proposed an amendment—to wit, that there was no necessity for forming such a Society. On dividing the assembly, there were against the amendment 33—for it, 26—majority against it, 7!!—The original resolution was then put and carried—and thus ended the farce. Had a very trifling effort been made, a thousand abolitionists could have been mustered on the occasion, in a few hours, to crush the proceedings of the meeting.

Here it is pertinent to remark, that, with a single exception, not an abolitionist was seen on the platform, or gave any countenance to the project. The real friends of African freedom and civilization received no invitations to attend the meeting. Mr. Buxton, Mr. Cropper, Mr. Macaulay, Mr. O'Connell, and all the other distinguished champions of the colored race, were overlooked by Mr. Cresson: he was associated with another party, and surrounded himself with other men, who cherished the feeblest desires for the abolition of colonial slavery.

In order to counteract, and effectually nullify, this impudent attempt to impose upon the credulity of the British nation, and also to terminate the controversy on the merits of the American Colonization Society, a public

meeting was held at Exeter Hall on the 13th of July, at which two thousand persons were present. Never was a more highly respectable assembly convened in London. JAMES CROPPER, Esq. took the chair. The proceedings of that memorable meeting have been extensively spread before the American people, and therefore it is unnecessary to insert them here. To that noble patriot DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq. and to GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., Rev. NATHANIEL PAUL, of Wilberforce Settlement in Upper Canada, J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Esq., J. C. EVANS, Esq., and the Chairman, I am under heavy obligations for the powerful support which they rendered me on that occasion. Their speeches, reported in full, are before the public.

Previous to the meeting, I transmitted the following epistolary invitation to the Duke of Sussex:

18, ALDERMANBURY, July 13, 1833.

*May it please your Royal Highness:*

The enclosed Circular and Ticket will inform you that a meeting is to be held to-morrow, at 12 o'clock, at Exeter Hall, for the purpose of exposing the real character and object of the American Colonization Society. Although your Royal Highness generously declared, at the meeting in the Hanover Square Rooms, that you regarded the Agent of that Society as a gentleman who was above attack; yet, with the utmost deference to the opinion of your Royal Highness, it is possible that he may not be impeccable. Many great and good men, who, a few months since, were captivated by his fanciful and false statements, are now led, by a careful investigation of the subject, to regard him as a public deceiver. Surely, there is no one more disposed to weigh evidence and examine facts than your Royal Highness; especially in a case so momentous as the present. If your Royal Highness could make it convenient to honor the meeting to-morrow with your presence, I should not only regard the act as exceedingly magnanimous, but it would unquestionably be a source of sincere pleasure to the auditors.

In my note of the 29th ultimo, I addressed your Royal Highness by the title of 'Your Grace.' As the error, though trivial in itself, might seem to imply intentional disrespect, I must here apologize for the same. An American citizen, in Europe, is ever liable to err, through ignorance, in the application of hereditary titles, as they do not obtain in his own country.

I am confident that your Royal Highness will most cheerfully pardon the blunder.

With sentiments of the highest respect for the benevolence and goodness of your character, I am Your Obed't Serv't,

(Signed) WM. LLOYD GARRISON,  
*Representative of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.*

To this letter, also, no answer was returned, and therefore I am under no special obligations to the courtesy of royalty.

On the 19th of June, it was my privilege to be introduced to the venerable WILBERFORCE in Bath. He gave me a very gracious reception, as did also his excellent lady and son. I spent about three hours in his company, during which time his cautious and active mind was very inquisitive on the subject of slavery in the United States, and particularly in reference to the American Colonization Society. I endeavored to communicate, as briefly and clearly as possible, all the prominent facts relating to our great

controversy. In expressing to him the grief which was felt by American abolitionists, and particularly by our free colored population, in seeing the name of WILBERFORCE enrolled among the friends of the Colonization Society, he said that his commendation of the enterprise had been restricted to the colony at Liberia; that, relying upon the information which Mr. Cresson had given him respecting the flourishing condition of that colony, he had been induced to believe that it was aiding essentially in the civilization of benighted Africa; that he never regarded the Society as providing a remedy for slavery; that he viewed with abhorrence the doctrine of the Society, denying the practicability of elevating the colored race in the United States to an equality with the whites; and that he had repeatedly contested that wicked position with Mr. Cresson, and told him that he considered it fundamentally false and unchristian. He expressed much anxiety to learn how far Mr. Cresson had made use of his name to give currency to the Society, and desired his son to write down the following queries as he dictated them:

‘1. How far has Mr. Elliott Cresson made use of Mr. Wilberforce’s name? Has he merely stated that Mr. Wilberforce approved of the *colony* as calculated to benefit *Africa*; or has he said that Mr. Wilberforce approves of the *principle* of the SOCIETY—namely, that the blacks ought to be removed *for the advantage of America, as well as for their own*?’

2. Did Mr. Cresson (aware that it must be considered as the fundamental principle of the American Colonization Society, that there is a difficulty, amounting to a moral impossibility, in the blacks and whites living together in prosperity and harmony, as members of the same free community) make it clear to those to whom he professed to state Mr. Wilberforce’s sentiments, that the two classes MIGHT AND OUGHT TO LIVE TOGETHER, as one mutually connected and happy society?

3. Has Mr. Elliott Cresson made it publicly known in England, that the American Colonization Society has declared that it considers that *colonization* ought to be a *sine qua non* of *emancipation*?’

These queries were given to me to make such use of them as I might think proper.

At his urgent solicitation, I visited him the next morning, and sat down with him and his family to breakfast, which was served up in patriarchal simplicity. After an interview of about five hours,—too delightful and too important ever to be forgotten by me,—I bade him farewell, expressing my fervent wishes for a long continuance of his valuable life, and my hope to meet him in that world of glory, where change, and decay, and separation, are unknown. I impressed upon his mind, tenderly and solemnly, the importance of his bearing public testimony against the American Colonization Society, if he was satisfied that its claims to the confidence and patronage of the British nation were preposterous and illusory; especially as he was constantly quoted as the friend and advocate of the Society. ‘I offer you,’ I said, ‘no documents or pamphlets in opposition to the Society, upon which to form an opinion of its true character. Here are its Fifteenth and Sixteenth Reports: the former contains an elaborate defence of the Society

by its managers, which, in my opinion, is alone sufficient to seal its destiny. Read it at your leisure, and, judging the Society out of its own mouth, let your verdict be given to the world.'

Immediately after the meeting at Exeter Hall, I rode to Ipswich to see THOMAS CLARKSON, accompanied by my esteemed friend, the Rev. NATHANIEL PAUL. Here it is proper to state in what manner the mind of this venerable philanthropist became so strongly impressed in favor of the Colonization Society and of Liberia. It happens that the individual, who, of all others in England, exerts the most influence over Clarkson's mind, is the main pillar of Mr. Cresson's support—namely, RICHARD DYKES ALEXANDER, a wealthy and respectable member of the Society of Friends. As Clarkson has entirely lost his sight, this gentleman reads and answers many of his letters, and is emphatically his mouth-piece. He has therefore acquired a powerful control over the judgment, and secured the entire confidence of Clarkson. Mr. Cresson succeeded most effectually in duping Alexander, and Alexander in misleading Clarkson. Care was taken, both by Mr. Alexander and Mrs. Clarkson, to read chiefly to the sightless philanthropist, those statements which served to represent the Colonization Society and Liberia in glowing colors, and to place their opposers in a disgraceful attitude. Under these circumstances, little authority or value ought to be attached to his opinions in favor of the Society and its colony.

On arriving at Ipswich, we found that we could easily gain access to Clarkson, only through the medium of Alexander—of him whose mind we knew was strongly prejudiced against us both, in consequence of the flagrant misrepresentations of Mr. Cresson. But we did not hesitate to call upon him, and state the object of our visit to Ipswich. He treated us politely; and as Clarkson resided at Playford Hall, a distance of two or three miles from the town, he offered to postpone another engagement which he had made, and accompany us in his carriage.

The retreat, chosen by the aged friend of the colored race in which to spend his few remaining years on earth, we found to be very beautiful. On alighting at his door, Mr. Paul and myself, at the request of Mr. Alexander, strolled about the serpentine paths of the park, while he went in to ascertain whether Clarkson's health would permit an interview at that time—as, a few days before, he had injured one of his legs severely against the shaft of his carriage. In about twenty minutes we were called into the house, and were met by Clarkson totteringlly supported by Mr. Alexander. His mind was evidently full of distress: my own was deeply affected, almost beyond the utterance of words. In taking me by the hand, he observed—'I cannot see your face—I have now wholly lost my sight—but ———' and here his emotion overpowered his feelings—'I believe I have lost it in a good cause.' My introductory remarks were few and simple. A burden of gratitude for his noble services in the cause of bleeding humanity, and of sympathy for his present affecting condition, pressed mightily upon my soul, which I earnestly desired to throw off by the power of

speech ; but, lest it might seem like premeditated flattery and artful condolence, I was awed into silence.

He immediately began on the subject of colonization ; and, with a vividness of memory which surprised me, minutely stated the substance of all his conversations with Mr. Cresson from their first interview, and the circumstances which had led him to give his sanction to the Colonization Society. He had never regarded that Society as capable, in itself, of effecting the abolition of slavery in the United States, but only as an auxiliary to its abolition. Did he suppose that compulsion, either directly or indirectly, was used to effect the removal of the free people of color and such as were liberated from bondage, he should deprecate the measure as unspeakably cruel and wicked. Finding that his approval of the Society was regarded with grief by many of his dearest friends, in whose opinions he could not unite as to its evil character,—and in order to obtain that repose of mind which his bodily infirmities imperiously demanded,—he had resolved to occupy neutral ground, and did not wish to be ranked on either side of the controversy. He saw no reason to change his decision.

Having listened to him with becoming deference, I spared no pains to correct the erroneous views which he had formed—beginning with the origin of the Society, and tracing it through all its ramifications ; explaining its direful tendencies to corrupt the public mind, obscure the moral vision of the people, inflame their prejudices, deceive their hopes, and sear their consciences—and to perpetuate, by pruning, an overgrown system of oppression. I showed him that it was cruel mockery to say that the persecuted and oppressed exiles to Liberia had gone with their own consent, cheerfully and voluntarily ; that the doctrines of the Society were abhorrent and impious ; that it was the enemy not merely of the colored race, but of all genuine abolitionists ; that good men who had taken it upon trust, on ascertaining its real purposes, were abandoning it in crowds, and using mighty exertions to overthrow it ; and that all its doctrines, measures, and designs, were evil, and only evil continually. I also endeavored to convince him that he did not occupy neutral ground, but that he was every where, both in England and in the United States, regarded as the unfaltering friend of the Society ; and that, until he publicly requested to be considered as neither approving nor opposing the Society, he could not possibly be neutral in this great controversy.

The Rev. Mr. Paul also appealed to him in the most solemn and pathetic manner, and stated in what light the Society was universally regarded by his colored brethren, and in what manner it was operating to their injury. His disclosures seemed powerfully to agonize the mind of the venerable man, and sincerely did we pity him.

After an interview of about four hours, we took our leave of him, lamenting that he should still feel it to be his duty to occupy what he considered neutral ground.\*

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\* A more minute account of Mr. Garrison's visit to Wilberforce and Clarkson will appear in the *Liberator*.

A short time after this visit, I unexpectedly received, to my exceeding joy, from a distinguished member of Parliament, duplicate copies of the Protest against the American Colonization Society, signed by WILBERFORCE and eleven of the most distinguished abolitionists in Great Britain, which has fallen like a thunderbolt upon the Society, and riven it in twain. In getting up this Protest, I had no agency whatever. It was altogether unexpected by me; but to obtain it was alone worth a trip across the Atlantic.

Having now effectually succeeded in routing Mr. Cresson and crushing his darling scheme; having obtained the acquaintance and secured the friendship of the leading friends of the colored race; having received, from various sources, large quantities of anti-slavery publications for gratuitous distribution in the United States; and having been advised to postpone any pecuniary appeals at that juncture, in consequence of the feverish state of the public mind in relation to the emancipation of the slaves in the British colonies, but assured of liberal assistance on the termination of the anti-slavery struggle in England; I deemed my presence no longer needed, and accordingly took passage in the ship Hannibal, Capt. Hebard, at London, and arrived at New-York on the 2d of October, having been absent precisely five months from the time of my embarkation.

# SPEECHES

DELIVERED AT THE

ANTI-COLONIZATION MEETING,

IN

EXETER HALL, LONDON,

JULY 13, 1833,

BY

JAMES CROPPER, ESQ., WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, REV. NATHANIEL PAUL,  
DANIEL O'CONNELL, ESQ. M. P., MR. BUCKINGHAM, M. P., MR. HUNT,  
REV. MR. ABRAHAMS, GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ. &c. &c.

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BOSTON :  
PRINTED BY GARRISON & KNAPP.

1833.

## PREFACE.

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The following speeches which were delivered at the great meeting held in Exeter Hall, London, and which have caused so much excitement among the colonization crusaders, and their backers the mobocracy, were all taken down by a skilful and accomplished reporter, expressly for publication in this country. So far from being ashamed of my language on that memorable occasion, I gave *eighty dollars* for a full report of all that was then uttered by myself and others, in order that I might faithfully present it to the public on my return. I wish neither to modify nor retract a single sentence. To that fearless and eloquent champion of liberty,—that first of Irish patriots,—**DANIEL O'CONNELL**, Esq., the colored population of this country and their advocates are under heavy obligations for his masterly vindication of their cause, his terrible castigation of American slavery, and his withering satire upon the colonization 'humbug' at this meeting.

Now let the enemies of freedom foam and rage!—But the secret of their malice lies in the triumphant success of my mission. Had I failed to vanquish the agent of the American Colonization Society, or to open the eyes of British philanthropists to its naked deformity, there would have been no excitement on my return. These sensitive republicans, who are so jealous of the reputation of their country, be it remembered, are the most sturdy upholders of the slave system, and the most ardent sticklers for the banishment of our free colored population to the African coast. They esteem it no disgrace to debase, lacerate, plunder and kidnap two millions of slaves, and tread upon the necks of half a million free colored citizens; but it is foul slander, in their impartial judgment, to declare before a British audience that such conduct is in the highest degree hypocritical and tyrannical. But their iniquity is not done in a corner, nor can it be hid under a bushel. 'Where there is shame, there may in time be virtue.' I have already crimsoned their cheeks with the bitter consciousness of their guilt; and through their shame I will never despair of seeing them brought to repentance. It is idle for them to bluster and threaten—they will find out, by and by, that I am storm-proof.

If I had outraged common sense and common decency, by throwing all the guilt of our oppression upon the British government; if I had dealt in the wretched cant, that slavery was an evil entailed upon us by the mother country; if I had been as dishonest, as hypocritical, and as pusillanimous as the agent of the American Colonization Society; if I had extolled that kind of philanthropy which calls for the banishment of every man, woman and child, whose skin is 'not colored like my own'; if I had asserted that the stealers of human beings in the southern States were kind, liberal and paternal in their treatment of their victims, and anxious to abolish slavery;—in short, if I had sacrificed conscience, honesty and truth upon the altar of falsehood and prejudice; why, then the reputation of the United States would have been pure and spotless in the eyes of the English nation, and I should have received the applause, instead of the malediction of a senseless mob! But I was neither knave nor fool enough to do any such thing. I spoke the truth, in the love of the truth—the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. I freely acknowledged the guilt, the awful guilt of this boasted land of liberty, in holding one sixth part of its immense population in servile chains; and besought the sympathy of the friends of bleeding humanity in England, in behalf of our afflicted slaves. Nor did I fail to tear the mask from the brow of the American Colonization Society, so that it might be feared and loathed as a monster of cruelty, violence and blood. For this cause the wicked have drawn out the sword, and have bent their bow, to cast down the poor and needy, and to slay such as be of upright conversation. Their sword shall enter into their own heart, and their bow shall be broken.'

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

*Boston, November, 1833.*

## MEETING IN EXETER HALL,

### L O N D O N .

A public meeting was held at Exeter Hall, Strand, on Saturday, July 13, 1833, for the purpose of exposing the real character and objects of the American Colonization Society. JAMES CROPPER, Esq. in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN commenced the business by remarking :—

The object of the present meeting is to give an exposition of the real character and design of the American Colonization Society. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, the representative of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, will address the meeting, and furnish it with information on the subject. He is a man very highly recommended and esteemed by the respectable part of the community in his own country, and is devoting the whole of his time to the great object of effecting the emancipation of the American slaves.

It is probably well known to the majority of the meeting, that an agent of the American Colonization Society has been collecting money in this country, which money he has obtained by declaring that its great object was THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY—the ultimate extinction of Slavery in the United States, and the civilization of Africa.

Now, notwithstanding these misrepresentations have been exposed, within a very short period, a meeting has been held by this individual, in which he has had the countenance of one of the blood royal ; and it therefore becomes necessary to take a more public method of exposing the fallacy of his statements.

The American Colonization Society was avowedly established with the single object of colonizing the free people of color in Africa, or such other place as Congress might direct. It is, therefore, not confined in sending them to Africa, in order that they may civilize those regions, (and with their own consent, as it proposed to do,) but, on the contrary, they are to be sent to such other place as Congress may direct. Nor is its object the abolition of slavery ; for Mr. Randolph, in a speech which he delivered at its formation, said—‘So far from being connected with the abolition of slavery, it would prove one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property.’

Now, those who are acquainted with the nature of slavery, know that it can exist only where men are scarce, and where land is plen-

tiful. As the population of any country multiplies, it will be utterly impossible to continue slavery. It is not necessary for me to state here, that, in this country, even if the law permitted it, slavery could not exist. We know that in many cases, parishes in this country are paying considerable sums, in order to send away the population. Now, if the people are of no saleable value, but, on the contrary, the country will give sums of money to get quit of them, slavery cannot exist. An increase of slave population, or any article of general consumption, will lessen its value ; and in the case of slaves, it will depreciate them till they are worth nothing.

It was, therefore, in the contemplation of the arrival of this state of things in America, that the slave-owners there became alarmed. They saw the rapid increase of the American slave population ; they saw that in South America, the same circumstance was producing the effect which the beneficent Creator intended it should—namely, that it should bring slavery to its natural death ; and they perceived that a similar result would be brought about in North America. But to prevent the beneficent ordination of Heaven from taking effect, (and which some of the speakers connected with the Colonization Society, have called ‘a deplorable catastrophe,’) to prevent the emancipation of the slaves, and their consequent incorporation with the general body of the community, the impious contrivers of the Colonization scheme had brought their plans into operation, and, in the language of one of the Society’s distinguished supporters, they have ‘*opened a drain to take off the excess of increase beyond the occasion of profitable employment.*’ What can this language mean ? To take from a country a hundredth part of its population, because they cannot find them profitable employment, would be perfectly ridiculous. It is quite true, that they cannot find profitable employment for their slaves ; but it is equally true, that if they were increased a hundred fold, they would find profitable employment for themselves as free men.

It is known to most persons present, that the enactments against emancipation, and against every sort of instruction and improvement of the slaves, are more severe in the United States than in any other country whatever. And what, I would ask, has the Ameri-

can Colonization Society done to remove these laws? Nothing, *nothing* whatever! To talk about civilizing Africa, *while they do not attempt to improve the condition of the slaves at home*, is a perfect absurdity. If they had ever intended to effect the emancipation of the slaves, they would have led the way by preparing them for the enjoyment of freedom.

In Louisiana, the punishment of death is annexed to the attempt to instruct and improve the slave population. (Hear, hear.) Are these the people, who are looking to emancipation as their ultimate object? Far from it!

Let us see the effect which the Society has produced. In the year 1790, there were 59,000 free blacks in America. Emancipation was then going on with considerable rapidity, and feelings were cherished then, similar to those entertained in South America, and various other places; so that in 1810, the number had augmented to 186,000. Had emancipation got on in the same ratio, the ensuing 20 years, there ought to have been 584,000 free blacks; but when the census of 1830 was made up, we found the number to be only 319,000; and, consequently, owing to some change of feeling in America, there are 265,000 negroes now left in slavery, who would otherwise have been set free. Now it is a singular fact, that during the last 20 years, the American Colonization Society has been in operation.

So far from the Society having endeavored to remove the prejudice which exists against the free people of color, it has done every thing it could to strengthen it; for it has said that nothing could cure it—that even religion itself could not overcome it. We may therefore reasonably say, that instead of its pursuing the objects it is represented to have in view,—instead of its seeking the abolition of slavery,—it has been a very important means of holding 265,000 of our fellow beings in bondage, who might otherwise have been free.

The Chairman concluded by reading the following letter from THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, Esq. to Mr. GARRISON, apologizing for his absence:

54, DEVONSHIRE-STREET, July 12, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—I must trouble you with a line to excuse my non-appearance at the meeting to-morrow. The fact is, critical as has been the state of our great question often before, perhaps never was it so critical as now. My mind is intensely occupied, and every moment of my time so full, that I should be sacrificing my duty to this paramount object if I allowed anything else, however pressing and interesting, to divert me from it at this, the crisis of its fate. But you know my complete unity in the objects of your meeting, to which I most cordially wish all success. My views of the Colonization Society you are aware of. They do not fall far short of those expressed by my friend Mr. Cropper, when he termed its objects *diabolical*. Nor will you doubt my concurrence in the efforts of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, or any *Anti-Slavery* Society in the world.

Wishing you, therefore, all success, and entreating you to tell your countrymen, on your return, that we in England are all for the *Anti-Slavery*, not for the *Colonization* people, I am, my dear sir, with real esteem,  
Yours respectfully, T. F. BUXTON.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. in announcing Mr. GARRISON to the meeting, said—Will you permit me to say that Mr. GARRISON is the accredited Agent of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, an infant association formed for the entire extinction of slavery throughout the United States? He is a delegate from that Society to England, for the purpose of holding communication with the leading abolitionists of our own country. It is hoped that when we have witnessed the extinction of the last figment of slavery in our own Colonies, England will not be reluctant in co-operating with the inhabitants of America in promoting the great cause of universal emancipation.

Mr. GARRISON then stood forward, and was received with loud applause. He spoke as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN—It is long since I sacrificed all my national, complexional and local prejudices upon the altar of Christian love, and, breaking down the narrow boundaries of a selfish patriotism, inscribed upon my banner this motto:—*My country is the world; my countrymen are all mankind.* (Cheers.) It is true, in a geographical sense, I am now in a foreign territory; but still it is a part of my country. I am in the midst of strangers; but still surrounded by my countrymen. There must be limits to civil governments and national domains. There must be names to distinguish the natural divisions of the earth, and the dwellers thereon. There must be varieties in the form, color, stature, and condition of mankind. All these may exist, not only without injury, but with the highest possible advantage. But whenever they are made the boundaries of human disinterestedness, friendship, sympathy, honor, patriotism and love, they are as execrable and destructive, as, otherwise, they are beautiful and preservative.

Nowhere, I am certain, will a more united response be given to these sentiments, than in this Hall, and by those who are assembled on the present occasion. (Hear.) What exclamation have you put into the mouth of the African captive, kneeling in his chains with his face turned imploringly heavenward? It is this—the most touching, the most irresistible: ‘AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER?’ Yes! though black as murky night—though born on a distant shore—though degraded, miserable and enslaved—though ranked among the beasts of the field—still, ‘A MAN AND A BROTHER!’ (Cheers.) Noblest device of humanity!—Wherever, in all time, a human being pines in personal thralldom, the tones of that talismanic appeal uttered by him shall be swiftly borne by the winds of heaven over the whole earth, and stir up the humane, the brave, the honorable, the good, for his rescue; for the strife of freedom is no longer local, but blows are now struck for the redemption of the world. And glorious is the prospect before us. Wherever we turn our eyes, we see the earth quaking, and hear thun-

ders uttering their voices. The GENIUS OF EMANCIPATION is visible in every clime, and at its trumpet-call the dead slaves of all nations are starting into life, shaking off the dust of the tomb, and presenting an immortal beauty through the power of a mighty resurrection. (Applause.)

Sir, I have crossed the Atlantic on an errand of mercy, to plead for perishing millions, and to discharge, in behalf of the abolitionists of the United States, a high moral obligation which is due to the British public. It would neither be modest nor proper for me, on this occasion, to make a parade of the sacrifices of time, of money, of health, or of labor, I have made—nor of the perils I have risked, or the persecution encountered, or the sufferings endured, since I first stood forth as the advocate of my enslaved countrymen,—not to banish them from their native land, nor to contend for their emancipation by a slow, imperceptible process, ‘half way between *now* and *never*,’—but to demand their instant emancipation, and their recognition as brethren and countrymen. (Cheers.) I shall make no such lachrymal display of my losses and crosses in this holy cause; although, perhaps, I could give as long a list, and summon as many witnesses, and present as strong claims upon your sympathy and regard, as the agent of the American negro shippers in this country; for I know that in all things I come short, and I pour contempt upon all that I have endured for righteousness’ sake. Whatever may have been the trials and dangers experienced by that agent, they are such only as attend a *popular* cause. His friends and supporters in the United States are as numerous as the oppressors and despisers of the colored population—constituting the great, the wealthy, the powerful, as well as the inferior classes. When he shall have stood forth, almost single-handed, for a series of years, against and in the midst of a nation of oppressors, and been branded with every epithet that malice could invent or ingenuity apply, and incarcerated in the cell of a prison, and had large rewards offered for his destruction by private combinations and legislative bodies, for his advocacy of the cause of negro emancipation; he may then, I think you will all agree, with far greater propriety urge his claims upon your sympathy, than while he is receiving the puffs and compliments of a great and popular party in his own country. I cherish not the least personal animosity toward that gentleman. I am sure that I can heartily forgive him as often as he wrongs me.

Sorry am I for his own sake—sorry for the sake of the cause of truth—that the health of Mr. Cresson, according to his own statement, disqualifies him from meeting me in a public discussion of the principles and operations of his darling scheme, although it enables him to hold *ex parte* meetings in favor of that scheme, *ad libitum*; nay, more—he can even take the

lead publicly in the formation of a British Colonization Society, and make a long speech, (although it is declared that it has no connexion with the American Colonization Society,) at the very moment he assigns his utter physical inability as a reason why he cannot hold a discussion with me, or with my gifted and eloquent friend, George Thompson, Esq. (Hear, hear!) He has my best wishes for the complete restoration of his health.

Mr. Cresson says he deprecates an angry discussion. So do I. Whichsoever of the disputants loses his temper, he will certainly be the sufferer. He has not been called by me to an angry discussion, but to a candid, maganimous and calm discussion.

Mr. Cresson is constantly descanting, in the most lugubrious and pathetic manner, both publicly and privately, respecting the persecution and abuse which he has received in almost every part of England. In one of his speeches at Edinburgh, he declared that ‘when he should be restored to his own country, he should reflect that in Scotland he found kindness, and in Scotland ONLY.’ And is this, Mr. Chairman, his return for the kind hospitality and the liberal assistance which have been extended to him by the people of England? Having fed at their tables, secured their confidence, and obtained their money, is the end of his career to be marked by the addition of insult to injury? (Hear!) He has published to the world the invidious charge that ‘in Scotland ONLY,’ has he found kindness; but dare he venture again into Scotland? Is he willing to return to Edinburgh, and once more test the kindness of its enlightened inhabitants? I make him an offer—I will go with him to that beautiful city, and, although he has the advantage over me by a pre-occupancy of the ground, if in one week I do not secure ten supporters to his one, I will instantly leave this country. But no—he will not return: his *health*, if no other cause, will keep him in exile from his Edinburgh friends!

Sir, who are Elliott Cresson’s persecutors? Against whom has he brought the charge of bearing malice in their hearts toward him? Sure I am that the mention of their names will excite the smiles of this assembly. Excite their *smiles*, did I say? Let me rather say, their strongest indignation! He who has given the noblest proofs of his devotion to the cause of negro emancipation—whose time, and talents, and wealth, are all consecrated to the destruction of slavery—who is conferring upon this meeting the honor of presiding as chairman—JAMES CROPPER is one of Mr. Cresson’s persecutors! (Cheers.) And who does Mr. Cresson next brand with the epithet *persecutor*? That most eminent and most venerable philanthropist, whose merits transcend the language of eulogy—ZACHARY MACAULAY is a persecutor! Whose name comes next on his criminal calendar? A name that cannot die—a

name around which cluster the best associations of philanthropy and true greatness—THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON! And Mr. Cresson, on the principles which govern his conduct, may now rank among his persecutors another noble spirit, whose fame is as widely diffused as the air of heaven,—WILLIAM WILBERFORCE; for he regards the doctrines and operations of the American Colonization Society as corrupt, proscriptive and disastrous. (Cheers.) I had a long and delightful interview with him, a few days since, at Bath; and he assured me that, although from the glowing representations which had been made to him respecting the flourishing condition of Liberia, he had been led to express his gratification at its success; yet he repeatedly told Mr. Cresson that he could hold no fellowship with that unchristian principle of the American Colonization Society which seemed to be a fundamental one—namely, that the whites and blacks could never live on terms of amity and equality in the United States.

I hold in my hand a paper, containing some queries which were dictated by Mr. WILBERFORCE, and taken down by his son in my presence, to which he wishes distinct replies. These I will read, by your permission:

‘1. How far has Mr Elliott Cresson made use of Mr Wilberforce’s name? Has he merely stated that Mr Wilberforce approved of the *colony* as calculated to benefit *Africa*; or has he said that Mr Wilberforce approves of the *principle* of the SOCIETY—namely, that the blacks ought to be removed for the advantage of America, as well as for their own?’

2. Did Mr Cresson (aware that it must be considered as the fundamental principle of the American Colonization Society, that there is a difficulty, amounting to a moral impossibility, in the blacks and whites living together in prosperity and harmony, as members of the same free community) make it clear to those to whom he professed to state Mr Wilberforce’s sentiments, that the two classes MIGHT AND OUGHT TO LIVE TOGETHER, as one mutually connected and happy society?

3. Has Mr Elliott Cresson made it publicly known in England, that the American Colonization Society has declared that it considers that *colonization* ought to be a *sine qua non* of *emancipation*?’

Let Mr. Cresson answer these questions. In reply to the two last, I will venture to assert that he has never made it publicly known, either that Mr. WILBERFORCE maintained that the whites and blacks might and ought to live together as one mutually connected and happy society, or that the American Colonization Society has declared that it considers that colonization ought to be a *sine qua non* of emancipation; and, consequently, that he has, in these two instances, if in no others, grossly deceived the British public. In the United States, Mr. WILBERFORCE is constantly quoted as the supporter of the American Colonization Society.

There yet remains another champion of the negro race, who though named the last is not the least, and whom, I have the strongest faith to believe, Mr. Cresson may very shortly rank

among his persecutors—I allude to THOMAS CLARKSON. (Hear, hear.) It is true, this venerable philanthropist has expressed his approbation of the American Colonization Society. Why has he done so? Recollect that he is now totally blind, and hence he is compelled to take many things upon trust. That Mr. Cresson has imposed upon his generous confidence is evident from these two facts:—The American Colonization Society (as I shall show before I close my remarks) has from its organization disclaimed any intention of seeking emancipation, either directly or indirectly—either immediate or gradual. And yet the excellent CLARKSON, in his letter of December 1st, 1831, addressed to Mr. Cresson, makes this declaration:

‘This Society seems to me to have two objects in view—first, TO ASSIST IN THE EMANCIPATION OF ALL THE SLAVES NOW IN THE UNITED STATES; and, secondly, by sending these to Africa, to do away the slave trade, and promote civilization among the natives there.’

But the deception ends not here. The Secretary of the American Colonization Society copied a large portion of Mr. CLARKSON’s letter into its organ, the African Repository; but, instead of giving Mr. CLARKSON’s own words as to his views of the objects of the Society, he makes an entirely new version of Mr. CLARKSON’s language—thus:

‘He [Clarkson] considers the object of the Society twofold; first, TO PROMOTE THE VOLUNTARY EMIGRATION TO AFRICA OF THE COLORED POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES; and second, the suppression of the slave trade, and the civilization of the African tribes.’—African Repository for November, 1832.

Here, then, is palpably a double fraud—first, on the part of Mr. Cresson, and next on the part of the Secretary of the American Colonization Society. The motive for garbling Mr. CLARKSON’s letter in the United States, was unquestionably to prevent an impression in the slaveholding States that the Society was designed to promote the abolition of slavery. I will only add that the detection of this fraud has created the utmost indignation in the United States, and lost the Society many of its supporters.

Mr. Chairman, I will not stop to dwell upon the singular modesty and good sense of an individual who converts the well grounded opposition of great and good men to the principles and operations of the American Colonization Society, into a persecution of his own person. Mr. Cresson is a respectable gentleman, but he vastly overrates his own dignity and importance, in supposing that he is an object of persecution.

Sir, we will lose sight of that gentleman, and come directly to the object of this meeting, viz. a delineation of American slavery and the American Colonization.

*I cherish as strong a love for the land of my nativity as any man living. I am proud of her*

civil, political and religious institutions—of her high advancement in science, literature and the arts—of her general prosperity and grandeur. But I have some solemn accusations to bring against her.

I accuse her of insulting the majesty of heaven with the grossest mockery that was ever exhibited to man—inasmuch as, professing to be the land of the free and the asylum of the oppressed, she falsifies every profession, and shamelessly plays the tyrant.

I accuse her, before all nations, of giving an open, deliberate and base denial to her boasted Declaration, that 'all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

I accuse her of disfranchising and proscribing nearly half a million free people of color, acknowledging them not as countrymen, and scarcely as rational beings, and seeking to drag them thousands of miles across the ocean on a plea of benevolence, when they ought to enjoy all the rights, privileges and immunities of American citizens.

I accuse her of suffering a large portion of her population to be lacerated, starved and plundered, without law and without justification, at the will of petty tyrants.

I accuse her of trafficking in the bodies and souls of men, in a domestic way, to an extent nearly equal to the foreign slave trade; which traffic is equally atrocious with the foreign, and almost as cruel in its operations.

I accuse her of legalizing, on an enormous scale, licentiousness, fraud, cruelty and murder.

I accuse her of the horrid crime of kidnapping one hundred thousand infants annually, the offspring of slave parents.

I accuse her of stealing the liberties of two millions of the creatures of God, and withholding the just recompense of their labor; of ruthlessly invading the holiest relations of life, and cruelly separating the dearest ties of nature; of denying these miserable victims necessary food and clothing for their perishable bodies, and light and knowledge for their immortal souls; of tearing the husband from his wife, the mother from her babe, and children from their parents, and of perpetrating upon the poor and needy every species of outrage and oppression.

And, finally, I accuse her of being callously indifferent to the accumulated and accumulating wrongs and sufferings of her black population, assiduous in extenuating her oppressive acts, and determined to slumber upon the brink of a volcano which is in full operation, and which threatens to roll its lava tide over the whole land.

These are my allegations. And what is the defence which she puts forth? It is even as one has said, who never speaks upon the subject of liberty but he 'showers words of

weight and fire'—I mean the distinguished and eloquent O'CONNELL. (Cheers.) In one of his speeches, he thus alludes to the miserable defence of the United States for their robberies and crimes:

'I come now to America, the boasted land of freedom, and here I find the slavery which they not only tolerate but extend, justified and defended as a legacy left them by us!—It is too true. But I would say unto them—'You threw off the allegiance you owed us because you thought we were oppressing you with the Stamp Act.' You boasted of your deliverance from slavery. On what principle, then, do you continue to hold your fellow men in bondage, and render that bondage even more galling by ringing in the ears of the sufferers from your tyranny, what *you* have done, what *you* have suffered for freedom?' They may reply by referring to the slavery we have established and encouraged. But what would be thought of that man who should attempt to justify the crime of sheep-stealing, by alleging that another stole sheep too? Would such a defence be listened to? O, no! And I will say unto you, freemen of America—and the press will convey it to you almost as swift as the winds—that God understands you; that you are hypocrites, tyrants, and unjust men; that you are degraded and dishonored:—and I say unto you, dare not to stand up boasting of your liberties and your privileges, while you continue to treat men, redeemed by the same blood, as the mere creatures of your will; for while you do so, there is a stain upon your national escutcheon which all the waters of the Atlantic cannot wash out.' \* \* \* 'Of all men living, an American citizen who is the owner of slaves is the most despicable: he is a political hypocrite of the very worst description.' \* \* \* 'The friends of humanity and liberty in Europe should join in one universal cry of *Shame on the American slaveholders!* Base wretches, should we shout in chorus—base wretches, how dare you profane the temple of national freedom, the sacred fane of republican rites, with the presence and the sufferings of human beings in chains and slavery!' (Cheers)

Sir, never was a more just and fearless rebuke given to a guilty nation. 'Faithful are the wounds of a friend,' and 'open rebuke is better than secret love.' Whatever responsibility may attach to Great Britain for the introduction of slavery into the United States, (and to talk of robbery and kidnapping as things that may be entailed is precious absurdity,) the first moment the people of the United States published their Declaration of Independence to the world, from that moment they became exclusively accountable for the existence and continuance of negro slavery. The capital stock of slaves, at that period, was about 400,000. It has been traded upon until it now numbers about 2,200,000—an increase of more than five fold! And yet America has the brazen assurance to declare that England alone is answerable for the servitude and destruction of this immense multitude. I blush to publish the story.

The American Union originally consisted of thirteen States—it has at the present time twenty-four States, twelve of which are free States, and twelve slaveholding States. Slavery, therefore, is consolidated in the southern portion of the country. The laws which are now in force, for the subjection of the slave

population, are unparalleled for their brutality. Draco's bloody code was as white as snow in comparison. Even the West Indian enactments are less despotic. But, as in the case of the Israelites in Egypt, the more our slaves are afflicted, the more they multiply and grow. Their increase is more rapid than even that of our white population; and in half of the slave States, the soil is so completely exhausted, and the market is so glutted, that slave labor is almost wholly worthless, and the planters are enabled to support themselves only by breeding slaves for sale in the extreme southern markets. Early alarmed at the frightful increase of the slave population, and at their great depreciation in value, the planters adopted the language and policy of Pharaoh:—and they said one unto another, 'Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we. Come on, let us deal wisely with them; lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us. Therefore they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens.' The Egyptian Pharaoh, finding to his astonishment that his excessive cruelty produced an opposite effect from that which was intended, resorted to another expedient. He charged the Hebrew midwives, and all his people, saying, 'Every son that is born of the Hebrew women ye shall cast into the river, and every daughter ye shall save alive.' The American Pharaohs, equally surprised at the prolific result of their cruelty, but more ingenious than their prototype, interrogated each other in the language of Mr. Archer of Virginia, as published in the 15th Annual Report of the American Colonization Society:

'What course or remedy remained? Was open butchery to be resorted to, as among the Spartans with the Helots? Or general emancipation and incorporation, as in South America? Or abandonment of the country by the masters, as must come to be the case in the West Indies? Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe. Could all of them be avoided, and if they could, how? There was but one way, but that might be made effectual, fortunately! It was to *provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment!* This might be done effectually by extension of the plan of the Society. The drain was already opened. All that was necessary would be, to provide for the enlargement of the channel, as occasion might demand.'

We now come to the origin of the American Colonization Society. The motives, it seems, for its organization, were:—1st. To prevent a general emancipation and incorporation of the blacks with the whites—2d. To render unnecessary the abandonment of the country by the masters—3d. To render the slave system secure and lucrative—and lastly, To remove from the country 'those mirrors which reflect the light of liberty into the dark bosoms of the slaves'—namely, the free people of color.

Whence did the scheme of the American Colonization Society originate? Brings it

'airs from heaven, or blasts from hell?' Are its intents 'wicked or charitable?' It is a creature that was born in secrecy and in darkness, in the Legislature of Virginia—a State which holds nearly half a million of human beings in slavery—the Jamaica of the United States; and that Legislature, in its *benevolence* toward the free colored and slave population, has ever since been enacting the most atrocious laws for the utter expulsion of the one, and the oppression of the other class. *It is the foulest conspiracy in the history of the world.\**

Now, Mr. Chairman, having seen that the monster was conceived in sin, and shapen in iniquity, let us briefly enquire where and by whom was the American Colonization Society instituted, and who are its Managers.

It was formed at the close of the year 1816, in Washington city, and is principally managed by the plunderers and oppressors of their fellow men. Not a slave, since its organization, has been emancipated by any of its managers, and sent to Liberia. At the first annual meeting of the Society, General Mercer of Virginia, one of its Vice Presidents, said,—'Many thousand individuals in our native State, you well know, Mr. President, are restrained from manumitting their slaves, *as you and I are*, by the melancholy conviction that they cannot *yield to the suggestions of humanity*, without manifest injury to their country'!! So! the claims of humanity and the true interests of the country are at war, and the latter are to be pursued to the destruction of the former!—Now, mark the conduct of this canting dissembler and hardened oppressor!—More than fifteen years have elapsed since that speech was made, and yet none of Gen. Mercer's slaves have been manumitted, although opportunities have been constantly given to him to send them to Liberia, and have them changed into first rate missionaries in the twinkling of an eye!—And yet Mr. Elliott Cresson has actually had the audacity to trumpet his praise in this country as 'the WILBERFORCE of the American Congress!' (Hear! hear!) Nay, more—this same distinguished oppressor, who is the main pillar of the American Colonization Society, recently declared in Congress that 'the abolition of slavery was no object of desire to him, unless accompanied by colonization. So far was he from desiring it, unaccompanied by this condition, that he would not live in a country where the one took place without the other'!! He can live most happily in a State, nearly one half of whose population are slaves; but if slavery should be abolished, he would abandon his country! And yet, in the estimation of Mr. Elliott Cresson, he is 'the WILBERFORCE of the American Congress'!—Nay, we have not yet come to the climax. During

\* NOTE. Mr Garrison was here interrupted by the entrance of DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq. into the Hall, who was greeted by deafening and long continued thunders of applause.

the famous Missouri struggle in 1819, it is said Gen. Mercer was carried into Congress, at his desire, upon a sick bed, in order that he might give his vote for the admission of a new slave State into the American Union! And it was through his influence (in conjunction with Henry Clay, another pillar of the American Colonization Society) that a majority was then obtained in Congress; and thus a new market was opened for the surplus slave population of his native State. The State of Missouri covers a surface of more than 60,000 square miles; and the man who was instrumental in opening this vast territory for the sale and enslavement of his fellow countrymen, without limitation, and thus raising the value of slaves in all the slave States, is styled by Mr. Elliott Cresson 'the WILBERFORCE of the American Congress'!! Was ever a greater aspersion cast upon that venerable name by the enemies of the abolition of the slave trade? (Hear!) The hardihood of the act is equalled only by that of the Managers of the American Colonization Society, who sent over to England by Mr. Cresson, a portrait of its first President, Bushrod Washington, (who was a slave-breeder, and from whose plantations slaves were sold and driven off in chains to the Mississippi,) requesting that it might be hung up at No. 18, Aldermanbury, by the side of the venerable CLARKSON's!—WILBERFORCE compared to an incorrigible slaveholder, who successfully exerted himself to open a new market for slaves! for the prosecution of that infernal traffic which WILBERFORCE had spent the best energies of his useful life in seeking to destroy! And CLARKSON associated with a negro breeder, who speculated in human flesh and sinews!! The insult is not merely a personal insult—it is an insult to the British nation; (cheers)—it is an insult to the virtuous and humane throughout the world! (Great cheering.)

Mr. Chairman, what is the object of the American Colonization Society?—Mr. Cresson says it is 'the final and entire abolition of slavery.' I think I shall be able to prove, in three minutes, that this assertion is as far from the truth as the east is from the west. Of course, the object of every Society is defined in its Constitution. First of all, then, let us listen to the Constitution of the American Colonization Society. Its 2d Article is as follows:

The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations upon the subject.

Here, surely, is not the remotest allusion either to colonizing emancipated slaves, or to the abolition of slavery, as an object of the Society. On the contrary, it is confined exclusively to the removal of the free people of color. But as the Society has been in exist-

tence more than sixteen years, it is possible that it has changed its Constitution. What says the Sixteenth Annual Report of the Society for the year 1833:

*Resolved*, That the true and single object of the Society is that which is expressed in its original constitution, viz: 'to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their consent, the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient;' and that this object will be hereafter, as it has been heretofore, steadily adhered to.

Is not this evidence sufficient to convict Mr. Cresson of deception?

These and a hundred other similar declarations, Mr. Cresson has seen repeatedly, and yet he publicly declares in this country that one of the objects of the American Colonization Society is the abolition of slavery in the United States! Judge ye of his uprightness.

Surely it is not wonderful that a Society originating in a slaveholding State—formed by slaveholders—managed by slaveholders—supported by slaveholders; surely, I say, it is not wonderful that such a Society should pledge itself not to agitate the question of negro slavery, or seek its removal. It would be almost a miracle, were it otherwise.

Nor is it wonderful that the Society should denounce abolitionists as madmen, fanatics and incendiaries;—nor that they should utter atrocious slanders against the free people of color, in order to justify the detention in bondage of two millions of slaves, and to make men-stealers flatter themselves that they are genuine philanthropists in continuing to plunder and oppress the poor and needy;—nor that they should invent and reiterate the stupid fiction that Africa is the native country of American born citizens, to make their expulsion a plausible act;—nor that they should applaud those diabolical laws which forbid the instruction of the slaves, which prevent the improvement of the free blacks, which make expulsion the condition of emancipation, and which grind to the dust one-sixth part of the whole American population.

Nor is it wonderful that the Society should compass sea and land to make proselytes, and send over to England Mr. Elliott Cresson to dupe your philanthropy, in order to expel the free people of color, since their expulsion would soothe the fears of the oppressors, increase the value of the slaves, and place unlimited power in the hands of those who are given over to hardness of heart and blindness of mind, and to whom the fearful description of the apostle emphatically applies:—'Being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, spiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, without understanding, covenant breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful: who knowing the judgment of God, that

they which commit such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them.' Here is a development of motives!

'So far from being connected with the abolition of slavery, the measure proposed would prove one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property.'—[Speech of John Randolph at the first meeting of the Colonization Society.]

'What is the free black to the slave? A standing perpetual incitement to discontent. Though the condition of the slave be a thousand times the best—supplied, protected, instead of destitute and desolate—yet the folly of the condition held to involuntary labor, finds always allurements in the spectacle of exemption from it, without consideration of the adjuncts of destitution and misery. The slave would have then little excitement to discontent, but for the free black.'—[Fifteenth Annual Report, p. 25.]

'By removing these people, we rid ourselves of a large party who will always be ready to assist our slaves in any mischievous design which they may conceive; and who are better able, by their intelligence, and the facilities of their communication, to bring those designs to a successful termination.'—[African Repository, vol. i. p. 176.]

'But is it not certain, that should the people of the southern States refuse to adopt the opinions of the Colonization Society, and continue to consider it both just and politic to leave untouched a system, for the termination of which, we think the whole wisdom and energy of the States should be put in requisition, that they will CONTRIBUTE MORE EFFECTUALLY TO THE CONTINUANCE AND STRENGTH OF THIS SYSTEM, by removing those now free, than by any or all other methods which can possibly be devised.' . . . 'In the decision of these individuals, as to the effects of the Colonization Society, we perceive no error of judgment: OUR OPINION IS THE SAME AS THEIRS. WE CAN UNITE WITH THEM TO EFFECT THEIR OBJECT.'—[African Repository, vol. i. p. 227.]

'The removal of every single free black in America, would be productive of nothing but safety to the slaveholder.'—[African Repository, vol. iii. p. 202.]

Here, then, it is unblushingly avowed, on the part of the Society, that the best mode to continue and strengthen the bloody slave system is to remove to Africa the free black population, and that it can heartily unite with the slave owners to effect that brutalizing, soul-destroying, heaven-daring object! Justly, Mr. Chairman, have you described it as 'a most diabolical scheme'—justly have you declared that 'never did Satan with more success transform himself into an angel of light, than in the gloss which has covered its deformities.' And yet the persecuted Mr. Elliott Cresson insists that the primary object of the Society is, THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY! Thus he has acquired a temporary success in this country, which has been trumpeted over the United States by the African Repository, and other periodicals.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, it is not wonderful that such a combination as the American Colonization Society should deify prejudice, proclaim eternal hostility against the free people of color, discourage their improvement, deride the power of the gospel, trample under foot

the precepts of the Saviour, insult the Holy Spirit, and blaspheme the God who made the heavens and the earth, and formed of one blood all nations of men. But it is enough to chill the blood of a christian to read sentiments like these:

'In every part of the United States there is a broad, and impassable line of demarcation between every man who has one drop of African blood in his veins, and every other class in the community. The habits, the feelings, all the prejudices of society—prejudices which neither refinement, nor argument, nor education, nor religion itself, can subdue—mark the people of color, whether bond or free, as the subjects of a degradation inevitable and incurable.'—[African Repository, vol. iv. p. 118.]

'We have endeavored, but endeavored in vain, to restore them either to self-respect or to the respect of others. It is not our fault that we have failed: it is not theirs. It has resulted from a cause over which neither we nor they, can ever have any control. Here, therefore, they must be forever debased; more than this, they must be forever useless; more even than this, they must be forever a nuisance, from which it were a blessing for society to be rid. And yet they, and they only, are qualified for colonizing Africa.'—[African Repository, vol. v. p. 276.]

'Is it not wise, then, for the free people of color and their friends to admit, what cannot reasonably be doubted, that the people of color must, in this country, remain for ages, probably forever, a separate and inferior caste, weighed down by causes, powerful, universal, inevitable; which neither legislation nor christianity can remove?'—[African Repository, vol. vii. p. 196.]

'The Managers consider it clear that causes exist, and are operating, to prevent their improvement and elevation, to any considerable extent as a class, in this country,—which are fixed, not only beyond the control of the friends of humanity, but of any human power. Christianity will not do for them here, what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the colored man, nor of the white man, nor of christianity; but an ordination of Providence, and no more to be changed than the laws of Nature.'—[Fifteenth Annual Report, p. 17.]

Thus do the supporters of the Colonization Society (constituting an overwhelming majority of the nation,) glory in their shame, and resolve that neither God nor man shall ever induce them to treat their colored countrymen otherwise than as the offscouring of the earth, so long as they refuse to be transported to Africa. Thus do they daringly palm their sins upon the Infinite Jehovah, whose tender mercies are over all his works, and maintain that a physical distinction makes it morally impossible for them to do justly and love mercy. This is something worse than paganism!

Mr. Chairman, my soul sickens in turning over these masses of moral corruption, and I hasten to a close. I cannot boast, like Mr. Cresson, of defraying my own expenses; for he is opulent, and I am poor. All that I have is dedicated to this cause. But I am proud to say that the funds for my mission to this country were principally made up by the voluntary contributions of my free colored brethren, at a very short notice. (Great cheering.) I stand before you as their mouth-piece, and with their blessings resting upon my head.

Persecuted, derided, yet noble people! never can I repay generosity and love like theirs. Sir, I am sorry to trespass a moment longer upon this meeting, but I beg a brief indulgence that I may discharge an act of justice toward that persecuted class. You have heard them described this day by the American Colonization Society, as the most abandoned wretches on the face of the earth—as constituting all that is vile, loathsome and dangerous—as being more degraded and miserable than the slaves. Sir, it is not possible for the mind to coin, or the tongue to utter, baser libels against an injured people. Their condition is as much superior to that of the slaves, as the light of heaven is more cheering than the darkness of the pit. (Cheers.) Many of their number are in the most affluent circumstances, and distinguished for their refinement, enterprise and talents. They have flourishing churches, supplied by pastors of their own color, in various parts of the land, embracing a large body of the truly excellent of the earth. They have public and private libraries. They have their temperance societies, their debating societies, their moral societies, their literary societies, their benevolent societies, their savings societies, and a multitude of kindred associations. They have their infant schools, their primary and high schools, their Sabbath Schools, and their Bible classes. They contribute to the support of foreign and domestic missions, to bible and tract societies, &c. In the city of Philadelphia alone, they have more than fifty different associations for their moral and intellectual improvement. In fact, they are rising up even with mountains of prejudice piled upon them, with more than Titanic strength, and trampling beneath their feet the slanders of their enemies. A spirit of virtuous emulation is pervading their ranks, from the young child to the gray head. Among them is taken a large number of daily and weekly newspapers, and of literary and scientific periodicals, from the popular monthlies up to the grave and erudite North American and American Quarterly Reviews. I have at this moment to my own paper, 'THE LIBERATOR,' one thousand subscribers among this people; and, from an occupancy of the editorial chair for more than seven years, I can testify that they are more punctual in their payments than any five hundred white subscribers whose names I ever placed indiscriminately in my subscription book. (Immense applause.)

This, Mr. Chairman, is but a rapid glance at a people, whom the American Colonization Society stigmatizes as the most abandoned wretches on the earth. Sir, having seen that that Society libels the gospel of Jesus Christ, and blasphemes the most high God, it cannot surprise us to discover that it bears false witness against the objects of its hatred and persecution.

Sir, one of this calumniated class is now on

this platform. (Cheers.) He has visited this country as the Representative of the Wilberforce Settlement in Upper Canada—that little colony, which, though founded under the most appalling difficulties, is, I am happy to say, in a thriving condition. And I would here observe that it receives the prayers, and applause, and encouragement of all the abolitionists in the United States. It is opening an asylum to which many a bleeding slave has already escaped, and others will follow in their track; and by its proximity to slavery, will add much to hasten the total and speedy destruction of that iniquitous system. It has received already some assistance from the British public; and it richly deserves your sympathies, your aid, and your prayers. He, to whom I allude as its representative, is the Rev. NATHANIEL PAUL, a gentleman with whom the proudest or best man on earth need not blush to associate. (Cheers.) I am proud in pointing to him as a specimen of that much injured class, out of which the American Colonization Society declares, 'no individual can be elevated, and below which none can be depressed.' I appeal to him for the truth of my statements to you this day; and I trust you will have the pleasure of hearing his testimony at the close of my remarks.

It is worthy of our inquiry to know in what light the American Colonization Society is held by the objects of its pseudo benevolence, the free people of color. Never was a scheme more heartily execrated and actively opposed: they hate it with a perfect hatred. I select a few expressions of their sentiments, as given in a multitude of public meetings all over the free States. A still later edition of their sentiments has been published, expressly in regard to my mission to England.

[Here Mr. Garrison read a large number of resolutions which had been passed by them at various periods. He then resumed:]

What, but the most dreadful persecution, can induce people, cherishing these sentiments from the first moment of the formation of the Colonization Society in 1816, down to the present time, to leave the land of their birth for a foreign one—to leave a land of civilization and christianity, for a land of barbarism, darkness and wo? Judge ye!

One word as to the practical effects of the Colonization Society. Since its organization, it has removed less than 1000 slaves, and about 2000 free persons of color. The increase of the slave population in the United States is 200 souls, daily. At least 600,000 new victims have been born and kidnapped, and nearly half a million have died in bondage, since the Colonization Society has been employed in shipping off to their African Botany Bay less than 1000!—I have brought some documents with me to this meeting, relative to the rise and progress of Liberia, which abundantly prove that there is as much truth in many of

Mr. Cresson's statements respecting that colony, as there is in the tales of Munchausen, or in the story which Mahomet tells of his visit to the third heavens—and very little more; but it is impossible for me at this time to go into particulars. The British public, however, shall have the whole truth of the matter, through some medium or other. I believe that colony will be a curse, an awful curse to Africa, especially if the American Colonization Society succeed in its direful purpose of crowding her shores with a vicious and ignorant population.

The practical effects of the Colonization Society in the United States are too numerous to mention. Let this suffice—it has inflamed and sanctioned the most unholy and malignant prejudices—spoken peace to the slaveholder—seared the consciences of the people as with a hot iron—in many cases directly prevented the instruction of the free blacks—and induced the enactment of laws in nearly all the slave States, preventing emancipation without the expulsion of the emancipated, and also vexing the free blacks in the most cruel manner. Its tendency is, moreover, as we have shown, by its own confession, to make the slave system secure and lucrative.

But there is an unerring test of its real influence. 'Figures cannot lie,' says the time-honored adage. Nearly all the slave States, as well as the free States, highly applaud the Colonization Society. If, then, it be a benevolent institution, and its supporters be the determined enemies of slavery and the best friends of the free blacks, there must, of course, have been a most benevolent change effected in 17 years of powerful and unremitted exertions, in the legislation of the slave States, favorable to emancipation. This point is very instructive, because it admits of no mistake. The question then is,—Has the number of emancipations in the slave States diminished or increased since the Colonization Society was organized, as compared with preceding years? The first Census of the Population of the United States was taken in 1790, and has been taken every 10 years subsequently. To the Census, then, we make our appeal:

'In 1790, the free colored people were 20,415 in all the States south of the Potomac and the Ohio.

In 1800, they had increased to 32,604, or at the rate of 60 per cent.

In 1810, they were 53,046, an increase of 78 per cent.

In 1820, they amounted to 77,040; which is an enlargement of only 32 per cent.

In 1830, the free colored people had increased to 112,708, which is an increase of 45 per cent.

So that by comparing the 26 years before the Colonization Society was instituted, with the 14 years subsequent to its establishment, it appears that there was an average disproportion in the emancipation of slaves of 74 per cent. per annum to 32; or in other words, that the number of slaves annually liberated before the Colonization Society was formed, was at the rate of 7 to 3 emancipated since the year 1816.

According to the previous enumerations and the ad-

vances of the free colored people before the Colonization Society was formed, the free colored people in 1820, should have numbered 112,464; and in 1830, they should have increased to 244,000: whereas in 1830, they only amounted to the number which they should in ordinary course have attained in 1820.'

The American Colonization Society may therefore be fairly charged with having been the cause of the present detention in worse than Algerine bondage of hundreds of thousands of our race.

Sure I am that my appeal in behalf of my oppressed countrymen will be felt here, and in every part of this land. It is impossible that the British people, proudly standing, as they now are, upon the neck of colonial slavery—it is impossible for them to consider their work at an end, whilst there remains a human being held as a chattel under the whole heavens. And let me assure them, for their encouragement, that all is not dark or hopeless in the United States. Thousands have caught a portion of their zeal—the abolition spirit is abroad in our land, with great power, and is traversing its length and breadth, conquering and to conquer—abolition societies are formed, and multiplying, in every free section of our territory, on the principle of immediate and unconditional emancipation—four periodicals have been established expressly to maintain the cause of the afflicted and the right of the poor, and a multitude of our political and religious periodicals are now freely discussing the question of negro slavery—strong exertions are making for the repeal of all those laws which now disfranchise our free colored population, and schools are multiplying for their mental cultivation. The American Colonization Society is falling like Lucifer, never to rise again: and ere the termination of this year, I trust your hearts will be cheered with the intelligence that a National Abolition Society has been formed in the United States of America. (Cheers.)

Mr. Chairman, I have distinctly pointed out to this meeting that great BASTILE OF OPPRESSION, the American Colonization Society. I have given you a view of its dark front—of its massive walls—of its ponderous gates—and of the immense number of victims who are incarcerated in its loathsome cells, and who are making through their iron grates, signals of distress, and uttering cries for relief!—Let the British nation assail it with the battle-axe of justice; let their artillery of truth, charged to the muzzle, blaze against it; let them dig a mine under its foundation, and prepare a train for its destruction; and soon it shall be blown into countless fragments, and all its captives be set free! (Cheers.)

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. in introducing the Rev. NATHANIEL PAUL to the meeting, said:

The Rev. gentleman is on a mission to this country, to obtain assistance for those free persons of color who have been driven, by the

oppression of the United States, to take refuge under the British sceptre in a portion of Upper Canada. He comes to England under the special recommendation of the Governor General of that portion of His Majesty's dominions, and seeks to obtain contributions to be applied to the education, civilization and advancement of the population in that district.

The Rev. Mr. ABRAHAMS, a gentleman friendly to the Colonization Society, wished to know whether an opportunity would be afforded him of replying to the statements of Mr. GARRISON.

Mr. THOMPSON rose and said—This gentleman pleads the cause of the American Colonization Society; but he is not Mr. Elliott Cresson, who has been again and again invited publicly to answer the charges brought against the Society, of which he is the accredited agent. (Cheers.) We have called you together to-day, in order to expose the principles of that Society, and I am authorized to inform Mr. Abrahams that we shall be happy to hear Mr. Cresson in defence of the Society; but in his absence, we cannot permit the interference of any other gentleman.

The Rev. N. PAUL then came forward and said—

In rising to address an audience of this description, I shall not offer an apology, because I consider it to be unnecessary. Nature has furnished me with an apology in the complexion that I wear, and that shall speak in my behalf. (Cheers.)

Allow me to say that Mr. Garrison has, for many years past, devoted himself exclusively to the interests of the slaves and the free people of color in the United States of America. He requires, however, no commendation from me, or from any other gentleman whatever; 'the tree is known by its fruits,' and 'out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh.' But if there be any necessity for calling evidence in favor of that gentleman, there is an abundance, demonstrating that he has acted a most disinterested part on behalf of those whose cause he has espoused. It has been his lot to make large sacrifices, in order that he might be enabled to pursue the object of his heart's desire. He might have swum upon the tide of popular applause, and have had the great and the noble of our country on his side, who would now have been applauding him, instead of persecuting him as the disturber of the peace and tranquility of the nation, if he had not lifted up his voice on behalf of the suffering slaves. (Hear, hear.) To my certain knowledge, when he commenced his career, it was under the most unfavorable circumstances. No one stood forward in his defence, and he was under the necessity of adopting and pursuing a system of the most rigid economy, in order that he might be sustained while he was engaged in the important work he had undertaken.

The CHAIRMAN here rose and said—I see that the gentleman, who wishes to speak in favor of the colonization scheme, is withdrawing; but if he will wait till our regular business is gone through, I shall be happy to sit any length of time to hear an advocate of that Society. (Cheers.) Let us, however, first know that he is authorized to speak on its behalf. If our friend, Dr. Hodgkin, whom I see sitting by his side, will declare him to be the representative of Mr. Cresson, I shall be most happy to have a fair discussion—it is what of all things we wish for. We want the points at issue fairly met. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Mr. ABRAHAMS said, that he had long been a resident in North America, and he wished to vindicate the American Colonization Society against the calumnious aspersions that had been cast upon it. He was as much a friend to the blacks as any one present.

DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq. said—It will be unnecessary to put the gentleman under the necessity of showing that he comes here in a delegated capacity. If he remains here till the business is closed, whoever he represents, it is our business to gather the truth. If he comes forward like myself, as an abolitionist, though he may be mistaken, we will respect his motives. (Cheers.)

The Rev. N. PAUL resumed—But it is not merely the sacrifice that Mr. Garrison has made, or the rigid system of economy that he has adopted, that speaks on his behalf; but the sufferings that he has endured likewise recommend him to the attention of every philanthropist. This gentleman has suffered forty-nine days incarceration in a prison in the city of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, because he had the hardihood to engage in defence of the suffering slaves in that State. The fact of Mr. Garrison's imprisonment has been loudly sounded throughout this country. The agent of the American Colonization Society has seen fit to represent Mr. Garrison as a mere pamphleteer, as the editor of a negro newspaper in the United States, and as a convicted libeller. This is the manner in which this gentleman has been spoken of in this country, by the agent of the American Colonization Society. And does that agent suppose that by such mere slang he can lower Mr. Garrison in the estimation of the British public? The simpleton reminds me of another of whom I have heard, who, for some cause or other, became exceedingly exasperated at the moon, and stood the whole night angrily shaking his fist at it, but could not reach it. (Cheers.)

I make no complaint against the agent of the American Colonization Society for stating the fact that Mr. Garrison was convicted, and thrown into prison in the United States; it is a fact, and he had a right to the advantage of it whenever he saw fit. I only blame him because, in stating it, he did not tell the cause

why—who the persons were at whose instigation it was done—or the character of the court that condemned him. Inasmuch as that gentleman did not perform that part of his duty, if you will allow me I will undertake to discharge it for him.

Perhaps it is not generally known that in the United States of America—that land of freedom and equality—the laws are so exceedingly liberal that they give to man the liberty of purchasing as many negroes as he can find means to pay for, (hear, hear,) and also the liberty to sell them again. In consequence of this, a regular system of merchandize is established in the souls and bodies of our fellow creatures. It so happened that a very large number of mercantile gentlemen resided in the city of Baltimore and its vicinity, who were engaged in this traffic; and Mr. Garrison had the impudence, the unblushing effrontery to state, in a public newspaper, that this traffic was a direct violation of the laws of God, and contrary to the principles of human nature. (Cheers.) This was the crime of which he was convicted. And now I will tell you the character of the judicial tribunal before which the conviction took place. Allow me to say, and let that suffice, that the judges of the court were slaveholders, (hear, hear,) and the jury likewise. Had it been the case that such men as WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, THOMAS CLARKSON, THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, JAMES CROPPER, and in addition to these, the honorable gentleman who sits on my right, (Mr. O'CONNELL,) (cheers,) and had these gentlemen in the place where Mr. Garrison resided pursued the course they have adopted in this country, they would have been indicted, convicted, and thrown into prison. In regard to my friend on my right, (Mr. O'Connell,) I know not what they would have done with him: he could have expected no quarters whatever. (Laughter and cheers.) I believe he has more than once arraigned the American Republic before the British community, before God, and before the world, as the most detestable political hypocrite in the world. And this is not all. I may say, in addition, that that Court and that Jury would have convicted the whole Anti-Slavery Society of this country, and would have transported them all to Liberia as the punishment of their crimes. (Laughter and loud cheers.)

These are the causes and these the reasons why our friend, Mr. Garrison, was imprisoned; and as I said before, tho' I have no complaint to make against the agent of that benevolent institution, as it is called—the American Colonization Society—for stating that Mr. Garrison was cast into prison; yet I submit that, in connexion with it, he ought to have told the reason why it took place. But I shall leave this GARRISON to itself. It possesses, I believe, ammunition enough to defend itself from any attack that may be made upon it,

either by the agent of that Society, or the gentleman who has appeared here to plead on its behalf this morning. (Loud applause.)

I now come directly to express my views in relation to the American Colonization Society.

As a colored man, and as a citizen of the United States, it necessarily follows that I must feel more deeply interested in its operation, than any other individual present. In relation to the Society, I know not which is the most detestable in my view—its CRUELTY, or its HYPOCRISY. Both of these are characteristics of its whole operation.

I brand it as a *cruel* institution, and one of the most cruel that has ever been brought into existence by the ingenuity of man. If I am asked, why it is cruel? I answer, in the first place, because it undertakes to expel from their native country hundreds of thousands of unoffending and inoffensive individuals, who, in time of war, have gone forth into the field of battle, and have contended for the liberties of that country. Why does it seek to expel them? Because the God of heaven has given them a different complexion from themselves. (Cheers.) I say it is a *cruel* institution, because it seeks to rob the colored men in that country of every right, civil, political or religious, to which they are entitled by the American Declaration of Independence. It is through the influence of that Society, to the everlasting disgrace of a land boasting of liberty and equality, that there are laws enacted which absolutely forbid the instruction of the slave, or even the free person of color, in the use of letters. I say it is a *cruel* institution, because in addition to this, it has also been the means of having laws enacted which prevents them from meeting together to pay homage to their Creator, and worship the God who made them. I might go on enumerating instances of cruelty, and show to this meeting that even combinations have been formed in what are called the free States, under the influence of this Society, not to give to the colored man employment, but to rob him of the means of gaining his livelihood, that he may thereby be compelled to leave the land of his nativity, and go to Africa.

In the next place, I condemn the Society on account of its *hypocrisy*; and this, I believe, will be detested wherever it appears, by every honest man. And wherein does that hypocrisy consist or appear? I mean more particularly in regard to the representations which have been made of the Society in this country. It comes to Great Britain, and begins to talk about the evils of slavery, pitying the condition of the unhappy victims of cruelty and oppression in the United States of America; and it tells the British public that its object is to do away with slavery, and to emancipate those who are in bondage. What Briton's heart is there but responds to such a sentiment as this? (Cheers.) Englishmen

are seeking for the liberation of the slaves; and, giving credit to the reports which they have heard respecting the American Colonization Society, without examining its principles, many benevolent individuals in this country have come forward and freely contributed to its funds. But instead of the institution being the enemy of slavery; instead of its being formed for the purpose of annihilating the system; its object is to perpetuate it, and render more secure the property of man in man. I will shew to the meeting, in a few words, that its object cannot be the abolition of slavery, because through a hundred of its organs it has over and over again denounced the proposition of liberating the slaves, except on condition of their being transported to Africa. And now let the audience understand, that, at the present time, there are upwards of 2,000,000 of slaves in the United States, and that their annual increase is more than 60,000. If slavery, therefore, is to be abolished only as those who shall be emancipated are transported from the United States to Africa, we ask, when is slavery to cease in that country? The Colonization Society, with all the efforts that it can bring to bear, cannot transport the annual increase of the slaves, (hear, hear,) and, therefore, if no other means be adopted for the abolition of slavery in America, its extinction will not take place until the last trumpet shall sound. (Immense applause.)

Again I repeat, it is *hypocritical*, because it professes to be the friend of the free people of color, and to pity their present condition; and hence it says, 'It seeks to promote their welfare.' That gentleman (Mr. Abrahams) tells us that he is acquainted with the people of North America, and that this Society is formed, in part, for the benefit of the free people of color. Does that gentleman know that when an effort was made at New-Haven, two or three years since, to establish a College for the instruction of the free people of color,—notwithstanding New-Haven is within the boundaries of that part of the country which is called the 'free States,'—yet the supporters of the Society came forward, held a meeting, and passed the most spirited resolutions against the establishment of that institution in the city? (Hear, hear!) Does that gentleman know that in the same State, a white female, in endeavoring to establish a school for the instruction of colored females, has been most inhumanly assailed by the advocates of the Colonization Society, who, in town meetings, passed resolutions against her benevolent object, as spirited as if the cholera were about to break out in the village, and they by a single effort of this kind could hinder its devastations? They could not have acted with more promptness, and energy, and violence, than they did, in persecuting this excellent lady, because her compassion led her to espouse the cause of the suffering blacks. (Cheers.) They were

ready to expel her from the country. I could relate many facts with regard to that part of the country, for which the Rev. gentleman contends, and show that, instead of the American Colonization Society seeking the welfare of the free people of color, it is their most bitter enemy. Whenever it speaks of this class, both in public and in private, it calumniates and abuses them in the most extravagant manner, as its reports will abundantly show.

Wishing to be brief, and knowing that there are gentlemen present who will address you with more interest than I can, (hear, hear,) I will make but one remark more, and that respects the designs of this Society, with regard to Africa. O, bleeding, suffering Africa! We hear of the sad condition which that country is in; it is enveloped in darkness, infinitely deeper than the sable hue of its degraded sons. The vilest superstition there abounds; and hence this Society represents it as their object to let in the rays of the gospel, and enlighten the people. But, according to their own reports, whom do they select as instruments to spread civilization and christianity? People not fit to live in America—people who are a disgrace to that country. (Hear, hear.) I pity Africa as much as any man; I want her to be enlightened; but let us send men who are enlightened themselves. If we mean to evangelize Africa, let us at least send Christians there to do the work. (Cheers.)

Mr. Garrison has well remarked that the free people of color, in the United States, are opposed to this Society. I will venture to assert that I am as extensively acquainted with them, throughout both the free and slave States, as any man in that country; and I do not know of a solitary colored individual who entertains the least favorable view of the American Colonization Society; but, in every way, they possibly could, they have expressed their disapprobation of it. They have said to the Society, '*Let us alone.*'

The argument which is brought by the friends of the Society in favor of colonization is, that the white population of America can never amalgamate or live on terms of equality with the blacks. Be it so. Let it be admitted that their prejudices are strong. All that I will say is, that if such be the case, they ought not to send an agent to this country to ask assistance to enable them to gratify a prejudice of which they ought to be ashamed. (Cheers.)

J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Esq. M. P. next addressed the assembly. In rising to speak (said the honorable gentleman) to this resolution,\* it is

\* The speech of DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq. should precede that of Mr. Buckingham; but the manuscript was left in England for his revision, and, to my disappointment, it has not yet been received, although I am expecting it daily. It shall be given to the nation as soon as practicable. The resolution which is referred to by Mr. Buckingham was offered by Mr. O'Connell,

probable that I shall have occasion to make a claim upon your justice and impartiality, with a view of making some statements not at all to invalidate those you have already heard, but to show how far, and to what extent, I accord with the sentiments of the meeting, and where conscientiously I feel it my duty to stop.

In the first place, in order to propitiate your willing ear, I beg to state that while at the present moment the greater proportion happily of the people of England demand not merely emancipation, but the *immediate* emancipation of the slaves in whatsoever quarter of the world they may be found; that more than twenty years ago, I stood almost alone, in the advocacy of the sentiment; and, therefore, if I am a heretic with respect to slavery, my heresy has been rather in advance than in arrear of the general mass of mankind. No one will, after this statement, for a moment suppose that I can think or say any thing as an apology for the existence or the continuance of slavery. But the advertence that has been made to the American Colonization Society induces me to say thus much. It is now some months since I first became acquainted with its object. From the manner in which that object was stated in the paragraphs I read, and from a person with whom I have conversed upon the subject, I saw clearly that the abolition of slavery was *not* its main object, but that the settlement in Africa of persons emancipated, or persons set free, was the chief end to which the Society looked. Feeling that the abolition of slavery was a high and holy design, I made an objection to the advocate of the American Colonization Society, that it was not included in his plan; and thereupon, as it were, we separated, because though I was convinced that the civilization of Africa was a grand object, yet the plan would have recommended itself to me with ten-fold force if it had been associated with the abolition of slavery, instead of the transportation of those previously free. I therefore never have been the advocate (God forbid! that such a thing should be possible) of the American Colonization Society in that respect; (hear, hear;) and on all occasions when an appeal has been made to myself, or I have been requested to appeal to others for funds, I have declined doing both the one and the other, conceiving it to be an American and not a British object, and one in which I could not concur.

seconded by Capt. Charles Stuart, and adopted by the meeting—as follows:

*Resolved*, That the colonization of the free people of color of the United States in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient, has ever been the fundamental principle of the American Colonization Society; that the abolition of slavery has never been an object of the Society; but that, on the contrary, the security of slave property has always been the governing motive, and that the decrease of manumissions, under the influence of the principles of the Society, proves its efficiency for that purpose.'

The conclusions to which I have come is, (after having read the controversy, if I may so say, and the correspondence on both sides—for this question has two sides like every other,) I believe the motives which originated the Society were benevolent. The aim of its first promoters was to meliorate the condition of certain individuals, by removing them, with their own consent, from a land in which prejudices existed against them to a great extent. But the slave-owners, seeing that the scheme might be turned to their own advantage, have availed themselves of its instrumentality; and I grieve to say, they have obtained the mastery, and that the benevolent portion of the subscribers has sunk into a small minority; so that the agency of the Society is employed for the interests of those who regard abolition as altogether contrary to their interests. (1)

To show that I am not singular in believing that there are some persons who contribute to its funds from benevolent motives, who believe that it does not deserve all the odium that has been cast upon it, I may say that no later than yesterday, I read a letter from THOMAS CLARKSON, (2) a gentleman whom no one can refuse to call the great apostle of abolition and the

(1) Mr. Buckingham is a gentleman of whom I entertain a high opinion. He is an uncompromising enemy of slavery, and a strenuous advocate of immediate and total abolition. But this speech, the reader will readily perceive, is full of contradictions. The truth is, Mr. Buckingham was the only *abolitionist* who was entrapped at the meeting held in London for the formation of a British Colonization Society; and in his endeavors to justify himself in the eyes of his abolition brethren, he often speaks quite inconsistently. For instance—at one moment he expresses his utter disapprobation of the American Colonization Society, and his determination to oppose it; and at the next, he aims to show that, after all, it has done much good, and is so benevolent as to secure the approbation of even Clarkson himself!—So much for making one false step. It is evident, moreover, that Mr. Buckingham was not aware of the fact, that of the individuals who assembled to form the Colonization Society, every one who advocated the measure at the meeting was a *SLAVEHOLDER*. Nor does he seem to be aware that a large majority of its managers have, from its commencement, been *SLAVEHOLDERS*. He errs in supposing that southern oppressors had not, until within a few years, 'obtained the mastery' over the Society, for they always held it.

(2) This letter was, in fact, written some time previous to the meeting at Exeter Hall. Since that meeting was held, I have had a long interview with the venerable CLARKSON, the particulars of which cannot be inserted in this pamphlet. Let this suffice: he said to me, with great emphasis,—'Tell the people of the United States, Mr. Garrison, that THOMAS CLARKSON is now resolved not to give any countenance to the American Colonization Society. Tell them that he refused to comply with the solicitation of Mr. Cresson to become an honorary member of it; and also refused to give his sanction to the British Colonization Society. *I occupy neutral ground*. My letter to Mr. Cresson, in favor of the American Colonization Society, was extorted by his statement [what a statement!!] that one hundred thousand slaves had been offered to the Society, gratuitously, to be sent to Liberia. This unparalleled liberality seemed to me to be indeed the work of God.'

friend of the negro, in which he declared that after having examined the evidence produced upon both sides, he still believed that the Colonization Society had done good; that it was doing good; and that still more good would result from its efforts. Now, therefore, if, after having taken all the pains that a man could take to arrive at a right conclusion, I should seem to differ from some persons present, I only ask for the exercise of that charity which has been so eloquently pleaded for by my honorable friend, (Mr. O'Connell,) and beg that you will regard those who entertain this opinion as being as conscientious as those who entertain an opposite sentiment.

Having said that *I am no friend to the American Colonization Society*, and that I think the *excess of evil far predominates over the good*, (hear, hear,) I should be the last individual to hold up my hand, or to use my tongue, in supporting it; (hear, hear!) and so I have said upon every occasion.

But another motive that induces me to intrude on the meeting is this; an attempt has been made very recently to form a Colonization Society of English origin and growth, whose object should be to settle on the coast of Africa, such free blacks as might be willing to go, with a view of spreading civilization throughout that country. Now the two objects are distinct: to civilize Africa is one thing—to emancipate the slaves another: (hear, hear!) and if Africa can be civilized without rivetting the chains around the slaves, I think it an object worthy the attention of the British public. To show that these objects can be separated, I may state that at the time when the abolition of the slave-trade took place in England, there were many who rejoiced in the event, but who clung with an almost unintelligible pertinacity to the continuance of slavery.

The advocates of gradual emancipation could not comprehend upon what ground immediate emancipation was better. There are degrees in all these conclusions, some arriving at them later, some sooner, and some hardly ever arriving at a right conclusion at all.

The origin of the American Colonization Society, as I stated at a public meeting some time ago, has, I believe, drawn some imputation upon the motives of those who assisted at that meeting. I was one, and I stated to the individual who made the proposition, that I never would be a party to any thing like assisting the American Colonization Society, but that I would keep myself entirely apart and distinct from it. (Hear, hear.) I felt it the more necessary to say this, inasmuch as, though humble as I am, I hope the occasion will arrive when I shall be able to render a service to the cause of a British Colonization Society; and I would not weaken the object, by appearing to abate in my zeal and energy for the emancipation of slaves throughout the world.

3

Now a word or two, and I shall conclude. Having been present at the meeting to which I have alluded, and knowing that Elliott Cresson had been challenged to appear before a public meeting and combat the point, *I advised him to do so*. (Hear, hear.) I said, 'if you do not, you will deservedly labor under the disadvantageous conclusion which every individual will draw from your absence; you must weigh all the consequences.'

There are others connected with the Society: there is one gentleman behind, (Mr. Abrahams,) who intended to have given his reasons for not agreeing with the statements made upon the present occasion, but who has been prevented from speaking. Now I think the regulation of the Chairman a good one; I think the resolutions should be gone through, and then those who have an opposition to make should state their reasons for it; but he will forgive me for saying, that that was not the case at the meeting the other day; for there it happened that before the meeting was a quarter concluded, an opposition was raised, and this was persevered in, honestly and fairly, quite throughout the meeting; and, therefore, the parties are not on equal terms. I think, as I just now stated, that the present arrangement is far better than the other; but they have an undoubted advantage, which they do not appear so willing to give to their opponents. (1) I think that the nature of the Society is not such as is likely to make a revolution, and, therefore, it is better to allow these statements to be made.

The last thing that I shall say is, that such a Society having been formed, it became the duty of the party to announce its principles; and when I mention that the *Duke of Sussex*, the Duke of Bedford, and Lord Bexley, examined this matter for themselves, and admitted not merely of their names to sanction it, but gave their persons to grace the meeting, I think you will agree with me that they would not be parties to support anything likely to continue slavery. (2) The object was to gain

(1) This imputation was very unfair. The meeting at Exeter Hall was not intended for a general discussion of the merits of the American Colonization Society. It was called by me expressly to expose the real principles and tendencies of that Society, without authorizing any of its partizans to come and interrupt its proceedings; although I should have been glad if Elliott Cresson had accepted my invitation to him to be present. The expense of a public meeting at Exeter Hall is usually about \$500: it was very ungenerous, therefore,—after all my efforts to bring Mr Cresson to a fair and full discussion,—for any persons to occupy the time of the meeting who were not specially invited to speak, and whose views were not in accordance with the objects of the meeting.

(2) One thing is certain—they have never been 'parties to support anything likely to abolish slavery.' Not one of these gentlemen has been associated with the abolition cause in England. At the Hanover-square Room meeting, to which Mr Buckingham alludes, the *Duke of Sussex*, (Mr Cresson's 'particular friend,') in the course of some remarks, said—'Let

encouragement from the example of Liberia, and to establish a Colony in its vicinity that should be entirely British, but that should have power to co-operate with any Society that might be formed to civilize Africa.

A question has been raised with regard to Liberia. Mr. O'CONNELL has said that he has read flattering paragraphs in the newspapers respecting it, and I am bound to assume that they have rather painted the condition of that colony; but there is in this Hall a Lieutenant, who, having been present at the meeting, stated this fact, that he had captured many slave vessels under Cape Mesurado previous to the establishment of the colony at Liberia; that several years intervened before he again visited the spot, and he then found, to his great joy and satisfaction, that the establishment of the colony had drawn the slave trade from the place where it before existed, (1) and that he found the colony in a flourishing condition. I have seen a newspaper which is published there, and which is conducted with a degree of intelligence which would be honorable to the people of England (2); and whatever may have been the motives that induced persons to send the individuals there, I believe they are more happy by their transplantation. (Cries of 'No! no!') If they are not, there is no impediment to their leaving the colony. (3)

those gentlemen who are favorable to the anti-slavery system,—and I must confess I DO NOT ADMIRE THE SYSTEM—but that is matter of opinion [murmurs and a few cries of oh! oh!—]—let those gentlemen call a meeting of their own and discuss their objections. (Vide London Morning Chronicle of July 5.) Mr Buckingham is unfortunate in his references.

(1) But has it diminished the slave trade in the aggregate? No. What has Sierra Leone done in almost half a century to abolish that trade? Nothing. On the contrary, it has given it countenance and support. That colony and Liberia are convenient stopping-places at which slave ships may obtain their supplies of provisions, rum, gun powder, &c.

(2) The Liberia Herald is a little dingy, rudely printed monthly sheet, utterly contemptible in its appearance, and conducted in an ordinary manner. It may be a wonder in Liberia, and emanating from Liberia, but it has no intrinsic merit in itself.

(3) Yes there is—first, the impediment of poverty, for very few of the colonists can procure the means necessary to return; next, the obstructions which are thrown in their way by the government; and, lastly, the unwillingness of captains of vessels visiting Liberia to carry them back. The following extract of a letter which I have just received from a highly esteemed friend in Philadelphia, puts this matter in a still clearer light. He says:

'A colonizationist from Washington assured me, the other day, that none of the emigrants to Liberia would ever be permitted to return and reside in this country. "What!" said he, "do you think we are such d—d fools as to spend our money to get rid of them, and then allow them to come back again? No—never! Once away, they can never come here any more." "But," said I, "I thought it was all a scheme of benevolence; and, if so, surely you would not compel them to remain in exile against their will?" "Benevolence?" said he—"ha! ha! ha! No—it is to get rid of the d—d fice niggers."

The very circumstance of their remaining there,—they being free to go; the circumstance of their acquiring property, and enjoying equal rights and privileges, and being on an equal footing, while in America they are subject to numerous disadvantages, is to my mind a proof that all is not correct that has been stated against Liberia, and that a large amount of good has sprung from the colony which those in favor of emancipation have been slow to believe. (Applause.)


Well, then, come we to the conclusion, namely, whether this object, the colonization of Africa by persons taken from our own colonies, is or is not desirable? The emancipation of the slaves is now happily settled by the British nation, though not by Parliament, because whatever the Parliament may do, I am sure the British nation are so unanimous and so strong on this point, that King, Lords and Commons will never be able to prevent emancipation, and in a short time, compared with that which the Bill recognizes. It is believed by some that when emancipation takes place, inconvenience will arise by there being more slaves than can find profitable occupation as free men; though I am aware some think the contrary. But when the question is put, what are you to do with the surplus slaves that will be thrown out of employment? (1) it will be an excellent answer, that a British colony has been founded upon a healthy part of the coast of Africa, where those individuals may find an asylum from persecution, acquire possession of property, and the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, and where the tyrant white shall not be an impediment to the improvement they shall make; but where, passing from the coast to the interior, they will be able to assist in putting down the slave trade, and in spreading information and christianity side by side, precisely in the same manner as England was visited by the Romans; precisely as America, with the exception of the continuance of slavery, became a happy nation.

The last observation I shall make respects the shame, the guilt, the impropriety of the American government permitting the system of slavery to continue. It is seen in every country, that moral guilt does not depend upon latitude or longitude—upon heat or cold; but it is more aggravated in America than elsewhere, (hear, hear!) because the act of independence being filled with declarations of freedom, they yet perpetuate slavery. I think no person should open his mouth on the subject of slavery without associating with his denunciations of this crime his abhorrence of the hypocritical conduct of America, that

(1) Ludicrous enough!—There is, in fact, no prospect of a redundant population in the West India islands for a thousand years to come. This part of Mr Buckingham's speech was answered with great keenness and spirit by George Thompson, Esq.

extends the banner of freedom over the rest of the world, and yet tolerates this system.

I beg to say that so far as the object of this meeting is to prevent assistance being given to the American Colonization Society, and to state that the benevolence exercised on its behalf should be directed to other channels, so far I agree with it; and wherever it may be my lot to be placed, I shall lose no opportunity of stating that impression. But inasmuch as I do believe that a settlement on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of colonization, though unconnected with any participation of the American scheme, would be beneficial; yet if an opportunity occurs, I would correspond with that or any other body to do good, upon the same principle that if an act of charity were to be done, we would not refuse the aid of an individual because his conduct in some other respects was such as we reprobated. My object simply is to promote the abolition of slavery throughout the world,—in the east and in the west,—and at the same time to civilize the barbarous, instruct the ignorant, turn the heathen into a christian, and so fulfil the great purpose of our creation by diffusing the intelligence which God has given us, and for which we can never express our gratitude to Him in a more impressive mode than by making others the participants of the blessings we enjoy. (Cheers.)

[ Since the preceding sheet was printed, I have received from the London reporter a copy of the speech of DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq. which should have preceded that of Mr. BUCKINGHAM, and which is given below. It is proper to state that Mr. O'CONNELL has not revised this copy.]

DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq. on presenting himself to the notice of the meeting, was received with enthusiastic cheers.

It is quite true, said the learned gentleman, that I have risen to propose a resolution relating both to America and to Africa; but at the present awful and portentous crisis of the great cause in which we are engaged, I cannot allow my mind to be called across the Western waves, without directing your attention, for a moment, to the situation in which that cause now stands in this country. It is in a state deserving our deepest consideration. I know not which to begin with, congratulation or condolence; I know not which to speak, the language of joy or of sorrow; but I fear that the latter ought to predominate, and that the sentiments to be uttered respecting the cause of negro emancipation in this country, should somewhat resemble my national music—the melodies of a conquered people, filled with octave tones of melancholy, and from which there only burst out occasionally the exhilarating melodies of the Irish character. (Cheers.) I think it should be a mixture of that kind; for although I hail negro emancipation as one of the greatest benefits that can

be conferred by one man upon another, yet I never will consent to buy it with £20,000,000 of the public money. (Loud applause.) The people of England have enough thrown upon them already. What is it that presses so heavily upon the poorer classes? What is it that weighs down the operative? What is it that diminishes the wages for labor, and makes industry in our nation almost useless? Why, the burden of taxation, to be sure. And are any men to come and say they will add £20,000,000 more to a debt already most enormous? I would be ready, and so would the British nation, to make any sacrifice in the cause of humanity, provided it was for the good of our fellow men. But the *principle* here is a bad one. SLAVERY IS A CRIME, AND THEREFORE IT IS NOT AN ARTICLE TO BE SOLD; and we will never recognize the sentiment that it deserves a price. (Cheers.) Or if money is to be given, give it to the wretched slaves; but do not give it to the men who hold the lash over the backs of their fellow creatures, and refuse to lay it down even though a female form be fainting before them! I protest against remuneration to the planters in *principle*—I protest against it in *practice*; and I could not address a public meeting on this subject, without calling upon every one present to disclaim the bargain of blood and the traffic of oppression. (Loud cheers.)

But, again, the principle is bad—the practice is bad—but the *application* is still worse. What! are we to pay our £20,000,000, and get nothing in return? It is true, the negro is not to be a *slave*, but he is to be, forsooth, an *apprentice*! (A laugh.) What signifies it to him how you change his name? Will his condition be the better, because you tell him that he is no longer a slave, but his name is 'an apprentice?' True, under the Government plan, the negro driver is no longer to flog him; but we are to send men from England, at a salary of £500 or £600 per annum, to sanction corporeal punishment. (Hear, hear.) It is a great matter to be an apprentice, and to be flogged according to law. (Laughter and cheers.) But the most melancholy thing is, that this plan involves the honor of England. It is a plundering of Englishmen; it is an injustice to the negro; and it will not issue, I fear, in procuring negro emancipation in that peace, quietude, christian feeling and charity, which we wish it to do. Oh, those silly and foolish men (for I must call them so) who have planned this scheme, and insist upon it! They will produce emancipation, but it will be in the blood of the Colonies. It is a duty I feel to man, and before God, to avail myself of every opportunity of protesting against that scheme. (Cheers.)

I have, however, moments of exquisite delight. I remember that 1,500,000 of the people of this country have joined in petitioning the Legislature, for the total and immediate

abolition of slavery. (Cheers.) Oh, blessings upon them! Every age, every station, may every sex, has united in those petitions. The women of England have led the way; and under the banners of the maids and matrons of England, proud must that individual be who shall have an opportunity of telling them, 'At your command we have done our duty, and slavery is at an end.' (Cheers.) I blame those who were in authority for not adopting proper measures when a case of arrant barbarity and ruffianism was proved against a scoundrel, belonging to one of the Legislative assemblies in the West Indies. I call things by their proper names. (Cheers.) He ordered a female Negro to be flogged for no reason, or simply because he pleased; and when he went into the gaol where he had confined her, and she complained that she did not deserve the treatment she had experienced, he ordered her another flogging. (Hear, hear!)

One thing I should say, that has filled my mind with horror, is, the insolence of the slave owners in their public addresses in this country, and the audacity of their speeches in the American Congress. A ruffian in this country taunted the females who signed the petitions, by calling them the Dorothis, and Tabithas, and Priscillas. I stigmatized him as a ruffian, in my place in Parliament; and I stigmatize him as such here. (Loud cheers.) It is pleasant to see this unanimity—to see every religious persuasion joining to insist that this black stain shall be taken out of the banner of England, that it shall no longer be tarnished with blood, and that liberty shall be indigenous to our soil. (Cheers.) This absurd scheme of emancipation which Ministers have formed, is something like the fairy tale of Aladdin's lamp; or, rather, the latter dwindles into insignificance when compared with the former. This day it is to be a *loan* of £15,000,000; but receiving another rub of the lamp, it comes out to-morrow a gift of £20,000,000. (A laugh.) It is one of your statesmen, who has the merit of coining words into ducats—and I would give him credit for it; but when a man seeks to coin men and women into money, I can only hold him in contempt.

The principle of negro emancipation is decided in this country; and all that is required is, that the people, here and every where else, before Parliament can deliberate upon the plan openly, should prepare themselves for it. I have other duties to perform; I am not at home, though I contrive to find myself at home; (a laugh)—but prepare yourselves for it, and let the voice of the English people condemn the *plan*, (1) while they insist upon the *principle*. (Cheers.)

(1) The Emancipation Bill which was passed at the last session of Parliament, binds the slaves as *apprentices* to their masters for seven years, and gives to those tyrants a compensation of £20,000,000!—It is viewed with universal indignation in England.

I ought to apologize to the meeting for having commenced on this subject; but my heart is full, and when I see that the cup of liberty is held in one hand, how can I see poisonous ingredients thrown into it with the other, without exclaiming against the hand which is mixing the poison, and calling for the cup of liberty, pure and uncontaminated? (Loud cheers.)

I will now go to America. I have often longed to go there, in reality; but so long as it is tarnished by slavery, I will never pollute my foot by treading on its shores. (Cheers.) In the course of my Parliamentary duty, a few days ago, I had to arraign the conduct of the despot of the North, for his cruelty to the men, women and children of Poland; and I spoke of him with the execration he merits. But, I confess, that although I hate him with as much hatred as one christian man can hate another human being, viz. I detest his actions with abhorrence, unutterable and indescribable; yet there is a climax in my hatred. I would adopt the language of the poet, but reverse the imagery, and say,

'In the deepest hell, there is a depth still more profound,

and that is to be found in the conduct of the American slave-owners. (Cheers.) They are the basest of the base—the most execrable of the execrable. I thank God that upon the wings of the press, the voice of so humble an individual as myself will pass against the western breeze—that it will reach the rivers, the lakes, the mountains, and the glens of America—and that the friends of liberty there will sympathize with me, and rejoice that I here tear down the image of liberty from the recreant hand of America, and condemn her as the vilest of hypocrites—the greatest of liars. (Long continued cheers.)

Why do I say so? An American gentleman waited upon me this morning; and I asked him, with some anxiety, 'What part of America do you come from?'—'I came from Boston.' Do me the honor to shake hands; you come from a State that has never been tarnished with slavery (1)—a State to which our ancestors fled from the tyranny of England—and the worst of all tyrannies, *the odious attempt to interfere between a man and his God*—a tyranny that I have in principle helped to put down in this country, and wish to put down in every country upon the face of the globe. (Cheers.) It is odious and insolent to inter-

(1) This is strictly true respecting the *State of Massachusetts*; for as soon as our present Constitution was adopted, in which it is declared that all men are born free and equal, &c. it was decided on trial before the Supreme Court that no person could be lawfully held in bondage within the limits of the State. Massachusetts, however, as a province, became implicated in the crime of slavery as early as the year 1629; and until the year 1807 she was a prosecutor of the foreign slave trade. She therefore does not deserve so much credit as Mr. O'Connell has awarded to her.

fere between a man and his God; to fetter with law the choice which the conscience makes of its mode of adoring the eternal and adorable God. I cannot talk of toleration, because it supposes that a boon has been given to a human being, in allowing him to have his conscience free. (Cheers.) It was in that struggle, I said, that your fathers left England; and I rejoice to see an American from Boston; but I should be sorry to be contaminated by the touch of a man from those States where slavery is continued. (Cheers.) 'Oh,' said he, 'you are alluding to slavery: though I am no advocate for it, yet, if you will allow me, I will discuss that question with you.' I replied, that if a man should propose to me a discussion on the propriety of picking pockets, I would turn him out of my study, for fear he should carry his theory into practice. (Laughter and cheers.) 'And meaning you no sort of offence,' I added, 'which I cannot mean to a gentleman who does me the honor of paying me a civil visit, I would as soon discuss the one question with you as the other.' The one is a paltry theft:

'He that steals my purse, steals trash; 'tis something, nothing;  
'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands'—but he who thinks he can vindicate the possession of one human being by another—the sale of soul and body—the separation of father and mother—the taking of the mother from the infant at her breast—and selling the one to one master, and the other to another, is a man whom I will not answer with words—nor with blows, for the time for the latter has not yet come. (Cheers.)

But there is a lie stamped on the Constitution of the United States: for when this country most unjustly and tyrannically oppressed its Colonies, and insisted that a Parliament of borough-mongers in Westminster should have the power of putting their long fingers across the Atlantic into the pockets of the Americans, taking out as much as they pleased, and, if they found anything, leaving what *residuum* they chose—America turned round, and appealed to JUSTICE—and she was right; appealed to HUMANITY—and she was right; appealed to her own brave swords—and she was right, and I glory in it. At that awful period when America was exciting all the nations of the world; when she was declaring her independence, and her inhabitants pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, and invoked the God of charity (whom they foolishly called the God of battle, which he is not, any more than he is the God of murder)—at that awful period when they laid the foundation of their liberty, they began with these words:—'*We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; and that amongst these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness.*'

Thus the American has acknowledged what he cannot deny, viz. that God the Creator has endowed men with those things as inalienable rights. But it is not the white man, it is not the copper colored man, nor is it the black man alone, who is thus endowed; but it is *all* men who are possessed of these inalienable rights. The man, however, who cannot vote in any State assembly without admitting this as the foundation of his liberty, has the atrocious injustice, the murderous injustice, to trample upon these inalienable rights; as it were, to attempt to rob the Creator of his gifts, and to appropriate to himself his brother man, as if he could be his slave. (Cheers.) Shame be upon America! eternal shame be upon her escutcheon! (Loud cheers.)

Shortly there will not be a slave in the British Colonies. Five lines in an Act of Parliament, the other night, liberated nearly 500,000 slaves in the East Indies, at a single blow. The West Indians will be obliged to grant emancipation, in spite of the paltry attempts to prevent it; and then we will turn to America, and to every part of Europe, and require emancipation. (Cheers.) When an American comes into society, he will then be asked, 'Are you one of the thieves, or are you an honest man?' (Cheers.) If you be an honest man, then you have given liberty to your slaves; if you are among the thieves, the sooner you take the outside of the house, the better.' (Laughter.) No! they must not think that they can boast of their republican institutions—that they can talk of their strength and their glory. Unless they abolish slavery, they must write themselves down *liars*, or call a general Convention of the States, and blot out the first sentence of their Declaration of Independence, and write in its place, '*Liberty in America means the power to flog slaves, and to work them for nothing.*' (Loud applause.)

In the late contest between South Carolina and the General Government, I felt a natural inclination to join the oppressed State. I perceived that the tariff, for the protection of manufactures, was in principle a trap of the General Government to lay on taxation for the benefit of the free States (1)—that it was a solacism in politics; and though I could not agree with the nullification principle, so long as the Constitution left untried resources—such as calling a general Convention—yet, feeling the injustice of the tariff to the southern States, I felt an anxiety to be able to embody my opinions with theirs; especially as I was in-

(1) It is evident, from this avowal, that Mr. O'Connell does not accurately comprehend the legitimate powers of Congress, and that he is ignorant of the practical operations of the tariff in relation to the free and slave States. Nullification is not the fruit of governmental but of southern despotism. It is to be regretted that the Irish patriot has been led to the conclusion, even for a moment, that the charge of usurpation was justly applicable to Congress, and not to the despotic and seditious nullifiers themselves.

formed that my humble name would have some influence with the natives of Ireland, who swarm through the American States, and who were inclined to support the General Government. I was, therefore, tempted to go as far as I could, in preventing them from sustaining injustice. But when I came to reflect that Carolina and Georgia were slave-owning States; that they had forbidden the blacks from approaching schools, or any persons from giving them literary instruction; nay, when I read laws prohibiting, upon the severest penalty, the teaching of the free people of color to read or write—when I saw those States shutting the door that stood between the light of science and the human mind, cutting off all opportunities of obtaining education, and especially by the best modes—by moral and religious instruction—I thought that, humble and insignificant as I was, my name was too good to be tarnished by lending it to States that were erecting a perpetual barrier against the diffusion of information. (Cheers.)

See what the nature of slavery is!—The negro is to be a slave; he is to live the whole of his life without hope; and then to die, also, without it, because he must die without a knowledge of the Redeemer. He is to work without recompense, and all his feelings, as well as his person, may be lacerated as his owner pleases. But that is not enough; for fear they should lose this horrible *property*, as they dare to call it, they interpose between a man and a knowledge of his Creator. (Hear, hear!) It is, therefore, in vain for the American to plead anything in excuse. (Applause.)

But then, when reflecting on this subject, I formerly had some consolation. I thought there were humane men in America, employed in mitigating these evils, and establishing the principles of universal emancipation. I heard of the Colony at Liberia; I read puffs of it in the newspapers; I saw, day after day, declarations of its importance towards liberating the slave. (Hear, hear.) I was waited upon by grave personages, who *appeared* to detest slavery as much as I did. They told me of the principles of the American Colonization Society—that it aimed at the destruction of slavery—and I took them at their words, and was glad to have another corps in the cause of humanity. I had not then read the real history, nor the real character of the Society; but you, Mr. Chairman, have enlightened me, and I thank you for it. I find one passage that answers my purpose, and I will refer you to the work from which I make the quotation. It will be found in the 3rd volume of the African Repository, page 107, and is in these words: '*It is no Abolition Society; it addresses, as yet, arguments to no master.*' What harm would it be to argue with the master? (Cheers.) What an admirable Society is this, that will not, for fear of offending the gentility of the master, tell him that he

ought not to have a slave! It is too polite for that. (A laugh.) And this is the Society that has the insolence to come before the British public, and represent itself as an instrument of humanity! (Hear, hear.) Words, it is said, break no bones; and what mischief could they do to these fellows by arguing with them? They might, to be sure, by showing them that they were neither honest men nor christians, make them sleep the worse until their consciences became case hardened. (Cheers.) '*And disavows with horror the idea of offering temptations to any slave*'—temptations to be free! to have a right to go with his wife and family where he pleases! to have a right to remain together, and to work for themselves, and not for any body else! (Cheers.) O! the poor Negro, who toils from rising sun to sundown; who labors in the cultivation of a crop, the profit of which he shall never reap; who comes home weary, and faint, and distressed, and heart sick, to find in his little hut creatures that are to run in the same career as himself—will they not tell him of the arrival of a period when his toil shall be at an end? will they not tell him of the love of Him who sustained creation's curse, that he might soften their pillow on the journey to the skies? O! no, not a word! (Cheers.) '*Offering temptations to any slave*'! They will have temptations enough! The voice of Europe will proclaim the slave's deliverance, and will say to him, '*SHED NO BLOOD, BUT TAKE CARE THAT YOUR BLOOD BE NOT SHED.*' '*Offering temptations to any slave!*' Why, I tell the American slave owner that he shall not have silence; for, humble as I am, and feeble as my voice may be, yet deafening the sound of the Westerly wave, and riding against the blast as thunder goes, it shall reach America, and tell the black man that the time of his emancipation is come, and the oppressor that the period of his injustice is terminated! (Cheers.) '*It denies the design of attempting emancipation, either partial or general.*' This is the Society we are called upon to support! We are told that men who can endure slavery, cannot endure freedom. The West Indians tell us that the moment the negroes get their freedom, that moment they will rebel. They do not rebel while they are tortured by the whip, but the instant you attempt to mitigate their sufferings, they will evince a disposition to rebellion. (Hear, hear.) The West Indians say, they will not have sudden emancipation; but this Society is worse—for, '*It denies the design of attempting emancipation, either partial or general.*'

Now, am I right in asking you to disclaim the agent of the American Colonization Society? In this country, the aristocracy and the oligarchy have got up an admirable scheme for transporting the peasants of England. They do not like to have them standing between 'the wind and their nobility'—(a laugh)

—and accordingly, you have the emigration scheme. The press has been teeming, for the last eight or ten years, with publications containing the most beautiful descriptions of Canada—just as if no man can enjoy health who is not six months out of the twelve in the snow, and as if going into the woods and wilds of a desert is better than inhabiting the great towns of England! (Laughter and cheers.) You read of parishes every day, transporting Englishmen for the crime of being poor; and the American Colonization Society is taking up the same principle. 'We have done injustice,' it says, 'to the black man—we are doing injustice to him—shall we now do him justice? O, no; we will transport him to Africa!' That is just the scheme they have got up. (Cheers.)

The American Colonization Society has been branded with many names already. There is, however, one which it has not yet received, but which it richly deserves. I knew a gentleman, of an imaginative mind, who went out to Sierra Leone; and on his return, he told a friend of mine that a cargo of bars of iron, which had been sent to that Colony, was found, after it had lain in a store two months, to be completely *worm eaten*. (Laughter.) 'Why,' said my friend, 'what kind of worms eat iron?' 'Oh,' said he, 'they were as like bugs as any worms you can see.' My friend, who had a little Irish drollery about him, remarked, 'We have bugs of that kind in Ireland, but we call them *hum-bugs*.' (Loud cheers.) Now, the American Colonization Society is a bug of that description—it is a *HUMBUG*. (Renewed and long continued cheers.) It will eat iron like anything; it will digest it like an ostrich; there is nothing too hard for the stomach of the American Colonization Society. (Cheers.) *It is the most ludicrous Society that ever yet was dreamed of.* Am I to be told that my talented and reverend friend, (the Rev. Mr. PAUL,) who stood where I stand, and became the advocate of the rights of his own race—the man who would draw the veil of humanity over the crimes of others—is to be persecuted on account of his sable hue? It reminds me of an anecdote respecting the celebrated Burckhardt, who, in the course of his travels, penetrated into the depths of Abyssinia. In the heart of that country he went to market, where he met a young woman—of course perfectly black—who had a basket of eggs for sale. The moment she saw the white man, she exclaimed, 'How ugly! The devil! the devil!' (A laugh.) She dropped her basket, broke her eggs, and ran away at the sight of a white man. There is no reason for removing the negro from America but his color; and I wish the Colonization Society may meet with a few black girls, (1) who will exclaim regarding it (and which they may do with more propriety)

as the black girl did with respect to Burckhardt—'The devil! the devil!' (Cheers.)

I told you that there was, in my native music, a mixture of melancholy and of joy—that when sorrow saddens our minds, there is a revulsion in favor of nobler sentiments—and I trust that revulsion is seldom or never mixed with any other feelings than those which soothe that sorrow, and advance that principle, which would extinguish it for ever. (Cheers.)

By my humble advocacy here, I come before the British public to tell them of a wretched delusion—of a scheme, which, instead of emancipating the slave, would transport him from that which has become his native clime to a distant colony, without the party having been guilty of any crime. I come to proclaim the absurdity of giving credit to men who are not for emancipation, either partial or general. I come to stop the ever open hand of charity, which, when appealed to in this country, pours out the horn of plenty in aid of the wretched and distressed, no matter what their clime may be. I wish not to have it deluded or mistaken: I wish to have it directed to a proper object—the object of obtaining liberty for every one of the human race. As we have now arrived at a period when the Genthoo in India is about to have a Government that shall cease to be terrific; as we have arrived at a period when the first effort in civilization is making for hundreds of millions of the inhabitants of that country who are entrusted to our care; I trust our exertions, on behalf of the black man in the East Indies, will be like the stream that flows from one of my own native mountains, which, though insignificant and trivial at the commencement, as it descends the mountain unites with other springs, until in the valley it spreads itself abroad, diffusing beauty and fertility to every approaching object. (Cheers.) The words I throw out here may be instrumental in forming a Society in this country, which shall see that the East, as well as the West Indies have justice done them; and as future ages will trumpet forth the glory of the Anti-Slavery Society in this country, so another Anti-Slavery Society, springing up as another mighty oak of the same stock, may shed its branches over the American Indians, and work for the black man there, as we have worked for him in the West Indies. As we, by an act of justice, are striking off the fetters from 800,000 of our fellow creatures; so, in the name of justice, I stand before you, as arraigning America for her crime in perpetuating slavery, and as arraigning, above all, the American Colonization Society, as ludicrous and absurd, and as diverting from their legitimate course those streams of benevolence which flow around us in such munificent splendor. The voice of humanity will laud your exertions, and I fervently hope that the God of justice will smile upon your efforts. (Long continued cheers.)

(1) The Colonization Society has already met with thousands of such girls.

The learned gentleman concluded by moving the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That the colonization of the free people of color of the United States in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient, has ever been the fundamental principle of the American Colonization Society; that the abolition of slavery has never been an object of the Society; but that, on the contrary, the security of slave property has always been the governing motive, and that the decrease of manumissions, under the influence of the principles of the Society, proves its efficiency for that purpose.

Capt. CHARLES STUART in rising said—I second the resolution which has been proposed for your adoption with my whole soul: it commends itself to your understandings and your hearts. I will merely add one word to what has been already advanced. I call upon you to denounce both slavery and prejudice,—that prejudice which separates men of any class or color from brotherly love. Slavery and prejudice are crimes in the nature of things, and therefore we must not parley with them. (Cheers.)

Mr. H. HUNT (1) rose and said—As one of the public who have been called together by a public advertisement, I trust I shall not be considered as intruding, if I occupy a short time in delivering a few remarks.

I listened with great delight to what fell from the honorable member from Dublin, (Mr. O'CONNELL,) and in the greater proportion of what he so eloquently and successfully enforced, I concur with him; but I am also one of those who agree in opinion with the last gentleman, that it is a little too much to call upon the British public, in an assembly so intelligent as this, to denounce at once the American Colonization Society, without your having permitted the person who appears here as an advocate of that Society to urge his reasons why you should not pass the resolution. Gratiified as I am, and delighted as every one must be, to see such a numerous assemblage of the friends of humanity, particularly of the Society called Quakers, present on this occasion; yet I was astonished to see an individual, who professes to come to explain to the meeting, if he can, why you should not pass such a denunciation against the Colonization Society, resisted as he was. I, for one, am always proud to meet the British public, and I hope I shall not be guilty of any ingratitude for the favor I now receive; but, I ask, what will be the sensation that will go forth, if you come here to pass certain resolutions, declaring that a Society is not established for the purpose it avows; and will not permit an individual to be heard, who comes and demands an opportunity of addressing the meeting, with the view of shewing why they should not agree to the resolution?

You were perfectly right, Mr. Chairman—I am well enough acquainted with public meetings to say, that you were justified in not al-

lowing the gentleman to address the meeting at the period when he offered himself. It was out of order; but after the resolution had been moved and seconded, before it was submitted to the sanction of the meeting, I appeal to you and to the meeting, whether you will have it go forth to the world that thousands of intelligent individuals prohibited a gentleman from standing up in a cause, in which he may think he is justified, and put him down altogether? (Applause.) I am one—

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. rose to order. Mr. HUNT's observations, he said, would have been spared, had he waited to see whether the gentleman was rejected or not. It was arranged, before Mr. HUNT favored us with his address, that the meeting, and the meeting alone, should decide whether the gentleman should be heard or not. He (Mr. HUNT) is fond enough of the public voice to be decided by it.

Mr. HUNT—I think it would be totally unbecoming to put such a question to the meeting: it was totally unusual. (General cries of 'order!' and hisses.)

The CHAIRMAN—I have no objection to hear him: we have been desirous to hear both sides. I only mentioned what I conceive to be the arrangement of the meeting.

Mr. O'CONNELL.—Mr. HUNT will not pay so bad a compliment to the meeting as to suppose that they will decide against fair play, and refuse to hear both sides.

Mr. HUNT.—I understood it was decided that the gentleman should not address the meeting, till after the resolutions were passed.

Mr. J. G. EVANS said—The Chairman rose, and was on the point of putting the resolution, when it was stated that Mr. ABRAHAMS would not have the privilege of speaking till the resolutions were disposed of. I beg to say that we have had five speakers, who have occupied three hours and a half on the same side. Although I am favorable to the object of the meeting, and a gentleman has done me the honor to put a resolution into my hand, on which I shall feel happy to say a few words; yet I never can, in my conscience, stand up in any meeting to advocate the cause of any Society, where on one side we have speakers for three hours and a half, and when a man rises to speak on the contrary side, the Chairman stands up and will not allow him to address the assembly.

The CHAIRMAN.—The question I was going to put to the meeting was, whether they would hear the gentleman. I have no objection to hear him.

The Rev. Mr. ABRAHAMS (1) then proceeded—

(1) A converted Jew, who was at the Theological Seminary at Andover a few years since, and with whom many are doubtless acquainted in this region. He is apparently a very good, well-meaning person, but weak and eccentric.

(1) The notorious radical.

ed to address the audience. I came here, said he, because at the end of the last meeting, (1) the gentleman who has got up so frequently, (Mr. THOMPSON,) in very taunting language asked me and Mr. Cresson to meet him at a public meeting. I had no card sent to me, though he knew my direction; and now I have come, this is the treatment I have met with. When a meeting was held, on the contrary side, gentlemen were permitted to speak on every single motion; and now you have had five successive speakers in the same interest.

There is another difficulty that I would wish to remove, before I enter on the subject under consideration. A gentleman introduced me as a friend of slavery—[We did not hear this remark—*Reporter*.] I abhor it with my inmost soul. I am a descendant of a nation once in bondage, but God would not suffer us to remain in that condition. A wrong mode of expression has been adopted, in speaking of America: you must remember that you are not condemning a few solitary individuals. You stand here as the representative of the British nation; (2) and let me tell you that if you pass the resolution that has been proposed for your acceptance, you say before the world that the major part of America is guilty of the most atrocious crimes, and you impute motives to the Ecclesiastical bodies that would disgrace the worst of heathen.

I am acquainted individually with the ministers of a variety of denominations, and I can state that in the Northern States they do altogether abhor slavery. I have myself used language fully as strong as that which the honorable member from Dublin, (Mr. O'CONNELL,) has employed on the present occasion. So strong is the feeling in favor of emancipation entertained in the Northern States, that if you could go there and pronounce the blacks free, they would add a hearty amen. (3) I believe it is not right for us to do evil that good may come; and as a Christian, if I had a slave, I should feel that I could not die safely if I continued him in bondage. But yet I cannot impugn the motives of hundreds of thousands of Christians, when I have strong evidence of their being Christian men. Before you should be hasty in forming an opinion, you must remember that there are seventeen State Societies supporting the American Colonization Society—that the principal Ecclesiastical body—for instance, the Presbyterian,—has in a General Assembly passed a vote in favor of

it; and so have the Episcopalian and Methodist bodies; and they have done it in public, and not through the efforts of influential individuals. (1) Do you believe, then, as Christians that these men deliberately wish to keep their fellow-creatures in slavery? You are the first abolitionists in the world; but remember it, all you that are the advocates of the cause of the black, that if you pass this vote, you may have the same charge brought home to your door. In Massachusetts and the different free States, they have liberated their slaves, and passed acts by which all who are born after a certain day shall be free; and if their motives may be impugned, your motives, Mr. THOMPSON, may be of the worst description, instead of the best. I believe your motives are good, and I cannot charge my fellow-subjects in America with entertaining motives that are bad. If there be any opportunity of seeing an individual in his real character, it occurs when you see him in private; and I can say, from an eight years' study of the character of my brethren in America, that they do in their souls abhor slavery—

Mr. GARRISON—In the *abstract*. (A laugh.)

Mr. ABRAHAMS.—In the abstract—but they go farther. I affirm that it has been granted throughout America, that Mr. S. J. MILLS was the originator of this institution, (2) and I am bold to aver that he died in the cause of doing good to Africa while on his return from a part of the African coast. I know his father, and have been in company with him; and I ask, is the motive of a Christian man, a man born on the hills of Massachusetts, who 'breathes the air of liberty, and a descendant of those who shed their blood on Bunker Hill, to be impugned? I am bound to say that the missionaries and ministers educated at the Seminary at Andover abhor slavery. If you inquire into the history of that part, you will find that missionaries have gone to every quarter of the world from Andover; and you will find that it is only individuals born there, who have gone for missionaries.

Now, allow me to make another remark, before I prove that the American Colonization Society will tend to put down slavery in every part of the world. It has been stated that the great friends of the slave in this country

(1) All this is true. 'It is undeniable that the popularity of the Society is immense: but if it be a benevolent institution, and exercise a wide and powerful moral influence, and is thus popular, how does it happen that no change, *but for the worse*, has taken place in the legal condition of the people of color, or in public sentiment?' How is it, too, that only one thousand slaves have been emancipated by it in sixteen years, while more than six hundred thousand have been added to the slave population during the same period?

(2) News!—The colonization bantling is a child of at least 'thirty-six fathers.' At Mr. Cresson's meeting, this same Mr. Abrahams stoutly contended that the Colonization Society originated at Andover, in the Theological Institution!!

(1) Referring to Mr. Cresson's meeting at the Hanover-square Room.

(2) Where, then, was Mr. Elliott Cresson, that he did not come to the meeting (as he was bound to do) and vindicate the Society of which he was the representative? He was false to his trust.

(3) Just the reverse—they are not so *rash* and *fanciful* as to desire immediate emancipation!

abhor the plan of the Colonization Society. A letter has been quoted, a copy of which I have had from Mr. BUCKINGHAM, showing that Mr. CLARKSON is a friend to the institution. I have also a statement in its favor, drawn up by a lady who has travelled much on behalf of the slaves. Mr. WILBERFORCE, till lately, spoke highly of Mr. Elliott Cresson, and said that he was engaged in a truly disinterested labor of love. (1)

Mr. GARRISON enquired what were the dates of the two letters which Mr. Abrahams held in his hand.

Mr. ABRAHAMS said that one (from Thomas Clarkson) was dated the 9th August, 1831; the other (from the anonymous lady) July 7th, 1833. [Several persons wished the name of the lady to be given, but Mr. Abrahams objected, assuring the Chairman that she was a lady well known to him.]

If you ask me, continued the Rev. gentleman, to state on what grounds I am favorable to the American Colonization Society, I will do so; but I must first state one fact, in reference to the charge that the friends of the institution have acted in such a manner that they can no longer do good in America. When I arrived at Boston, ten years ago, there was hardly an African School in that city; but before I left, public opinion had so much weight that schools were formed, the expenses of which were to be paid by the public, the same as in the case of schools for the white children. (2) When I arrived at Hartford, there was no school; but through the friends of this Society, schools were opened. When I was at New York, I was employed by a lady, a friend of the Society, to get up the first negro school in the world. (3) One of the most powerful writers in America (4) has employed his pen to remove the prejudices which exist against the people of color. Thus, it is not true that the friends of the American Colonization Society are the enemies of the blacks. I was originally the child of prejudice; I therefore know what it is, and I can enter into the feelings of the poor black when he says that the whites are his enemies. I know that a length of time must elapse; that a great variety of actions, and those of the most humane description, must pass under your observation, before you can believe that an enemy has become your friend. From my experience, however, I do believe that the friends of the Colonization Society are the

real friends of the free people of color in America; and whatever other men may say, I can clearly point out how this Society will be the means of putting an end to slavery all over the world.

You may arrange all the slaves in the world under the following classes—those in the English possession, which, I hope, in a few days we shall no longer speak of as slaves; those in America; those in Spain and Portugal; and a few in the possession of France and Denmark. The effect of our measure of emancipation is such, that I think I can nearly see its results in France, where I hope slavery will soon be put down by the voice of public opinion. But in America, there is a very different state of things; there are men who feel that slavery is wickedness, and they wish the evil to be removed; there are others who also hate it, but at the same time they have got, as they call it, the law in their own hands, and the only way to deal with such men is to make it their interest to let the slaves go. (1) I do not ask you, whether the slaves should be sent to Africa; but I say, give them a colony—let them cultivate it, and they will be able to sell things cheaper than the slaveholder—the consequence of which will be the destruction of slavery. In Virginia, there is no other production than tobacco; and it cannot contend with the free States, in the cultivation of grain. We must also remember that Virginia and Maryland are nearly worn out, so that there is an immense quantity of land uncultivated even in the neighborhood of Baltimore. Now, my first object would be, to send men who are willing to go—not force them, no real friend of liberty would wish that—I have never met with a North American who would advocate such a sentiment (2)—but I say, send men to Africa, where we have a fertile land, and we may bring a sufficient quantity of tobacco into the market to make us beat the slaveholder. (A laugh.) Then, the next article is cotton. The best cotton is grown near the sea upon certain sandy grounds. Providence has raised up plenty of such soil in Africa; and if we were to send men to raise cotton, we could soon sell it at a price that would enable us to beat down the market. (3) Having thus taken away the trade in tobacco and cotton, there is nothing remain-

(1) Give us the proof!—and suppose the assertion true, it only shows that Mr. Cresson was favorably regarded by Mr. Wilberforce until the mask of deception was torn from his brow.

(2) This is another discovery!

(3) This was to be 'the first negro school in the world,' and yet long before schools had been established for colored youth in Boston!!

(4) Who is he?

(1) Excellent!—Those who *hate slavery* have 'got the law in their own hands,' and yet—and yet—'the only way to deal with such men is to make it their interest to let the slaves go'!!

(2) O no! not for worlds!

(3) Here is the perfection of wisdom!—First, the slaveholders are to assist in sending laborers to Liberia that they may thus exclude themselves from the market by the superior industry of their Liberian rivals; Congress is to grant a free admission of African products into this country to the certain ruin of the planters!!—A Daniel, yea, a Daniel come to judgment!

ing for the slaveholders but sugar, and there is only one little corner in America (Louisiana and a part of Florida) where this article is cultivated. This is the only commodity, against which we shall not have a free production to oppose; but the time, I hope, has arrived when freedom will be conferred on the West Indies, and thus we shall be enabled to drive the American sugar out of the market. You may say this is far fetched, (a laugh)—but we have an example to encourage us in the case of indigo, which, a few years ago, was a staple article in Asia, but is now cultivated to a high degree in Africa, where we have one of the richest soils on the face of the earth.

I see plainly how this scheme would result in the liberation of all the rest of the slaves on the face of the earth, but we have another glorious motive; for it is said, 'Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God;' and as a Christian, I am waiting with great anxiety for that event. Seeing this is the case, I am peculiarly anxious that men who know the gospel, and who love it, should go to Africa, and should not be prevented by a quibble. The Society has selected the best men it could get (1) to form a foundation, upon the same principle that the descendants of the Puritans went to New England, and there formed the foundation of a colony. (Laughter, and ironical cries of 'hear! hear!') They are sending the best men to lay a proper foundation, and afterwards *there will be an opening for men of not such good morals*. After all that has been stated, the laws of America in the Northern States do not so much hinder black men from rising in civilization. It is true, there are prejudices against them, and their education has been neglected. Although I love the black man, I cannot help stating a fact, and that is, that in the prisons there are a large proportion of poor black people, perhaps brought there from the want of a proper cultivation when young. If they had enjoyed the society that we do, perhaps they would have been better; and therefore I say, bring them to a place where they will have equal rights and equal privileges.

Now, if the broad statements made by one of the gentlemen who has addressed you be correct, men forming the Ecclesiastical bodies in America, and the legislatures of seventeen free States, who have voted in favor of this Society, are in favor of bringing down the greatest curse that ever afflicted the human race. Men of such a nation are not worthy to be heard; if Christians could act from such motives, I would shake them off—I would deny that they had the name of Christ; but I know them better—I know that their views are not

opposed to the interests of the negroes in the least degree, though the poor blacks may think they are. The good men in America have been acquainted with all the forms of prejudice that surround the blacks in America; they have been grieved to find that every mode adopted to remove it has proved abortive; (1) and they have taken this step with a view to promote the welfare of the negroes. Now, if you differ from them, are you right, by a public declaration, in pronouncing that the major part of the American nation, as represented in the Legislative assemblies and by the Ecclesiastical bodies, are men unworthy of the Christian name? I say, as Christian people, if you have any kindly feelings of heart towards America, pause before you brand the friends of Christ, as the friends of slavery.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. rose and said—I humbly contend that the honorable gentleman who has last addressed you, has not overturned one syllable of the reasoning which has been so ably submitted to you. All you have got to decide upon, with reference to this institution, is, that the colonization of the free people of color, either upon the coast of Africa or some other spot which shall be chosen by Congress, is the sole motive which influences the American Colonization Society. It is shown, not by the gentleman near me, (Mr. Garrison,) but by the Society's own documents, which have been read to-day, and which cannot be contended against, unless the gentleman who has been upholding their character intends to knock that character down. By these documents, you have to decide, whether the colonizing of the free people of color be their object: that is the point of the present resolution, and unless gentlemen are going to show that this is not their object, they should reserve themselves for a resolution which will come before the meeting presently, referring to the origin and to the managers of the Society. (Applause.)

Mr. O'CONNELL said—I do not mean to inflict another speech upon you, (A laugh,) but I feel it my duty to say, that the gentleman who came forward with so much pomp has not denied one word in the passage which I quoted. He does not even assert that the Colonization Society is for immediate emancipation. The only point he has overturned, was the story of the bugs—(Cheers)—for he has proved that the Colonization Society is to emancipate all the slaves in America. The old story is, that there is nothing like *leather*, (Laughter,) but his story is, that there is nothing like *cotton*; and he will emancipate all the slaves, as soon as he has cotton plantations enough in Africa! (Laughter and cheers.)

(1) 'An influx of vagrants'—'the lowest and most abandoned of their class'—'by far the greater number women and children, a burden on the agency'—&c. &c. (Vide Gov. Mechlin's Letter, African Repository for Dec. 1832.)

(1) Pray what is the 'mode' that has been adopted by these 'good men' to remove prejudice from the United States? Let New Haven and Canterbury answer!

Mr. HUNT again rose and said—Although I believe that the gentleman who just now sat down, (Mr. ABRAHAMS,) has not convinced one gentleman in the room, yet he has convinced me that we are a very improper assembly to decide upon the question brought before us. He has convinced me that this is a question between two contending parties. If the point at issue were, whether slavery should be put down immediately in America, and all over the world, we could sit in judgment upon it, and doubtless should be unanimous in our decision. But after having an assertion made, that this Society is not intended to emancipate slaves, but has some sinister motive, and then a gentleman gets up and denies that assertion, I think we are not a competent assembly to decide upon it; and, therefore, I will take the liberty of moving a resolution, that I think will have the effect you intended, without committing the meeting by pledging itself as to the character of the institution. In submitting the resolution, I shall offer but a few words; for it is short, and will speak for itself. I regret that the people of England should be discussing, whether a certain Society is intended to emancipate a portion of the blacks or not. I am sorry we should have gone so far from home, and passed by what is occurring at our doors. The meeting has listened with great attention to the gentleman who first addressed it, and also to the gentleman of color who spoke with so much effect, and we have all listened with great delight to what fell from the honorable member for Dublin, as we always must. If I could, for a moment, differ with any portion of that speech, it would not be with its principles; but I think it is not good policy to abuse the whole of the American people for the acts of a few. (Hisses.) That is my opinion. I shall, therefore, now beg to move a resolution, if any gentleman will second it for me. I think we shall retire to our homes with greater satisfaction in having declared our opinion of a principle, rather than condemned a body of men, many of whom, although they may be in the greatest error, may nevertheless be as honest in their intentions as any amongst us. The resolution is this: 'That this meeting is of opinion that the agitation of the West Indian question is likely to entail an additional £20,000,000 of debt, and that the agitation of the American Colonization scheme would, in all probability, risk a war with America.' (Loud laughter, and cries of 'Oh! oh! off! off!') I do not mean that the agitation of this question in so small an assembly as this, will have any such effect; but if the whole country should be disposed to agitate it, I submit whether it would not be likely to cause a war with America. (A laugh.) 'And that the agitation of the Colonization scheme would in all probability risk a war with America; whilst, if humanity is really the object of the meeting, there is at

the present moment a glorious opportunity for its exercise in the case of the poor factory children of this country, without going abroad in search of proper objects.' As for myself, I will not attempt to describe, in contradistinction to what we have heard of the horrors of black slavery, the horrors of white slavery in our factories. I see a gentleman present, who, if he will do me the honor to second the resolution, will be able to speak on that subject more efficiently than I can. (A laugh.) I only regret that mitigating the slavery of factory children should have elicited from this assembly a laugh. (Hisses.)

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. said—I will second the resolution, for the purpose of getting rid of it. I submit, whether a British assembly is so 'one-eyed' that it must take off its eye from the sufferings of the negro, to fix its sympathies upon the tears of the white man? (Cheers.)

A GENTLEMAN rose to support the resolution, but

Mr. O'CONNELL, with considerable warmth, said—The cause of the factory children is one that is dear to every friend of humanity. I pity the man that can make it the subject of mockery or ridicule—that can attempt to bring it in, by way of a side wind. Why does he not call a public meeting on it? (Cheers.) And any where, where I have a voice or vote, it shall be in favor of the abolition of cruelty to the factory children. I will not, therefore, sit here, and have their situation put forward as a kind of overturning of another great principle. We meet here upon the subject of black slavery, and if the humble gentleman will wait till we have passed our resolutions, we will then pass a resolution for him—I think unanimously. My opinion shall be most decidedly with him, or with any gentleman who comes forward to protect these slaves; but that is no reason why we should be diverted from our present purpose. Every body knows that in business, one thing should be done at a time, or you will do nothing. He who loads a blunderbuss with fifty slugs, is sure to fire at nothing, *and hit it*, as the Connaught man did. (Cheers and laughter.) My voice will never be raised up against our poor factory children under 10 years of age; and I submit that as it is not in the nature of an amendment, he should reserve it till the resolution is put. He (Mr. HUNT) really treats us worse than the Colonization Society treats the masters. I read a passage, in which it was stated that the Society addressed no arguments to the master; and I am sure that gentleman (Mr. ABRAHAMS) is very fit to address no arguments to you; (a laugh)—and I appeal to his (Mr. HUNT's) humanity, whether one great object is to be blotted out and obliterated, by the holding up of a second candle when one is light enough for the present occasion. Let us have our own resolution first, and the new

light of the honorable gentleman afterwards. (Cheers.)

Mr. HUNT rose to explain.—The honorable gentleman, said he, is an old soldier, but I am an old soldier too; and I am not quite to be put down by misrepresentation. I stated that I was as great an enemy to slavery, as any man living; and if the question were the abolition of slavery in America, in the West Indies, and every other place, I should assent to it without difficulty. But this is nothing more than a declaration, calling upon the meeting to declare, whether a Society has the object in view which it professes. Here is a gentleman who will second my resolution.

Mr. THOMPSON—I have seconded it.

Mr. HUNT exclaimed, with great vehemence—He is a sham seconder. (Loud laughter.)

The resolution of Mr. HUNT was then put, and unanimously negatived, and the original resolution carried by acclamation.

The Rev. Mr. ABRAHAM moved that the word *sole* should be omitted in the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN—You are too late, Sir; the resolution is carried.

Mr. O'CONNELL.—He might as well move to leave out the *body*. (Laughter.)

The resolution proposed by Mr. O'CONNELL was carried unanimously.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. in rising to move the second resolution said:

Sir, before I address myself immediately to the Resolution which I have the honor to submit to this respectable meeting, I must claim permission to comment, for a moment, upon what I cannot but designate a cruel and heartless attempt to withdraw our minds from the contemplation of a vast amount of misery inflicted upon 2,000,000 of our fellow beings by the wickedness of man, by directing our attention to the existence of partial and home wretchedness which I am sure we all deplore, and are desirous of mitigating. (Hear, hear.) I will again remind the honorable gentleman (Mr. Hunt) who has acted this unworthy part, of what he seems to have forgotten,—although pressed upon his observation year after year,—that the best friends of suffering humanity at home have ever been the warm and sympathetic friends of suffering humanity abroad. (Cheers.) If he will take his walks along the paths where benevolence and mercy love to linger, that they may minister comfort and assistance to the miserable, the destitute, and the bereaved, he will find those ministering spirits to be those who have been the readiest to devote their energies to the glorious work of universal emancipation. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Our honorable opponent has, on other occasions, committed the same offence against honor and good breeding. Instead of calling meetings of his own, to denounce the wrongs and wretchedness of our unfortunate factory children, and thus aiming to do the work he pretends to love properly and efficient-

ly, he satisfies himself with attending anti-slavery meetings, and seeking to divert the attention of the British public from the slavery of the West Indies or the United States, by a reference to the oppressed circumstances of a portion of our juvenile population at home. (Hear, hear.) I must confess, I like not the man whose vision is so circumscribed that he cannot see or feel it to be his duty to send his regards beyond the narrow circle of his own neighborhood. Had he chosen the motto of our esteemed friend, Mr. GARRISON, 'My country is the world, my countrymen are all mankind,' he would not have been found to-day among those who would thwart the honest and philanthropic purposes of our heart, nor have himself been doomed to see a resolution of his own unanimously discarded with indignation and disgust. (Loud cheers.) But the gentleman says he is the enemy of black slavery! Believe it—because he says so—but that you may believe it, never glance at his deeds. Believe him for his *honor*; for actions he has none to shew, to prove his hatred of the deed. (Loud cheers.) Was it fair in the gentleman, ignorant as he is of the first principles of the great question upon which our minds are engaged,—ignorant of all the documents upon which we have proceeded,—to attempt to overthrow our proceedings?—(Hear, hear.) Does he know that only a week ago last Wednesday, a public meeting was held for the purpose of forming a British African Colonization Society, for the settlement of free persons of color or their descendants? Does he know, besides, that this meeting is convened for the purpose, amongst other things, of exposing the real object sought in the formation of that Society? I believe, Sir, the gentleman is utterly ignorant of all these matters; and I will therefore venture, with your permission, to inform him and this meeting of the manner in which this bold and impudent trick was played off.

The Society I have referred to proposes to be a *BRITISH* (mind! *British*) African Colonization Society, to effect the following purposes:—1st. To humanize and civilize the rude inhabitants of Western Africa, and introduce commerce and the arts of polished life. 2nd. To extend the knowledge and influence of the Christian religion; and 3rdly. To effect the abolition of the Slave Trade.

Now, Sir, it is specially worthy of notice, that the persons who, above all others, were most likely to feel a deep and lasting interest in the accomplishment of purposes so high and holy, as those which I have specified—if those purposes were to be achieved by holy and honorable means—were none of them invited to the meeting, otherwise than by an advertisement in the public papers. Nay, more—when a few of them appeared in the room where the meeting was held, though among them was one of the oldest, ablest and

sincerest of the friends of Africa, Mr. MACAULAY, (cheers,) they were regarded as persons likely to frustrate the design of the projectors, and were designated, by the Chairman and others upon the platform, as factious disturbers. *Not one of the leading friends of Africa, or the abolition of slavery, was invited to take a part in the proceedings of that day*; though it was held at a time most favorable to their attendance, viz: when they were in London from all parts of the Kingdom, on purpose to watch the interests of the black man in the British Parliament. Who, then, called the meeting?—*An American!* (Hear, hear.) Who ended that meeting? *An American!* What was the *real object* of that meeting, as disclosed in the last resolution? That England should co-operate with America in transporting her colored population.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM—No, *not transporting*.

Mr. THOMPSON—Sir, I readily grant the word *transportation* was not introduced; but there lies the wilful error—there is the deceitfulness of sin—there is the subtlety of Satan. (Loud cheers.) Now, Sir, when we consider that that meeting was called by *an American*—that from its proceedings were carefully excluded *every known and influential friend to the abolition of slavery and the civilization of Africa*—that when a few of the friends of Africa went to that meeting, they were treated as opponents—that those friends, without an exception, felt themselves constrained to oppose the proceedings of that meeting—and when, lastly, although the Chairman had again and again declared that it had *nothing whatever to do with the American Colonization Society*, the *only thing* absolutely proposed to be done by the Society was to *co-operate with the American Colonization Society*. I am quite sure that the whole affair will appear in the eyes of a candid public as a mean, dishonorable and impudent attempt to decoy the benevolent inhabitants of this country into co-partnership with a Society, whose principles are so unsound that whenever alluded to by myself on the day of the above meeting, I was invariably checked by the Chairman, and reproved for wandering from the object of the meeting.

My friend, the honorable member for Sheffield, (Mr. BUCKINGHAM,) must excuse me if I say, that the ground he assigned for supporting this new Society was nothing like that of the gentleman behind me, (Mr. ABRAHAMS.) The latter gentleman's argument was all *cotton*. (A laugh.) Cotton was the Alpha and Omega of his speech. The planting of cotton trees in Africa is to work the destruction of slavery in the United States. (A laugh.) The argument of my friend, the member for Sheffield, is based upon the possibility of a superabundant free colored population in our own Colonies. Looking through the vista of future ages, he thinks he perceives it *possible* that

there may be an overgrown population of blacks in our dependencies, and deems it exceedingly wise to found a British African Colonization Society in the year 1833, that three or four millions of years subsequently we may be able to send our redundant colored brethren to the land of their ancestors. (Loud laughter.) Now, to shew how very early must be the arrival of that period when it will be necessary to transport—I beg pardon—*induce* to emigrate, our free colored population, I may observe that in the island of Jamaica alone, with a population at present of 400,000 inhabitants, there are millions of acres which the axe has never cleared, which the spade has never derved, and which the industry and ingenuity of man have never made contributory to his wants. (Cheers.) There are, in our Colonies, resources of subsistence and wealth for a population infinitely larger than that which at present exists in them; and who so worthy to avail themselves of those resources as those who have either in their own persons, or the persons of their forefathers, endured the rigor of an unjust bondage for the wealth and aggrandizement of the whites? (Loud cheers.) It is well known that a great many of the horrors of slavery take their rise in the smallness of the slave population, which induces the needy and rapacious planter to overwork his slaves, and apply those coercive measures which have proved so fatal to their happiness, elevation and existence. (Hear, hear.) A West Indian gentleman, now upon this platform, is prepared to show that the more rational plan would be to promote emigration from the United States to our Colonies, and that it is the climax of human absurdity to establish a Society for colonizing Africa, when years, ages, and centuries must elapse, ere we can hope to find colored men to give operation, aid effort, and accomplishment to the scheme. (Hear, hear.)

What, then, is it our duty to do on this occasion? Why, to denounce the American Colonization Society as the enemy to the elevation and prosperity of the people of color in the United States—as the friend and supporter of Slavery. It is our duty to regard that Society as the hateful bantling of a fiend-like prejudice, and boldly to tell brother Jonathan that if he thinks, *by means of an agent with a face of brass*, to dupe us out of any more of our money, he is mistaken; that we will speedily send his base metal away, and keep our own precious coin for worthier and nobler purposes. (Laughter and cheers.)

A preceding speaker (Mr. ABRAHAMS) has said that the principle of the Society is 'voluntary emigration.' Is he, then, ignorant that the honorable Mr. Broadnax, of Virginia, rose in the House of Delegates of that State, and contended that force was absolutely necessary to the accomplishment of their object; and to talk of finding emigrants without compul-

sion was a gross absurdity? That this meeting may be in possession of the views entertained by the people of color upon this subject, I will take the liberty of quoting their own words in various public meetings held throughout the United States. In Philadelphia, at a meeting held January, 1817, they thus speak:

'Resolved, That we view with deep abhorrence the unmerited stigma attempted to be cast upon the reputation of the free people of color, by the promoters of this measure, "that they are a dangerous and useless part of community," when in the state of disfranchisement in which they live, in the hour of danger they ceased to remember their wrongs, and rallied around the standard of their country.'

'Resolved, That we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population in this country;' (Cheers)—'they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrong; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them, than in fancied advantages for a season.' (Cheers.)

The free colored people of New-York thus speak out their sentiments:

'Resolved, That we view the resolution, calling on the worshippers of Christ to assist in the unholy crusade against the colored population of this country, as totally at variance with true christian principles.'

'Resolved, That we claim this country, the place of our birth, and not Africa, as our mother country, and all attempts to send us to Africa we consider gratuitous and uncalled for.' (Cheers.)

Sir, the gentleman who has this day spoken in favor of the Colonization Society, has more than once called himself one of the descendants of Abraham. Now, Sir, we all know that his brethren in this country labor under many and heavy disabilities, and that at this moment strenuous efforts are being made in the House of Commons to effect their civil emancipation; efforts which I hope and trust may be crowned with complete success. But, Sir, what would that descendant of Abraham think of me, if, instead of giving my voice and vote to raise them to their rightful station in this the land of their nativity, I were to address myself to his injured brethren and to him, and say, 'You are a dangerous and useless part of community—this is not your home or country—away to the deserts of Arabia, or the mountains of Palestine—there, in the land of your ancestors, be free and happy—or pine and perish, for you shall not pollute these shores;'—and, then, were to come forward, and claim the regard of my countrymen and mankind for having done an act of enlightened justice and humanity? (Loud cheers.)

What are the sentiments of the colored inhabitants of Boston? Hear them:

'Resolved, That we consider the land in which we were born, and in which we have been bred, our only "true and appropriate home"—and that when we desire to remove, we will apprise the public of the same in due season.' (Cheers.)

I am rejoiced, Sir, to find my countrymen respond so warmly to sentiments like these.

Such language as I have read, is the true and natural language of reason, patriotism and independence; and he who cannot approve such language, is a being who loves liberty only as the instrument of tyranny, and deserves to lose the blessing which his selfishness and hateful despotism will not allow him to share with those around him. (Loud cheers.)

What say the inhabitants of New-Haven?

'Resolved, That we will resist all attempts made for our removal to the torrid shores of Africa, and will sooner suffer every drop of blood to be taken from our veins than submit to such unrighteous treatment.' (Cheers.)

'Resolved, That we know of no other place that we can call our true and appropriate home excepting these United States, into which our fathers were brought, who enriched the country by their toils, and fought, bled and died in its defence, and left us in its possession—and here we will live and die.' (Cheers.)

The removal of these colored persons has, however, been justified this day by our friend, the descendant of Abraham, on the ground that they are sent as missionaries to a land of heathen darkness, that they may spread the light and sanctity of our divine Christianity. But is it the fact that the Colonization Society is in the habit of transporting missionaries by ship loads to Africa? A letter from J. MECHLIN, Esq., Governor of Liberia, to the Rev. R. R. GURLEY, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, will illustrate this part of the subject. I extract it from No. 94 of the African Repository, vol. 8, for Dec. 1832. The letter is dated LIBERIA, Sept. 1832.

'With respect to the character of the people composing this expedition,\* I regret to be compelled to state, that they are, with the exception of those from Washington, the family of Pages and a few others, *the lowest and most abandoned of their class*. From such materials it is vain to expect that an *industrious, intelligent and enterprising community* can possibly be formed; the thing is *utterly impossible*, and they cannot but retard instead of advancing the prosperity of the colony. I have noticed this subject in one of my former communications, and nothing but a thorough conviction that such an *influx of vagrants* cannot fail of blasting the hopes which our friends have so long and so ardently cherished, could have induced me again to advert to it.

I am induced to be thus unreserved in my remarks, as it is from the sufferings of people of this stamp, occasioned by their own *indolence and stupidity*, that the slanderous reports published in the *Liberator* have originated; they have never, when in the United States, voluntarily labored for their own support, and now, when the stimulus of the overseer's lash is removed, cannot be induced to exert themselves sufficiently to procure even a *scanty subsistence*. Indeed, so far from there being any real grounds for the assertions of our enemies, *I am at this moment issuing rations to at least one hundred persons*, whose six months have expired. Some of these have been prevented by sickness from attending to their farms; the crops of others are not sufficiently advanced to afford them a subsistence; but by far the *greater number are women and children*, who have been sent out without any male person to provide for them; and, being un-

\* Viz: 128 emigrants in the brig America, 15th of September, 1832.

able to gain a livelihood by tilling the soil or any other occupation, *have become a burden to the Agency.* Many in the present expedition are similarly circumstanced, and what to do with them I know not. Our respectable colonists themselves are becoming alarmed at the great number of ignorant and abandoned characters that have arrived within the last twelve months; and almost daily representations are made by those who have applied themselves to the cultivation of the soil, of the DEPREDACTIONS committed on their crops by the above described class of people, who cannot be induced to labor for their own support.'

Now, Sir, much has been said, both here and elsewhere, of the vast number of *intelligent, enterprising and religious* persons of color *willing* to go to Liberia; and it has, with equal confidence, been asserted that funds only were wanting to enable the managers of the American Colonization Society to make a selection of persons fully qualified to enter, with every prospect of success, upon the great work of civilizing and evangelizing Africa. It appears that during the years 1831 and 1832, efforts were made to ship off a more than ordinary number of emigrants, and that the object was accomplished. But, Sir, were the persons so sent, such as have been all along described as *willing* to go? Do they answer the description this day given of those missionary colonists, who are to prove such a blessing to Africa? No. The Governor describes them as '*the lowest and most abandoned of their class*'—an '*influx of vagrants*'—'*indolent and stupid*'—'*the greater number women and children, without any male person to provide for them.*' He declares that '*the colonists are alarmed at the great number of ignorant and abandoned characters that have arrived within the last twelve months*'—and speaks of '*daily depredations*' committed by such persons upon the crops of the industrious. Now, Sir, what is the plain inference from these authoritative statements? It is one of the following—either that there is no large portion of intelligent and religious persons of color to go, and that therefore the representations given upon that subject are false—or that the managers and auxiliaries of this Society cannot discriminate between the good and the bad; between those who are likely to '*retard the interests of the Colony,*' and those who are qualified to '*advance them*'—or, that they have wickedly and wilfully poured upon the infant colony a flood of moral corruption, threatening its very existence, as an industrious and well conducted settlement. I leave the defenders of the Colonization scheme to choose between these natural and necessary conclusions from the accounts of their Governor, and their own authorized statements. (Loud cheers.) Again, Sir; the Editor of the African Repository, in introducing Governor Mechlin's letter, observes respecting the expedition by the American:—'*We regret to learn that, in the opinion of the colonial agent, they are little qualified to add to the strength and character of the Colony;*' '*but,*' he adds,

'those who are now to embark are among the best of our colored population.' Now, Sir, admitting that the next ship-load be of this description, I contend that both in principle and policy, such a line of conduct is bad. If they really be among '*the best of the colored population,*' why are they by oppression and unjust treatment made willing to go? Why are they not encouraged and made happy on their native soil? As a course of policy, such a proceeding is monstrous. Why send the salt away? Is it because they desire to keep an unmixed mass of putridity at home? Cannot these '*best*' portions of their colored population be beneficially employed at home? Ought they not to be employed? But the language of their actions is this—'*We seek not the elevation of the blacks at home. We care not a rush for the improvement of our two millions of slaves amongst us—we rather wish that they should remain wretched and debased, that we may the more securely rivet upon them the chain of a soul-degrading, man dishonoring, God defying despotism. Shew us an illuminated negro, and away he goes to Liberia!*'—Shew us the sublime and noble sight of a black man struggling into political existence, and away he goes to bless Liberia. Shew us the spectacle of one who look around upon his colored brethren in bonds, with a burning desire to be their liberator, and away with him to the regions of Liberia! This is not the land for illuminated minds, *unless they tenant white bodies.* This is not the land for struggles in the cause of liberty, *unless it be liberty for the whites.* This is not the land for burning desires, and pantings after deeds of deathless fame, *unless felt and performed by white skinned men.* Away with all such colored men to Africa! *There* let them burn, and shine, and struggle, and contend; for here they shall have no abiding city. We will cast into their cup the bitterness of scorn and persecution, and calumny and reproach, until nature recoils at the gally draught, and they cry in the anguish of their spirits—'*We are willing to go to Liberia!*'"

The Colonization Society of America has been described, by its Agent in this country, as an *abolition* Society, and the people of America have been described as generally friendly to the extinction of slavery. Let us see how far they prove the Agent's assertions. Do their documents confirm such a statement? No! They utterly deny its truth, and declare that slave property is held by a Colonizationist to be as sacred as any other description of property. Do they show their hatred of slavery by countenancing the New-England Anti-Slavery Society? Do they encourage and speak well of its managers and agents? No! They are striving, by every possible engine which malice can devise, to crush that Society, because it proceeds upon the christian principle, that we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us.

Again: the Colonizationists wish to exempt *themselves* from the charge of having an unchristian prejudice against color, whilst they justify their proceedings, by asserting the existence of such a prejudice to a very wide extent. Let us see how far they are consistent. For ask them, if this same prejudice cannot be conquered, and they tell you, 'No—it possesses nineteen-twentieths of the inhabitants.' You ask them, who are the friends of the Colonization Society? and they tell you, 'Nineteen-twentieths of the inhabitants.' (Cheers.) I leave their friend here to extricate them from the charge of being themselves the fosterers of that diabolical prejudice in which has originated, and by which is perpetuated, the degradation of the colored population. (Loud cheers.)

Permit me, Sir, briefly to refer to a portion of a very eloquent speech delivered by the Rev. Mr. HAMMET, at the American Colonization Society's 16th annual meeting; a quotation which I think will throw considerable light upon the views of the principal supporters of that Society. Mark what he says of the prejudice which exists, and of the consequent condition of the people of color!

'The evil which this Society proposes to remedy has already spread to a fearful extent, and is becoming more and more alarming every day. That class of the community to whom it affords succor, though nominally free, can in fact never be so in this country. A gloom hangs over them through which they can never hope to penetrate, and they *groan* under a weight of prejudice, from which they can never expect to rise.'

Indeed, Mr. Hammet! We thank you for your honest truth. 'Nominally free.'—Must not '*expect*' or '*hope* to rise.' Base, hypocritical, republican America, to trample on your boasted Declaration of Independence, and wrap in impenetrable gloom the spirit of the man you have declared to be equally entitled with yourself to liberty and the pursuit of happiness! Speaking of the patronage the Society enjoys, he says:

'In almost every State of this Union, the great body of the people are awakening to a sense of the vast importance of this undertaking; &c. &c.—'and, Sir, the whole religious community of this widely extended republic have declared it worthy their confidence, and have resolved, in their solemn assemblies, to give it their support.'

Had I been present, I would have asked this Rev. Colonizationist, whether the whole religious community might not be better employed in praying to be divested of their prejudice, and in seeking to uproot it from American society? I would have asked him, if he had not himself proved that the '*gloom*,' and '*weight*,' and '*prejudice*,' and '*nominal freedom*,' under all of which the people of color groan and despair, were attributable to the whole religious community, thus found patronizing the Colonization Society? He further says:—'*No individual effort, no system of legislation, can in this country redeem them from*

this condition, nor raise them to the level of the white man. It is utterly vain to expect it,' &c.

Again—'AT HOME AMONGST US, scarcely to be controlled by law, or elevated by religion.' (!!!!) Monstrous assertion! and impudent! How could the speaker utter a sentiment so disgraceful to his country, and so libellous upon his faith, without a burning cheek and a faltering tongue? 'At home amongst us.'—Do not those words brand, as hypocritical and base, all the professions of piety and philanthropy made by the persecuting members of the Colonization Society? Not only do they confess their own determination to cherish this hellish feeling—not only do they deny the power of legislation to help these people, but actually deny the power of religion to fit them for the privileges of freemen. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ABRAHAMS.—I deny that it is beyond the power of religion to do it.

Mr. THOMPSON.—Sir, you do well to acquit yourself of any participation in this blasphemous calumny; but remember that Mr. Hammet said so in defence of the Colonization Society; therefore strike him off the list of your friends. (Cheers.) And know, also, that the sentiment was uttered with applause in a very large and crowded meeting of the friends of the Society; therefore strike them off your list of friends. (Cheers.) And know, still further, that 20,000 copies of this speech have been circulated by that Society, and still remains uncontradicted by any friend of the Society but yourself; therefore free yourself at once from the unholy confederacy, and enrol your name amongst the friends of universal liberty. (Loud cheers.) But although Mr. Hammet denies that they can rise in their native country, he maintains that it is only necessary that they should be sent to Africa, to become every thing that is noble and useful. Aladdin's lamp has been spoken of to-day; but, in my opinion, the change effected upon the characters of these colored people, by a voyage to Africa, is even more wonderful than the exploits of this Hero of Arabian romance. Nothing is necessary but that these '*pests of society*,' these '*nuisances*,' should be placed on board a Colonization packet, and, '*presto!*' they become artizans, statesmen, philosophers and christians. (Loud applause.)

'Transported to Africa,' says the Rev. Mr. Hammet, 'we there behold a class of beings who, at home amongst us, could scarcely be controlled by law or elevated by religion, suddenly springing into honorable notice; cultivating among themselves all the arts of civilized life, and securing to their families all the blessings of well ordered society. Every day's intelligence only reiterates what we have heard from the beginning—that peace, harmony and contentment are abounding.'

Then all the elements of civilization, all the elements of harmony, all the elements of con-

continent, every thing that lifts man from a state of degradation, must be shipped off from America; for there these elements are at war with peace and contentment, and produce wretchedness; and the native intellectual greatness which raises the man in Liberia, sinks him to the condition of a brute in the first republic of the world. (Loud applause.)

'Schools are established,' continues the Rev. Gentleman, (but are there none in America?) 'churches are erected, the mechanic arts are cultivated, agriculture is promoted, and commerce even with foreign nations has already been embarked in; and by whom, Sir? By a class of beings who, while here, hung as a dead weight upon the skirts of the country. Sir, with the sublimity and grandeur of the spectacle and prospect before us, calculation itself can hardly keep pace.' (Laughter and cheers)

If ever there was a piece of self contradiction, it is this extract;—if ever there was a man who belied religion, who belied human nature, who made transcendent capabilities a reason for banishing men from their native land, Mr. Hammet has been guilty of it in the passage I have read. (Cheers.) But can these free people of color be elevated by religion? At Liberia, the Rev. gentleman adds, 'the Christian, too, has much to animate his hopes and stimulate his zeal.' In America, they contend that religion has not this elevating power; but here in Liberia, 'the Christian has much to animate his hopes and stimulate his zeal.' An immense field, 'already white to the harvest,' opens before him. The missionary of the cross shall enter there, bearing to perishing thousands the 'Bread of Life.' O, what cant and hypocrisy is this! What an insult to the religion that he was lauding! He was obliged to contend, at one moment, that it could not help the black man among his white, christianized, high professing brethren of America; but in the wilds of Africa, amidst beasts and savages, it could make him a man, a philosopher, and a Christian. (Loud cheers.)

'Africa will receive him; churches will be reared; presses will be established; the scriptures shall be circulated; and the darkness of ages, retiring like the shades of night at the approach of the morning sun, shall be finally scattered by the effulgent blaze of divine truth. Yes, Sir,' (thus ends his speech,) 'superstition shall be broken down, false philosophy shall be confounded, heathen oracles shall be struck dumb. "The altar and the god shall sink together to the dust"—and Africa shall come forth, "redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled."'

Yes, and when Africa shall thus arise in might and majesty; when Christianity shall have made her all that is noble; even then she shall say, 'The prejudice that sent forth the missionaries to our country was cruel, anti-christian, inhuman and diabolical.' (Loud cheers.)

What are you called for together to-day? To countenance WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, the dauntless, the talented, the uncompromising, the pledged, the devoted friend of the

free persons of color and of slaves in the United States. Let others, with their narrow views, frown in the cruelty of their scorn upon a meeting like this; but be it yours to welcome, from the regions of America, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, who is fighting the same battle as yourselves. Be it yours to cheer his heart; be it yours to countenance his efforts; be it yours to send him back fortified with your blessings and your prayers; be it yours to hold up his hand amidst these convicted flesh-mongers and kidnappers of their species. (Cheers.)

Mr. GARRISON has happily succeeded in establishing, with no small pains, with no small sacrifice, an Anti-Slavery Society in the city of Boston. What are the motives of the Society he has established? My resolution comes to these, and therefore I shall take the liberty of troubling you with them. The whole affair is almost new to a British audience, and therefore I will just lay before you, in two or three sentences, the motives of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, as avowed in their First Annual Report.

Their motives 'are not motives of hostility to the interests or persons of slave-owners.' Then they go on to say that their desire is to do good to the slave-owner as well as the black; whilst they expose the injustice of one man holding property in another. Their motives, in the second place, are not those of a party character: they are associated together 'to maintain, not to destroy the Union, by endeavoring to remove the cause of division.' Their motive, in the third place, is 'to tolerate no compromise of principle.' There is no truckling to a narrow-sighted expediency; no attempt to empty the ocean, by putting into it the buckets of Colonization philanthropy. Their 'demands upon the holders of slaves are as imperative as those of the book of inspiration: to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free.' (Cheers.) 'The purposes of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, as declared in the second article of its Constitution, are to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery, to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.'

Then, Sir, in another part of this document, (the First Annual Report of the Society,) they go on to say what they mean by immediate abolition. 'It means, in the first place, that all title of property in the slaves shall instantly cease, because their Creator has never relinquished his claim of ownership, and because none have a right to sell their own bodies or buy those of their own species as cattle.'

'It means, secondly, that every husband shall have his own wife, and every wife her

own husband, both being united in wedlock according to its proper forms, and placed under the protection of law.

'It means, thirdly, that parents shall have the control and government of their own children, and that the children shall belong to their parents.

'It means, fourthly, that all trade in human beings shall be regarded as felony, and entitled to the highest punishment.

'It means, fifthly, that the tremendous power which is now vested in every slaveholder to punish his slaves without trial, and to a savage extent, shall be at once taken away.

'It means, sixthly, that all those laws which now prohibit the instruction of the slaves, shall instantly be repealed, and others enacted, providing schools and instruction for their intellectual illumination.

'It means, seventhly, that the planters shall employ their slaves as free laborers, and pay them just wages.

'It means, eighthly, that the slaves, instead of being forced to labor for the exclusive benefit of others by cruel drivers, and the application of the lash upon their bodies, shall be encouraged to toil for the mutual profit of themselves and their employers, by the infusion of new motives into their hearts, growing out of their recognition and reward as men.

'It means, finally, that right shall take the supremacy over wrong, principle over brute force, humanity over cruelty, honesty over theft, purity over lust, honor over baseness, love over hatred, and religion over heathenism.'

Then the benefits are stated, which would result from the adoption of this righteous procedure.

Having thus endeavored to show the wickedness, the absurdity of the Colonization Society; having in the second place endeavored, though feebly, to do justice to the motives and the conduct of Mr. GARRISON; having laid before you the principles of the Society which he has had the honor to found; I have now to move a resolution, which will claim your sympathy on behalf of this gentleman, and which will go to foster and cherish the Society with which he is connected. The resolution is as follows:

'Resolved, That the colored people of the United States, fully aware that the object of the American Colonization Society is not their improvement and happiness, have declared their detestation of it in the most solemn and public manner;—that that oppressed people have our heart-felt sympathy;—and that the principles and efforts of their advocates, the Anti-Slavery Society of New-England, have our cordial approbation.'

I trust that this resolution will pass unanimously. I know that all opposition will be fruitless and contemptible. I know that it will but elicit your disgust—though disgust is sometimes more acceptable to certain persons than no notice at all; but, at all events, I know that I shall have a large majority in

favor of the resolution. If there be any one present who does not approve of it, let him move an amendment. (Long continued cheering.)

J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Esq. said—Before the question is put to the vote, I have permission from the Chairman to offer an explanation. No one is more impressed than I am with the zeal, and sincerity, and valuable labors of Mr. THOMPSON, as it respects the abolition of slavery. We have been co-workers together in that great cause. But adverting to the meeting to form a Colonization Society, the other day, he asserted that the object was to transport the people of color from America; evidently intending by that to remove them against their will. I said, 'No,'—upon which he remarked that there was the subtlety—that it was not stated, but intended. I ask you upon what ground he has a right to impute motives to others? He has been too frequently, I grieve to say, the subject of false imputations. We have both suffered by the imputation to us of motives that we never entertained, and persons have been facetious at our expense. But this is too grave, too important, too high an object to be either false or facetious upon. If I believed it was any part of the motives of the British Colonization Society to transport individuals against their will, as I said before, so I say now, I would not be a party to it. Have we not the firm and conscientious belief of Mr. CLARKSON, that the American Colonization Society has done good, is doing good, and will do still more good? It is also conceived that it has never broken its engagements to this day—never having sent a manumitted slave from America to Liberia without his consent. (!) It may be right or it may be wrong; we are all human, and consequently fallible, but I must protest against the imputation of dishonest motives.

Mr. HUNT.—As I was so personally alluded to by the mover of this resolution, I trust I may be allowed to say one word in reply. He attributed motives to me. He called upon the assembly to judge by what I said, but not by my actions. He stated, that although I professed to be the enemy of slavery, yet by my conduct I proved myself its best friend. (Cries of 'No,' and hisses.) It amounted to that, if those were not his words. (Renewed cries of 'No,' and hisses.) I can only say that I have never refused to raise my voice against slavery in every shape, and in every country where it may have prevailed. But I will say one thing to him in reply; I may have been in error, and judged improperly; but in answer to his personal allusion I will say, that I never did come forward in any assembly, and do what he has done—advocate the cause of humanity because I was paid for it.—(Hisses.)

Mr. THOMPSON.—I assure the honorable

member for Sheffield, that I did not attempt to impute the motive to him of being a party to the transportation of persons against their will. But I can show that the American Colonization Society does hold force necessary, and that they will never be able to induce persons to go without force. If they will not go, then they will give them, as the doctors say, *quantum suf.*; and *quantum suf.* will soon make them cry out. (A laugh and cheers.) I scorn to reply to Mr. HUNT, further than by saying, that men have their notions of what is pay, and what is not pay. I shall be paid by the blessings of the negro, and he (Mr. HUNT) may be paid by the applauses of those whom he gets to adopt his sentiments. Let Mr. CROPPER say, whether I have ever taken anything that I did not render back ten fold. (Loud applause.) Ask the Anti-Slavery Society if I have ever stipulated for a farthing. I never did. (Cheers.) Now I call upon the honorable gentleman to take the charge home, that he has brought here, and to learn, in the seclusion of his solitude, that he is paid for every thing he does, in one way or another. If a man lives by his labor, and he labors honorably; if the cause be good, and if he be sincere in it; so far from his being dishonored by engaging in it, he stands high in his integrity—and the cause itself does not call upon the laborer to work without his hire.—(Loud applause.)

WILLIAM HUME, Esq. (of Dublin,) said—At this late hour, I shall best discharge the duty assigned to me, by simply seconding the resolution that has been proposed—more particularly because I am sure, after the able exposure of the Colonization humbug, by my talented countryman, (Mr. O'Connell,) that, in despite of the indirect support of the honorable ex-member for Preston, (a laugh,) it will be *Hunt*-ed in disgrace out of England, and that we shall hear no more of Mr. Cresson *robbing the British public*, by carrying thousands of pounds away to uphold the scheme. (Cheers.)

A GENTLEMAN, whose name we did not learn, rose and said—I beg leave to say that, as a stranger in this great city, I was induced from public placards to attend the meeting, with the view of holding up my hand in support of that liberty which has been so long withheld both from the black man and from the white. Some things which I have heard have exceedingly delighted me, but others, I must say, have induced great pain; and before I leave, I wish to state what the latter are. Perhaps a false impression has been produced on my mind; but, as an ardent friend to the cause, I feel it painful to separate with a feeling that might in any degree lessen it in my esteem. The first gentleman who addressed you was an American; and whatever I might think of the statement made by the honorable member for Dublin, (Mr. O'Connell,)

I hold it to be disgraceful for a man, when he is away from his native country, to abuse the land of his birth; (1) and let me tell you that I take such conduct as no compliment to myself. Whether America has acted right or wrong, I will give no opinion; though, if I were to do so, I should be inclined to say that *she is worthy of every epithet applied to her.*

I rose to second the motion made by the late honorable member for Preston, (Mr. HUNT,) and I did it in the spirit of sincerity; for the subject to which it related is one I have had much at heart, and which for many years I have been advocating, while at the same time you also have had my assistance. It was Mr. HUNT who, in Parliament, seconded the motion which brought the subject under the consideration of that House; and he having been the first to advocate that cause, I conceived that I was laid under an obligation of gratitude to second his motion. I have but one desire on the question of slavery, and that is, that immediate emancipation should take place; but I think no cause can be successfully advocated when personal attacks are permitted to be made.

The CHAIRMAN then put Mr. THOMPSON'S resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Capt. G. PILKINGTON rose to move the next resolution:

*Resolved*, That the improvement of the condition of the people of color as a body in the United States, whether bond or free, is no part of the object of the American Colonization Society; that it has never used any means for the removal of the infamous laws which exist against this unfortunate class, but, on the contrary, powerfully supports the unchristian prejudice against color, and discourages manumission except on condition of exile.

You will perceive that the removal of the free persons of color really amounts to exile. Every door is barred against their obtaining the rights and privileges, together with the comfort and happiness, to which they are entitled, *except that which leads to Liberia*; and feeling this to be the case, I most cordially move the resolution.

J. C. EVANS, Esq. spoke as follows:

If you will allow me, I will make one remark upon an observation which fell from a very respected member of Parliament, (Mr. BUCKINGHAM,) sitting at my right hand. He stated

(1) To the charge brought against me by this person, I scorned to reply. Nobody at the meeting knew any thing more about him than this—that he came as a tool and backer of the worthless HUNT. By his confession, in reference to my exposure of the atrocities of American slavery, '*let me tell you that I take such conduct as no compliment to myself*,' it seems probable that he was the southern man-thief, ('sailing under false colors,' however,) who wrote home to Virginia a passionate and calumnious account of the Exeter Hall meeting, which was widely circulated by the newspapers before my arrival home. Not only was his insignificance his protection on that occasion, but his precious acknowledgement that '*America was worthy of every epithet applied to her*,' rendered it unnecessary for me to say one word in reply.

that the free blacks in the United States of America are not compelled to go to Liberia. I beg to dissent from that sentiment. I think that a man may be compelled to leave his country in two ways: he may be driven by a cart whip, as it has been described by one gentleman, or he may be taken by force, by telling him that in Africa there is a sort of earthly paradise, where he will enjoy comforts which he has not in England or America.

Again, it has been said, that America is not the native country of the man of color, but that Africa is. Why, we have all descended, I suppose, from the ancient Gauls and Saxons; but still I imagine we conceive England is our native country, (cheers)—and I apprehend we have no particular desire to go to France or Germany. The country where a man was born, and where a man has lived all his life, is his native country; and the holding out of delusive expectations, as it regards Liberia, I contend, is compelling a man by force to leave his native country, and go to a foreign shore. The advocate of the American Colonization Society has said, (and I am very glad that the meeting listened to the worthy gentleman, for I think it would have been a disgrace if we had condemned the Society without hearing any one speak in its defence,) that in the city of Boston eleven years ago, there was not one school for the education of blacks, but that now an act of the Legislature (!) has been passed to levy taxes for the support of a school of that description. But the gentleman did not tell us that Boston is one of those cities where there are no slaves (hear, hear!)—it is in a free State—in the very State from which the gentleman came whom Mr. O'CONNELL shook by the hand, as if he considered him the only honest man that could have come from America. Can the worthy gentleman (Mr. ABRAHAMS,) tell us that in the slave States—in Georgia, Kentucky, or Maryland, for instance—laws have been passed for the education of slaves, or free men of color? Certainly not; but, on the contrary, we know that they have often passed laws to punish those who have dared to teach the negro.

He has rested his strong argument, in defence of the American Colonization Society, upon the ground that Liberia will be able to produce an immense crop of cotton, which, he says, will drive the American slave-owners out of their own market. Does this advocate of the Society want to ruin the American slave masters? or is it likely that the slave masters themselves would advocate the cause of an institution, which is likely, by the produce which it raises in a foreign country, to drive them from their own?

Another position which the worthy gentleman has taken up is this: he will not believe any thing bad against the parties, because they are all Christians; and yet, in the face of this, he allows that these Christians, these enlight-

ened Christians of the United States, have in their country TWO MILLIONS TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND SLAVES, whom they are depriving of all their natural rights, and keeping in a state of unutterable ignorance and misery! (Cheers.) Yet, he says, they are CHRISTIANS, and he will not impugn their motives!! I will say, in language with which, I doubt not, you are all familiar, '*by their fruits shall ye know them*;' and from the accursed fruits which slavery brings forth, I can have no doubt or hesitation, as to the nature of the tree. It is not for me to trouble myself much about the motives of a man, but I can see clearly what are *their* motives.

I will not detain the meeting long; but I cannot let this opportunity pass, without making a reference to Mr. O'CONNELL. The first time I ever heard there were slaves in the United States was from a speech made by him: that gentleman was one of the first persons in the sister country, who stood up on a public platform, and denounced America as being a base hypocrite. At a public meeting held in Cork, he stood up, and in a speech of unrivalled eloquence, he said that he branded her star-spangled banner with the mark of infamy. (Cheers.) I cannot but render him my thanks for his exertions on that occasion, in throwing aside the veil that seems to have hidden the moral depravity of America from the civilized world.

He made an apology for her, however, by alluding to our West India slavery. Why, he asked, was it that America had two millions of slaves. Because England, her mother, had eight hundred thousand. The system, he said, never could be destroyed till England had put an end to it in the West Indies. If England should give up her own prey, then believe him that the English lion shall soon start forth, and every tyrant, however much he may wish to claim that prey upon which he has been so long feeding, must drop it growlingly. (Laughter and loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN, in submitting the resolution to the adoption of the meeting, said he could not give a better authority for the statement it contained, than the second article of the Constitution of the American Colonization Society, adopted at its first meeting, and which had been ratified anew at their last meeting—as follows:

*Resolved*, That the true and single object of the Society is that which is expressed in its original Constitution, viz.—'To promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their consent, the *free* people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient;' and that this object will be hereafter, as it has been heretofore, steadily adhered to.

With these remarks, I think the meeting will be satisfied to pass the resolution; and I therefore put it.

The motion was then put, and carried unanimously.

SPARKS MOLINE (a venerable and highly respectable member of the Society of Friends) moved the fourth resolution, which, he said, he felt in his own breast to be the truth, and the whole truth:

*Resolved*, That the declaration that the object of the American Colonization Society is the abolition of slavery, is a gross deception; and that the people of England, who, under such a supposition, have contributed to its funds, have done so under mistaken views.

The Rev. Mr. SCOBELL, in seconding the motion, said—It would be remembered that Mr. O'CONNELL called the attention of the meeting to a passage from the 'African Repository.' He (Mr. S.) could also refer to a great number of statements made by that organ. Amongst others, he would take the liberty of reading the following:

'We hold their slaves, as we hold their other property, SACRED.'

'To the slaveholder, who had charged upon them the wicked design of interfering with the rights of property under the specious pretext of removing a vicious and dangerous free population, they address themselves in a tone of conciliation and sympathy. We know your rights, say they, and we respect them.'

'The removal of every single free black in America, would be productive of nothing but safety to the slaveholder.'

'The tendency of the scheme, and one of its objects, is to secure slaveholders, and the whole southern country, against certain evil consequences, growing out of the present threefold mixture of our population.'

'The Colonization Society, as such, have renounced wholly the name and the characteristics of abolitionists. On this point they have been unjustly and injuriously slandered. Into their accounts the subject of emancipation does not enter at all.'

'From its origin, and throughout the whole period of its existence, it has constantly disclaimed all intention whatever of interfering, in the smallest degree, with the rights of property, or the object of emancipation, gradual or immediate.'

'is not the object of this Society to liberate slaves, or touch the rights of property.'

'The emancipation of slaves or the amelioration of their condition, with the moral, intellectual, and political improvement of people of color within the United States, are subjects foreign to the powers of this Society.'

'Recognising the constitutional and legitimate existence of slavery, it seeks not to interfere, either directly or indirectly, with the rights which it creates.'

'What but sorrow can we feel at the *misguided piety* which has set free so many of them by death-bed devise or sudden conviction of injustice? Better, far better, for us, had they been kept in bondage, where the opportunity, the inducements, the necessity of vice would not have been so great.'

'It is a well-established point, that the public safety forbids either the emancipation or the general instruction of the slaves.'

'The managers could, with no propriety, depart from their original and avowed purpose, and make emancipation their object. And they would further say, that if they were not thus restrained by the terms of their association, they would still consider any attempts to promote the increase of the free colored population by manumission, unnecessary, premature and dangerous.'

Upon such a startling developement of the principles and designs of the Colonization Society, Mr. SCOBELL said it was wholly unnecessary for him to make any comment before a British audience.

The CHAIRMAN rose and said—I think the meeting has now had sufficient evidence of the truth of what is declared in this resolution. The Colonization Society has been guilty of the greatest deception, and the people of England, who have contributed to its funds, have done so under mistaken views.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM then stood forward and said—I beg to add my concurrence in the truth of the resolution, and to state that, though I entertain the strongest belief that a British Colonization Society, founded on different principles from that established in America, and not contributing one sixpence to its aid, would be of great benefit; yet I must avow there was a period when I believed that the object of the American Colonization Society was the emancipation of the slaves. An examination, however, of all the documents, has shown me that it never was a part of its object; on the contrary, that its object was to colonize the free blacks in Africa, and render slavery in the United States more secure by their removal; and, therefore, that every person who has contributed a shilling towards the American Colonization Society, from the belief that it would lead to emancipation, has acted under a delusion. (Hear, hear!) I discovered it soon enough to save my mite, but I shall think it my duty to do all I can by writing, speaking and printing, and every other method, to undeceive those who have fallen into the same error as myself:—so that I stand here acquitted.

The motion was then put, and agreed to.

Mr. THOMPSON proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN, in acknowledging the compliment, said—I am very much obliged to the meeting for their approbation of any services that I have rendered. There is one remark that I should like to make, not only with respect to Mr. THOMPSON, but to others who may receive some remuneration for their services—a remuneration which is very trifling, compared with the merits of their labor in this benevolent cause. Now, if I had had the talents of Mr. THOMPSON, I should not have dared to stop at home—I must have gone about the country, advocating the cause; but I had not, nor would my health permit it. But I have some spare money, and he has talent—and why should we not put the two together? (Loud applause.)

The meeting then separated. It is estimated that about two thousand persons were present, whose attention for more than five hours was unbroken.

Conway, North Wales, July 14, 1833.

My Dear Sir,—Our friend, Mr. Cropper, will have informed you of the impossibility of my complying with your request, of sending you an explanation of the causes of my absence from your meeting yesterday. I certainly would not willingly have been absent; for it was my desire to take every fair opportunity of testifying my utter and increasing disapprobation of the principles professed, on the subject of negro slavery, by the American Colonization Society. I can have no objection, indeed, to the plan of colonizing in Africa, with a view to its civilization, and to the extension of Christianity in that deeply injured quarter of the globe. On the contrary, I desire above all things to see such plans, conceived in the true spirit of philanthropy, multiplying on that coast. But the Colonization Society appears to me to adopt, as the basis of its schemes, not the love, but the hatred and contempt of the negro race, and to regard every one tinged with their blood as an object, not of kindness and brotherhood, but of abhorrence, and of exclusion from the common sympathies and affinities of our nature, and from that union and fellowship in that Saviour, in whom there is neither Jew nor Gentile, Barbarian nor Scythian, American nor African, black nor white, bond nor free, but we are all one in Christ Jesus.

The unchristian prejudice of color, which alone has given birth to the Colonization Society, though varnished over with other more plausible pretences, and veiled under a profession of a Christian regard for the temporal and spiritual interests of the negro, which is belied by the whole course of its reasonings, and the spirit of its measures; is so detestable in itself, that I think it ought not to be tolerated, but, on the contrary, ought to be denounced and opposed by all humane, and especially by all pious persons in this country. And it especially becomes those who have taken any active part on behalf of the negro race, whether in this country or in the United States, to keep aloof from all co-operation with a body whose evident purpose is adverse not only to the liberty of the enslaved negro, but to the moral and political elevation of the free negro.

I beg to express my sense of the eminent services you have rendered to the cause of humanity, by your able and persevering exposure of the evil tendency of the principles on which the Colonization Society acts, and trust that your exertions will be crowned with success.

I remain, my dear sir,

Yours, very faithfully,

ZACHARY MACAULAY.

William Lloyd Garrison, Esq.

Paradise Row, Stoke Newington,  
15th of 7th month, 1833.

Esteemed Friend, William Lloyd Garrison—When I first heard of the formation of the colony at Liberia, I rejoiced at the intelligence, not doubting but that it was projected and planned by the friends of Africa, with feelings congenial with my own; that its object was to promote the civilization of the inhabitants of

that vast continent, and make some reparation for the enormous wrongs they had for so many ages endured. This must be the excuse of many in this country, and perhaps in North America also, who have countenanced or patronized the American Colonization Society. I have repeatedly told Elliott Cresson that, so far from being an enemy to this American Colony, I should be glad to see twenty more of them established, so that a more extended line of coast might be protected against the slave traders. But having heard thy exposition of the origin and main object of the American Colonization Society, at the meeting on the 13th instant, at Exeter Hall, and having read their own printed documents, I scarcely know how adequately to express my surprise and indignation—surprise, that my correspondents in North America should not have informed me of the real principles of the said Society; and also, that Elliott Cresson, knowing, as he must have known, the abominable sentiments it had printed and published, should have condescended to become its agent. My indignation is roused when I find it asserted in one of their publications, that the free people of color constitute a class, 'out of which no individual can be elevated, and below which none can be depressed.' Again—'We have endeavored, but endeavored in vain, to restore them either to self-respect, or to the respect of others. It is not our fault that we have failed—it is not theirs. It has resulted from a cause over which neither we nor they can ever have any control. Here, therefore, they must be forever debased; more than this, they must be forever useless; more even than this, they must be forever a nuisance, from which it were a blessing for society to be rid.' Again,—'Is it not wise, then, for the free people of color and their friends to admit, what cannot reasonably be doubted, that the people of color must, in this country, remain for ages, probably forever, a separate and inferior caste, weighed down by causes, powerful, universal, inevitable, which neither legislation nor Christianity can remove?' If it be said that these are quotations from the *African Repository*, I understand that this is the ground maintained by the American Colonization Society. This being the case, I cannot but feel indignant that the benevolence of Great Britain and Ireland should have been so imposed upon, to the amount of the subscriptions obtained under the circumstances stated; and I do hope that an account will be called for of the sums subscribed, and of their application.

I rejoice that you have formed an Anti-Slavery Society in New-England, and shall be glad to hear that it goes on with increasing success. Can you not find some noble spirited landholders, in your parts, (who have capital also,) to set an example of what may be done for the colored free people, by placing them down upon land, and showing them how to cultivate it on the spade or garden plan? I have to request thy acceptance of two pamphlets, in which these plans are detailed. The capital employed in this way might be made to return with ample interest.

I remain, with great regard,

Thy sincere friend,

WM. ALLEN.

## BRITISH PROTEST.

We, the undersigned, having observed with regret that the '*American Colonization Society*' appears to be gaining some adherents in this country, are desirous to express our opinions respecting it.

Our motive and excuse for thus coming forward are the claims which the Society has put forth to *Anti-Slavery* support. These claims are, in our opinion, wholly groundless; and we feel bound to affirm that our deliberate judgment and conviction are, that the professions made by the Colonization Society of promoting the abolition of Slavery, are altogether delusive.

As far as the mere Colony of Liberia is concerned, it has no doubt the advantages of other trading establishments. In this sense it is beneficial both to America and to Africa, and we cordially wish it well. We cannot, however, refrain from expressing our strong opinion that it is a settlement of which the United States ought to bear the whole cost. We never required of that country to assist us in Sierra Leone; we are enormously burdened by our own connection with Slavery; and we do maintain that we ought not to be called on to contribute to the expenses of a Colony, which, though no doubt comprising some advantages, was formed chiefly to indulge the prejudices of American Slaveholders, and which is regarded with aversion by the colored population of the United States.

With regard to the extinction of the Slave Trade, we apprehend that Liberia, however good the intentions of its supporters, will be able to do little or nothing towards it, except on the limited extent of its own territories. The only effectual death blow to that accursed traffic will be the destruction of slavery throughout the world. To the destruction of slavery throughout the world, we are compelled to say that we believe the Colonization Society *to be an obstruction*.

Our objections to it are, therefore, briefly these:—While we believe its pretexts to be delusive, we are convinced that its *real* effects are of the most dangerous nature. It takes its root from a cruel prejudice and alienation in the whites of America against the colored people, slave or free. This being its source, the effects are what might be expected; that it fosters and increases the spirit of caste, already so unhappily predominant; that it widens the breach between the two races—exposes the colored people to great practical persecution, in order to *force* them to emigrate; and finally is calculated to swallow up and divert that feeling which America, as a Christian and free country, cannot but entertain, that slavery is alike incompatible with the law of God, and with the well-being of man, whether the enslaver or the enslaved.

On these grounds, therefore, and while we acknowledge the Colony of Liberia, or any other colony on the coast of Africa, to be *in itself* a good thing, we must be understood utterly to repudiate the principles of the American Colonization Society. That Society is, in our estimation, not deserving of the countenance of the British public.

WM. WILBERFORCE,  
WM. SMITH,  
ZACHARY MACAULAY,  
WILLIAM EVANS, M. P.  
SAMUEL GURNEY,  
GEORGE STEPHEN,

SUFFIELD,  
S. LUSHINGTON, M. P.  
THOS. F. BUXTON, M. P.  
JAMES CROPPER,  
WILLIAM ALLEN,  
DANIEL O'CONNELL, M. P.

London, July, 1823





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